THE

HISTORY

OF

MANCHESTER

IN FOUR BOOKS.

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MDCCLXXI.



THE

HISTORY

O

MANCHESTER,

BOOK THE FIRST,

Containing the ROMAN and ROMAN-BRITISH Period.





THE

HISTORY

OF

MANCHESTER.



BOOK THE FIRST.



CHAP. I.

SECT. I.

AMID the various doubts and uncertainties with which ignorance and inattention have clouded the Roman geography of our island, no uncertainty has ever arisen and no doubt has ever been started concerning the well-known claim of Manchester to the character of a Roman station. A Roman station has been acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been planted in the neighbourhood of Manchester. A Roman station has been acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been constructed upon the bank of the Medlock and within the circuit of the Castle-field. And the station is confessed by all of them to have been the denominated Mancunium of the Roman Itinerary. But the origin of this Mancunium is not, as all the antiquarians

tiquarians have equally agreed to ſuppoſe, derived merely and abſolutely from the Romans. The appellation by which it is denoted in the Roman Itinerary is obviouſly not Roman, is obviouſly deduced from the Britiſh language. And this plain circumſtance ſtrikingly ſuggeſts to the mind, that the name was not originally impoſed by the Romans, that the name was actually impoſed by the Britons themſelves. And the Britons only could communicate a Britiſh name to a Roman fortreſs. But if the Romans had been the original conſtructers of the fort, they would certainly, they muſt neceſſarily, have given it a Roman name. If the ſite of the fort had lain totally undiſtinguiſhed from the waſte around it by any particular denomination till the Romans firſt fixed their ſtation upon it, it would neceſſarily have ceived a particular a Roman denomination from them. And when the Romans had given it a Roman name at firſt, they would certainly not have adopted any other name afterwards which the ſubjected Britons might have pleaſed to beſtow upon it. They would certainly not have inſerted that name in their formal Itineraries. And they would certainly not have ſuperſeded the original Roman name for ever by the new Britiſh one. Acting entirely upon a reverſed plan, they greatly affected to bury the Britiſh under Roman names, and to ſuperſede Durovernum by Cantiopolis, Durocobrivis by Forum Dianæ, Londinium by Auguſta, and Eboracum Deva and Iſca Silurum by the names of the reſpective legions that were quartered at thoſe places [a]. The name of Mancunium therefore muſt have been communicated to the ſite of the Roman ſtation by the Britons themſelves, and before the Romans conſtructed their ſtation upon it. And as the name of Mancunium ſignifies a fortreſs or town in the language from which it is derived, the ſite of the Roman ſtation muſt have been previouſly the area of a Britiſh town or fortreſs. Till the ſite of it was thus or ſimilarly diſtinguiſhed, it could not poſſibly have received any denomination at all.—Till the ſite was thus, and thus only, diſtinguiſhed, it could not poſſibly have received the particular denomination of Mancunium. And, ſo diſtinguiſhed, it neceſſarily received that or ſome other name;

a name

a name expreſſive either of its particular uſe or of its local circumſtances. The Roman geographers have pointed out to us a large variety of fortreſſes in the Britiſh unconquered iſle of Ireland [2]. And the Roman warriours appear to have met with as large a variety of fortreſſes in the reduction of Britain. They actually found more than twenty towns among two nations only upon the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland [3]. They actually found Camulodunum the capital of Cunobeline's kingdom, which they formed into a colony [4]. They actually found Verulamium a city of the Caſſii, which they modelled into a municipium [5]. They actually found Calleva or Wallingford, Durnovaria or Dorcheſter in the Weſt, Eburacum or York, Iſurium or Aldborough in Yorkſhire, and many others, which they afterwards converted into ſtations [5]. And finding the fortreſs of Mancunium at Mancheſter, as they had previouſly found others in the more ſoutherly and eaſterly parts of the kingdom, and fixing their own ſtation upon the ſite of it as they had previouſly fixed upon the ſites of others, they neceſſarily received, and therefore naturally continued, the original and Britiſh denominations of all, and only ſoftened them to the Roman ear by giving them a Roman termination.

This is a remark, ſo far as it is confined to Mancunium or Mancheſter in particular, which is ſuggeſted by the firſt reflection upon the Britiſh name of the ſtation in the Roman Itineraries. This is a remark, ſo far as it extends to our towns in general, and equally comprehends the cities of Britain and of Gaul, which is ſuggeſted by the mere review of their names in the ſame Itineraries. Many of the names in the Gallic and the Britiſh Itinera are Roman, moſt of them are Celtic, and ſome of them are both Roman and Celtic. Where the appellation is merely Roman, as Aquæ Sextiæ and Forum Neronis in Gaul or Prætorium and Villa Fauſtini in Britain, tho' the fortreſs which is ſignified by it may ſtill poſſibly challenge a Celtic origin, yet the preſumption certainly lies in favour of a Roman one. But where the appellation is purely Celtic, as Camulodunum, Vindomagus, and Condate, or even conſiſts of Roman and Celtic

together, as Londinium Augusta; there the origin of the fort is evinced to be absolutely Celtic. And to this rule there are only two possible exceptions, the one positive, and the other negative; the one respecting the British names of such stations as are within five or six miles of each other, of which the fortresses that range along the line of Severus's wall are particular instances; and the other respecting the Gallic and British names of such stations as are wholly denominated from the rivers upon which they stand, as Iliberis and Rhuscinum in Gaul, or as Isca Silurum and Isca Damnoniorum, Alauna and Ad Alaunam, Tuæsis and Ad Tuæsim, Tamesis and Ad Sturium, in Britain. In the former series of names, many of the forts cannot have been originally the fortresses of the primæval Britons; and their names are therefore to be referred to another cause, as will be more fully explained hereafter [6]. In the latter, none can fairly be reckoned for the sites of such fortresses, except there be some greater evidence of the fact than the mere report of the British name. And, under these two restrictions, this is a criterion as simple as it is decisive, which has been never attended to by the antiquarian critick, but which must necessarily prove of considerable assistance to him, and is generally the only assistance that he can have, in his enquiries into the first and original commencement of our towns.

In the present Castle-field then, the site of the Roman Castrum, but before the construction of the Castrum upon it, was the British town of Mancunium, all built upon the rocky height that forms the northern bank of the Medlock, and distinguished among the Britons of this region by the general appellation of MAN-CENION or The 'Place of Tents [7].' The singular nature of our towns in Lancashire before the enterance of the Romans into it was the necessary result of that life of hunting and grazing, which is the natural employ of man in the infancy of society, and which, in all the northern regions of the island, where the arts of agriculture were totally unpractised, was peculiarly the employ of the natives [8]. The towns of the Britons were not their places of perpetual and

general

general residence. They were only their places of refuge amid the dangers of war, where they might occasionally lodge their wives their children and their cattle, and where the weaker might occasionally resist the stronger till succours could arrive [9]. And as before the Roman invasion they had known no other enemies than their own Celtic brethren, who like them were always eager to decide the contest by a battle in the field, neither the one nor the other could be expected to have any considerable skill in the science of fortification. But the Britons certainly possessed a greater portion of it than our criticks are willing to allow them. Their fortresses were planted in the center of their woods, were defended by the natural advantages of the site, and were fortified by the falling of trees to obstruct the advance, and by the formation of a bank and a ditch to prevent the irruption of an enemy. And they resisted the attacks of the best troops under the command of the best officers in the world, and even gained from the greatest of the latter the repeated commendation of excellent fortifications [10].

It is evident from the British names in the Roman Itineraries, that at the first settlement of the Romans in the island, or about the year 50 of the Christian æra, the Britons of the present England and Wales had above a hundred of these towns or fortresses in the woods, all constructed originally upon account of the various wars that were carried on betwixt their various tribes [11]. The eleven nations that lay to the south of the Thames and the Severn had about thirty towns under their respective capitals Durovern, Regn, Callev, Vindom, Vent, Durin, and others. The seven tribes that possessed all the country betwixt the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and the Mersey, had about forty towns under their capitals Uriconiu, Coriniu, Verulam, Vent, Camulodun, Rageu, and others. The three tribes that peopled the hilly regions beyond the Severn and the Dee had about twenty towns under their several capitals Menap, Vent, and another. And the Brigantes, who enjoyed the extensive region that is now divided into the five counties of Durham, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaster, possessing

ſing the two firſt counties by the right of prior poſſeſſion, and the three laſt by the right of a ſucceſsful invaſion, owned at the ſame period about the ſame number of cities in ſubjection to Iſeur their metropolis [12].

Since the iſland was originally poſſeſſed from the ſouth, the poſſeſſors muſt have gradually carried their ſettlements into the North, as they admitted other communities of their brethren into the iſland, or as the numbers of their own were augmented within it. Kent, the neareſt to the continent, muſt have been firſt inhabited from it, and in all probability about a thouſand years before the nativity of Chriſt [13]; and all the long range of the ſouthern coaſt immediately afterwards. Having thus extended their ſettlements from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſea, the Celtic coloniſts would begin to advance towards the north, and muſt at laſt reach the ſouthern borders of Lancaſhire. But the marſhes of Cheſhire, which extended to the caſt of Norton, and the unfordable depth of the Merſey, along the margin of which they extended, would effectually prevent their enterance into the county from the ſouth-weſt. They muſt have entered it betwixt the village of Norton on one ſide and the hills of Yorkſhire on the other; and the pariſhes of Aſhton, Mancheſter, Flixton, Eccles, and Warrington muſt have been the firſt-inhabited parts of the county. And this memorable event muſt have happened a conſiderable time before the invaſion of the Brigantes, which was made about the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. At this period, the lengthening line of the Celtic ſettlements appears from that invaſion to have been now carried on to the utmoſt limits of the preſent England. This memorable event muſt have happened even before the numerous colony of the Belgæ, three hundred and fifty years preceding that æra, paſſed over the narrow boundary of the ſea, and ſettled, like the primitive poſſeſſors, along the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland [14]. At this period, many of the native inhabitants, relinquiſhing their antient ſeats to the Belgæ, found all the central and northern parts of England already occupied, and therefore tranſported themſelves into the uninhabited iſle of Ireland [15]. At

this

this period therefore the county of Lancaster in general, and the parish of Manchester in particular, had certainly received a colony of the Celtæ.

And they could not have received one very long before it. The gradual progression of the Celtæ along the broad base of the triangle which the island forms, and afterwards across the wide plane to the tapering summit of it, must have been the labour of many ages. The population of England was compleated before the abovementioned æra: and it could not have been compleated long before it. Had the inhabitants of Galloway in particular been seated in that country for a considerable time before the Belgæ arrived on the southern coast of England, so very near as the coast of Ireland was to them, they could not have left the first plantation of that island to their brethren of the South [16]. And that they did leave it is as strong an argument as we can have, that the settlement of the southern regions of Scotland had not been long compleated at the arrival of the Belgæ. The county of Lancaster therefore in general, and the parish of Manchester in particular, must have been first planted about one hundred and fifty years before that arrival, and about five hundred before the Christian computation, about the æra of Darius's expedition into Greece, the restoration of the democracy at Athens, and the institution of the consulate at Rome.

Thus settled in the woody region of Lancashire, the colonists received the appropriate name of Setantii, Sistantii, or Sistuntii, as the settlers who took possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland received the appropriate title of Voluntii or Volantii. The name of the former was expressive of their maritime situation. It is compounded of SE, TAN, TIU or S, IS, TAN, TIU, signifies either simply THE COUNTRY OF WATER or discriminately THE INFERIOUR AND SOUTHERLY COUNTRY OF WATER, and expresses the particular position of Lancashire with respect to the Volantii and the sea. Setantii must have been the original appellation of the original colonists; and Sistantii or Sistuntii must have been afterwards conferred upon them, when new colonists had taken possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and

 when

when accuracy was obliged to distinguish the one from the other [17]. And from the beautiful altar which was discovered at Elenborough in Cumberland, and which is inscribed VOLANTI VIVAS, Elenborough appears to have been originally denominated Volantiu, and was therefore assuredly the original capital of the Volantian towns [18]. But the Sistuntii had the towns of Coccui, Bremetonac, Rerigon, Veratin, and our own Mancenion; all acknowledging the first to be, what the name of Coccui or supreme undeniably imports it to have been, the British metropolis of Lancashire. Such was the principality of the Sistuntian Britons, subject to its own capital, and governed by its own regulus [19].

The neighbouring tribe of the Brigantes had been hitherto confined within the counties of York and Durham. But overcharged in all probability with a numerous youth about the commencement of the Christian æra it detached a strong party of them across the long barrier of hills which extends from Derbyshire to Scotland, and into the countries of the Sistuntii and Volantii beyond them. These, apprehensive of the coming invasion, and providing against the common danger, seem to have wisely entered into a very strict and intimate alliance. They entered however in vain. Unable with their united forces to resist the vigour of the Brigantian arms, they were obliged to submit, and received the general appellation of Brigantes. Coccui and Volantiu were deprived of their little supremacies. And both they and our own Mancenion were reduced under the supremacy of the Brigantian capital [20].

The appellation of Britain has been for ages tortured, racked, and dismembered by the antiquarians, in order to force a confession of its origin and import from it. And erudition, running wild in the mazes of folly, has eagerly deduced it from almost every word of a similar sound in almost every known language of the globe. But the Celtic must obviously be the only one that can lay any competent claim to it. And the Celtic must obviously challenge it all for her own. The name must certainly have been either assumed to themselves by the Celtic settlers on the island, or commu-

communicated to them by their Celtic brethren on the continent. And the import of it may be as easily ascertained as its origin. It, and that appellation of Brigantes which our anceſtors received from their conquerors, is derived from the original and common appellation of all the tribes of Britain. The firſt denomination of the iſland was Albin or Albion [21], a name that was evidently conferred upon it before it was ever inhabited, and while its Alb-in Alb-ion or high rocks were only viewed at a diſtance from the oppoſite ſhore of Gaul. The ſecond denomination of the iſland was Breatin, Brydain, or Britain [22]; a name not applied to the region, but beſtowed upon the inhabiters [23]; a name not previouſly borne upon the continent by the original ſettlers of the country, but aſſumed or received upon the firſt removal of them into the iſland. And this name is derived from a Celtic word denoting ſeparation and diviſion. This is a particular which in the natural language of the continent has always characteriſed the inhabitants of this iſland. This is a particular (as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) which has equally given denomination to the tribes of Ireland, to the nations of Caledonia, and to two or three iſlands upon our coaſts [24]. The original word is ſtill retained in the Welſh Brith and the Iriſh Breact any thing divided or ſtriped, and in the Iriſh Brioth a fraction or diviſion, the Iriſh Briſead a rupture or diviſion, and in the Welſh Breg a diviſion or breach. The original word was equally pronounced Brict or Brit (as the Ictius of Cæſar is the Itium of Strabo), Bris, and Brig, and appears with this variety of termination in the uſual appellation of the iſlanders Britanni, in the preſent denomination of the Armorican Britons Brez and Brezonec, and in this the name of the Brigantes. Brit is enlarged into Brit-on, Brit-an, Brit-an-et in the plural, and ſo forms the appellation Brit-on-es, Brit-an-i, and Brit-an-ic-i [25]; as Brig is either changed into Brig-es in the plural, and forms Allo-brig-es or Allo-brog-es, the appellation of a tribe upon the continent and of all the Belgæ within the iſland [26], or is altered into Brig-an and Brig-ant, and forms the denomination Brig-ant-es. And as we find the name of Brigantes ap-

 plied

plied once by a native Briton to the whole body of the Caledonian Britons [27], so we see the name of Britannia actually applied by Ravennas to the country of the Brigantes, and our own Sistuntii expressly declared to possess a third part of this Britannia [28].

[1] SEE Appendix No. I. and Iter. I. &c.— [2] See b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4. of this work.— [3] Vespasianus—in Britanniam translatus—duas validissimas gentes, *superque viginti oppida*—et insulam Vectem Britanniæ proximam, in deditionem redegit (Suetonius p. 240. Oxon.)— [4] Dio p. [illegible]9. Hamburgi 1750, and Tacitus Annal. lib. xii. c. 32.— [5] See b. I. ch. ix. sect. 1.— [6] See b. I. ch. vii. sect. 4.— [7] Baxter's Gloss. and Antiq. Britan.— [8] Cæsar p. 89. Clarke, Glasgow, Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt— [9] Cæsar p. 92. Oppidum Britanni vocant—quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consueverunt; and Tacitus in Agric. Vitâ. c. xxvii. Britanni conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent.— [10] Cæsar p. 92. Cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, sylvis paludibusque munitum; quò satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt—Locum reperit egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum.—p. 87, Se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè naturâ et opere munitum,—quem—jam ante præparaverant; nam, crebris arboribus succisis, omnes introitus erant præclusi.—See also Strabo p. 306. Amstel. 1707. and more particularly Dio p. 227.— [11] Cæsar p. 87. Locum egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum, quem, domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ, jam ante præparaverant.—Cæsar p. 88. Mela l. iii. c. 6. and Richard p. 6. See a full account of this author in b. I. ch. iii. sect. 1.— [12] Richard p. 17—27, and [illegible] Antonine's Itinerary. (See Appendix No. I.)— [13] Richard p. 50, and the subsequent History of the Population of Britain and of Ireland b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.— [14] Compare Cæsar's expressions Antiquitus transductos

transductos p. 33. and Memoriâ proditum p. 88. with Richard p. 50.—[15] Richard p. 50. And in p. 42 he says, Certissimum est that the other tribes of Ireland came in postea, after these Britons.—[16] See also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.—[17] Ptolemy; Richard p. 47; Gale on Antoninus p. 15; and b. I. ch. v. sect. 1. Ravennas calls them Sistuntiaci (Gale, p. 146.); and Baxter, with his usual wantonness of criticism, alters their name Setantii into Segantii.—[18] Horseley, p. 282.—[19] More Roman inscriptions have been found at this Volantium or Elenborough than perhaps in any one city besides through the whole extent of Roman Britain (Horseley p. 279). And as the inscription upon the plane of the above-mentioned altar was evidently in honour of Peregrinus, and in memorial of his building or restoring the houses and temple of the Decuriones, so the inscription upon the capital of it, *Volanti vivas*, was evidently a wish in honour of the same person; a wish aptly corresponding with the dedication of the above-mentioned houses and temple to *the Genius of the place*; a wish that Peregrinus might always live at the town to the inhabitants of which he had been so great a benefactor, and to the Genius of which he had been so pious a votary.—[20] Richard p. 27. Propriè sic dicti Brigantes, gens numerosissima, toti olim provinciæ leges prescribens; and Ptolemy, though he places the Sistuntii on the western sea, yet carries the Brigantes from sea to sea.— Richard p. 27. Volantii Sistuntiique arctiori fœdere conjuncti—And Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xvii. Brigantum civitatem quæ numerosissima totius provinciæ perhibetur.—[21] Pliny lib. iv. c. 16. and Richard p. 1. Veteres Britanniam primùm Albionem cognominaverunt.—[22] Pliny and Richard ibid.—[23] Richard p. 1. Vocabulo gentis suæ Britanniam cognominaverunt.—[24] B. I. ch. xii. sect. 2. and 4.—[25] So Sistuntii is formed by Ravennas into Sistuntiaci (Gale p. 146.), and Pœni Punici and Phœnices are one and the same name.—[26] Richard p. 18. and 20.—[27] *Brigantes* (says Galgaçus), feminâ duce, exurere coloniam &c. (Agric. Vit. c. xxxi). And see also B. I. ch. xii. sect. 5.—[28] Gale p. 146.

II.

CATTLE were the great riches of the Britons in general *. And it was a common practice among the tribes to keep large herds of their cattle upon the uninhabited grounds that skirted the borders of their country. They retained under their own care as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, and they detached the rest into the borders under the care of their servants. And these they sometimes called Cheangon or retainers from their condition, and sometimes denominated Paruis, herdsmen, or Gabrantic, goat-herds, from their employ. The proper Brigantes had their Parisi or Gabrantuici inhabiting all the East-riding of Yorkshire for the benefit of its extensive wolds *. The Ordovices of North-Wales had their Cangiani or Cangani inhabiting along the sea-coast of Carnarvonshire from Brachy-Pult Point in the South nearly to Bangor in the North *. And the Sistuntii of Lancashire kept their cattle and their Cangii among the numerous mountains that fill up all the south of Westmoreland, and that then formed the northern barrier of their country. The Sistuntii also, like their brethren of Yorkshire and North-Wales, naturally provided for the security of these Cangii and their charge by the erection of fortresses among their pastures. Such plainly appears to have been the Petuaria of the Parisi, the Segontium of the Cangani, and the Concangii of the Sistuntians. Such the two first are evinced to have been by their sites and the names of the tribes to which they belonged. And such is the last more plainly evinced to have been by its own name as well as by its own site. Its name imports it to be the capital of the Cangii. And its proximity to Lancashire, being seated at Water-crook in the Vale of Kendal, shews those inhabitants to be the Cangii of the Sistuntians *. The whole county of Westmoreland must have been originally appropriated to the feeding of cattle; and must for this purpose have been partitioned equally betwixt the Sistuntii and the Volantii, the

adjoining

adjoining barony of Kendal being assigned to the former, and the contiguous barony of Westmoreland being allotted to the latter. The whole county of Westmoreland certainly remained wild and uncultivated in general to the late period of the Saxons. And the whole county therefore acquired from the Saxons the appellation which it retains at present, which the ancient unnoticed pronunciation of the A has hitherto disguised to every critical eye, and which is nothing more than the waste moor land or the uncultivated region [5].

The little armouries of the Sistuntii, like the armouries of their brethren in the other districts of the island, must have been furnished with helmets, coats of mail, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows. The helmet, the coat of mail, and the chariot were confined to the chiefs; and the common soldiers fought always on foot, provided with shields for their own defence, and with spears, swords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes for the offence of an enemy [6]. The shield was like the target of our present Highlanders, slight, generally round, and always bossy [7]. The sword was like the broad sword of the same mountaineers, large, heavy, and unpointed [8]. And the dagger was like their present dirk [9]. But some instruments have been discovered in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the isle of Anglesey, in Essex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Cornwall, and Staffordshire, and near Marton mere in Lancashire, which the antiquarians have generally attributed to the Celtæ, and which they have therefore distinguished by the general appellation of Celts [10]. Such an one was also discovered about fifty years ago in one of our Mancunian mosses, and was immediately reposited in our Mancunian library. There has it since lain, mingled with the lumber of petty curiosities, the customary trifles of every library, and is still exhibited among them as an oddly formed chissel or an outlandish wedge. The wedge-like form of these instruments is sufficiently known. In that particular nearly all of them agree. And they differ only in this, that some have no handle and are therefore hollow in the blade, and others have an handle

and

and no hollow. Of the latter sort is our Mancunian Celt. Its blade, which is fluted a little at the upper end, is three inches in length, three quarters of an inch in breadth, and half an inch in thickness at the fluted end, and thence widens to the breadth of one inch and a quarter at the edge. And the brazen loop at its side is nearly half an inch in breadth and three quarters in length. But the socket, which is of the same metal, is two inches and a half in length, nearly one inch in breadth at its conjunction with the blade, and more than three quarters at the other extremity. And it has a small hollow on both sides for its whole extent, which is channelled in the middle, and is bordered by a slight molding for more than one inch and three quarters from the blade. Such is the just description of this brazen instrument, by which it undeniably appears to be what scarcely any of the antiquarians have supposed it to be. Not an axe-head for the cutting of trees, not a chissel for the working of stones, as is plainly evinced by the too great narrowness of its edge and the too great softness of its metal; not a druidical hook for the cutting of misletoe, as is evident from the smallness of the blade and the obtuseness of its edge; not the head of an halbert, as is evident from its small size and its too great levity; and not the point of an arrow, a spear, or a javelin, as is clear from the roundness of its edge and its too great size; it was plainly the head of a light battle-axe[41]. The hollow of the socket and the raised molding on either side are plainly calculated for the reception of a wooden handle in the same line with the blade; and in a brass Celt which was lately discovered among the hills of Saddleworth, and which is now in my own possession, the remains of a wooden handle were found actually inserted in the cavity of the hollow blade[42]. The termination of the molding three quarters of an inch from the end evinces that part to have been inserted into the stock of the handle and in a right angle with the blade. This insertion united firmly the head and the handle of the battle-axe; and the union was strengthened by a pin in the socket. That did not pass through the substance of the socket, but was received into

a small

a small orifice upon one side of it, and, as appears from the largeness of the cavity within, was there secured by an infusion of melted metal. And the whole appears from the loop at the head to have been flung across the shoulder or suspended at the side by a leathern thong. Thus does this brazen instrument appear to have been originally the head of a light battle-axe; and it is very like in the formation and size of its blade to the light axes of the American Mohawks. And this and all the rest are very plainly the heads of British battle-axes. Some of these brazen weapons have been actually found in the sepulchers of the Britons upon the Downs of Wiltshire and within the region of Caledonia [13]. And as other instruments have been discovered in Wiltshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire, which were shaped in the same manner and must therefore have been designed for the same uses, which however were not composed of brass but were formed of stones [14]; the rude simplicity of these axes, their correspondence with the arrow-heads of flint which have been so often discovered in Scotland, and the frequent discovery of the same sort of axes in the sepulchers of the Gauls and of the Britons [15], incontestably evince the Britons to have been the original proprietors of all. Such a stone-formed head of a British battle-axe I have now in my own possession, a great curiosity in itself, as very few have been found in the kingdom, a greater, as it is the first that has been found in Lancashire and the second that has been discovered in the North [16]. This was thrown up by the harrow in one of the fields that are immediately upon the left hand of the road to Throstlenest. This is a strong heavy Celt, molded with great regularity from a large stone, and ground neatly to an edge, and is remarkably different from the flint-made axes of Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Those were all of them small, and most about four inches and a half only in length. But this is twelve inches in length, and three inches and three and a half in breadth. About three inches and an half from the broad and blunted end, the breadth of the stone is perforated for the insertion of an handle, as the thickness of the stone

ſtone is left greater for an additional ſtrength. But the eye is made wider at the extremities than in the middle, that the handle may be faſtened within it by little wedges of wood upon either ſide. And the whole Celt, even without the handle, which muſt certainly have been proportionable to it, is not leſs than eight pounds and four ounces in weight [17].

The uſe of this, as of the military car-rhod, wheeled car, or chariot, muſt have been derived to the Britons from their Gallic anceſtors, and have been firſt introduced into the iſland with the firſt inhabiters of it. Nor had the Gauls at the firſt invaſion of Britain by the Romans entirely forgotten the uſe of the chariot. Some tribes ſtill retained the car of their anceſtors, and uſed it equally for the journey and the fight [18]. But in Britain the uſe of it was univerſal at this period, and particularly diſcriminated the tribes of the Britons from all the other nations of Europe [19]. Theſe chariots the Britons diſtinguiſhed by the two denominations of Eſſedom or ſeats and of Covini coffins or vehicles [20]. And theſe chariots had their wheels ſometimes furniſhed with ſcythes, were always drawn by two horſes, and carried ſometimes two perſons, the driver and the warrior, and ſometimes only one [21].

[1] Caesar p. 88: and Mela lib. iij. c. 6.— [2] Ptolemy, and Richard p. 27. Gabr makes Gabr-ant in the plural and Gabr-ant-ic in the relative adjective.— [3] Ptolemy, and Richard p. 23. See alſo b. I. ch. v. ſect. 1.— [4] Notitia for Concangii. The name is Con Cangii the head or chief ſeat of the Cangii. So Segontium is Se Cond Ty or the head abode.— [5] So Moorland in Staffordſhire.— [6] Tacitus in Ann. lib. xii. c. 35; Dio p. 1280; and Herodian lib. iii. c. 47. Oxon. 1678; compared with Oſſian's Poems p. 37, 50, 51, 54, &c. (vol. I. quarto). Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline claſs 4. 2, Mela lib. iii. c. 6. Gallicè Armati, and Pegge's Coins claſs 4. c. claſs 5. 4. and claſs 6. 2. The Poems of Oſſian carry in themſelves ſufficient proofs of their own authenticity.

British Battle-Axes.





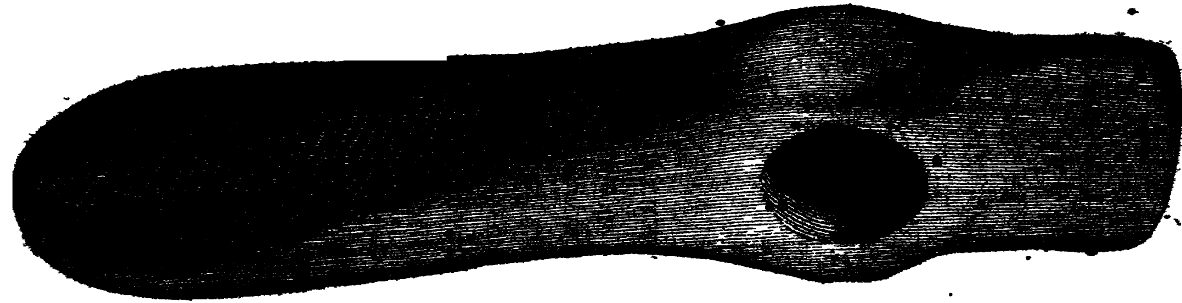


Fig. 1. This belongs to Manchester Library.
Fig. 2 & 3. These I have reposited in the Museum of A. Lever Esq.r

All three by a Scale of One half.

J. June . Sculp

Inscribed to ASHTON LEVER Esq.r of Alkrington.

ticity. But see this confirmed by a variety of external testimonies in Dr. Blair's Critique on Ossian, 2d edit. The whole body of the Highland Scots are living witnesses of their authenticity.—[7] Quis rotundam facere cetram nequit? Varro; Herodian lib. iii. c. 47; Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 36; Ossian's Poems vol. I. p. 206; and Statius Silv. lib. v. hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno. Each spear (says Dio p. 1281) had a brazen apple at the end, which was shaken in order to terrify the enemy with the noise. I have conversed (says Dr. Macpherson in Crit. Diss. p. 144. Lond. 1768) with some old Highlanders who have seen spears of that construction. The apple was called Cnapstarra, a boss of brass; and the spear was denominated Triniframma, the Framea probably of the Germans.—[8] Agric. Vit. c. 36.—[9] Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 52. and Plate, and Horseley's Scotland No. 3.—[10] Hearne's Leland vol. I; Mona Antiqua p. 86. 2d edition; Plott's Staffordshire p. 403; Leigh's Lancashire b. I. p. 18; Stukeley's Abury p. 27; and Borlase's Cornwall b. III. ch. xiii. Dr. Borlase derives the name of Celt from Cælo to engrave: Unde (says he) Cæltis vel Celtis, quasi An Engraving Tool, p. 283. edit. 1760. Such are sometimes the little fooleries of learning.—[11] See Hearne's Leland and Plott's Staffordshire ibid., Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46, Carte's History vol. I. p. 75, and Borlase b. III. ch. xiii.—[12] The wood seemed to be yew. And see ch. vi. sect. 2. and ch. iv. sect. 1. of b. I.—[13] Camden c. 1263. Gibson for the head of a brazen axe found in a cairn, and Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46.—[14] Dugdale's Warwickshire p. 778. edit. 1st, Stukeley's Itin. Cur. p. 54, and Plott's Staffordshire p. 397.—[15] See the battle-axe of a Gaul mentioned by Plutarch vol. I. p. 315. Bryan's edition: and see vol. II. p. 514. But in Montfaucon's l'Antiquité Expliquée, tome cinquieme, p. 194 and 195, is an account of a plainly Gallic monument opened in France, in which were found about twenty scülls, and as many stones shaped into axes under them. One was an oriental stone studded with silver. And stone-axes are also found frequently in other parts of France (p. 196 and 197), as stone-weapons in general are often discovered in Germany (p. 198). And sharp

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and formed flints have been found with human bones at the British temple of Abury. (Stukeley p. 33.)—[16] One found at Tabley Cheshire, Itin. Curiof. p. 54.—[17] Dugdale p. 778, and Plott p. 403 and plate. A Celt of brass, one inch longer than this, was found in a British barrow upon Salisbury Plain; as a large brass weapon like a pole-axe, and twelve pounds heavier than this, was discovered in another (Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46). And in the Musæum at Oxford are fourteen or fifteen of these axes, three or four in stone, and the rest in brass, but all small and light.—[18] Strabo p. 306, and Diodorus p. 352.—[19] Cicero Epist. ad Fam. lib. vii. E. 6, 7, and Cæsar p. 79 and 80.—[20] Cæsar ibid. and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 35 and 36.—[21] Mela lib. iii. c. 6, Ossian p. 11. vol. I, and b. I. ch. ix. sect. 2; and Cæsar p. 79 and Diodorus p. 352. compared with Tacitus c. xii. Agric. Vit. and Ossian and this Work ibid.

III.

WHEN the Sistuntii first settled in the county of Lancaster, they would naturally erect no towns because they could dread no invaders, and the area of our Castle-field must have been left covered with the oaks of its native woods. They could fear nothing from the Britons of Cheshire, of whom they must have been a colony, or by whom they must have been permitted to march through their country into Lancashire. They could fear nothing from the more southerly Britons, for whose superfluous numbers there were all the uninhabited counties of the North, and to whose colonies they were ready to afford a peaceable passage through their country. And when the Belgæ of the southern coast, about one hundred years before Christ, extended their encroachments into the interiour regions of the island, the many refugees retired not into the more northerly counties, and either gained a settlement by allowance or secured one by violence among them, but passed over immediately to their brethren in Ireland[1]. The political fears of the Sistuntii must have been first excited, and their political precautions first taken, upon an incident

incident of a more alarming nature and upon encroachments in a nearer district. About half a century before Christ the Britons of Cheshire, as I shall shew hereafter, burst from the narrow confines of their own dominions, and attacked over-ran and subdued three or four of the adjoining counties on the South [3]. Such an act of hostility among the natives of the North, the first that we know to have been committed amongst them, would necessarily awaken the jealousies of all the neighbouring states, and would particularly induce the Sistuntii to erect one or more fortresses upon the line of their southern borders. Then must the area of the Castle-field have been cleared of its oaks, and then the well-watered fortress of Mancenion have been constructed by the Sistuntians. The fortress could not well have been constructed before this period. And it must necessarily have been constructed at it. Thus the rude station of Mancenion, one of the first towns in the county of Lancaster, a little prior to all the more northerly forts, and the first faint outlines of the present Manchester, was originally formed about half a century before Christ, about the æra of the war successfully carried on by the southerly Britons against the encroaching Belgæ, or about the æra of Cæsar's expedition against both [1].

The dimensions of Mancenion are still very discernible. It filled the whole area of the present Castle-field, except the low swampy part of it on the west [4], and was twelve acres three roods and ten perches in extent. Terminated by the windings of the Medlock on the south south-east and south-west, it was bounded on the east by a fosse, on the west by the present very lofty bank, and on the north by a long and broad ditch. The natural advantages of the river and the bank were great inducements with the Britons to select this particular situation. But the principal inducement must have been one of which the Britons could not readily be suspected, but upon which they appear to have very frequently acted. Most of the British fortresses appear to have had such a particular site selected for them as the area of the Castle-field presented and the coldness of our climate required, one that by its position on the northern bank of the ri-

ver, and its gentle declivity to the south or its collateral points, would give the Britons the whole undiminished reflected warmth of our British suns. And such are almost all the British fortresses mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus [1]. Surrounded as the British fortresses must constantly have been with the ever-hovering damps of the neighbouring woods, such a position was naturally dictated by prudence. And for this reason, and for this only, must the area of the Castle-field have been preferred by the Britons to the site of the present church and college, the latter being superiour to the former in all the common requisites of a fortress, but being greatly inferiour to it in this.

On the east and north were the advantages of situation lost, the level of the area within being even with the surface of the ground without. Here therefore the Britons must have sunk a ditch and raised a rampart. And at the south-eastern angle of the Castle-field, and upon the lower margin of the Medlock, was actually a deep and narrow gulley that was cut through the solid rock, and existed to the year 1765. This was originally formed in all probability at the original formation of the British fortress, a part of its eastern boundary. And from this point the ditch seems pretty plainly to have mounted directly up the little garden that now lies along the eastern side of the Castle-field, the rocks on the right of the garden appearing evidently to have been cut away sloping towards the west, and the earth of it appearing as evidently from the rubbish, that to the depth of several feet is mingled with it, to be merely adventitious, and must have terminated (as I shall immediately shew) a little beyond the upper end of the garden. The northern ditch continues for the greater part of its original course, being carefully preserved in general by the Romans afterwards. And the extraordinary aspect of its western termination, so much more formidable than that of the Roman ditches, does of itself sufficiently bespeak the whole to be British. The eastern part of it, which must have been terminated by the ridge that runs along the margin of the present road, has been long filled up by the Romans, and no traces of it appear at present. But where the preser-

preservation of this ditch became afterwards necessary to the defence of the Roman station, there the course of it still plainly appears, the ground gently sloping away in most places for fourteen or fifteen yards to the north, and then rising up more sharply as many. Along the greatest part of this line the ditch has been considerably levelled, the earth of the banks having been long thrown down into the hollow. At present the terminating slope of the ditch on the east commences within forty yards from the road, and the large hollow of the fosse spreads about thirty-four yards in breadth and sinks gradually about one and an half in depth, falling gently away to the west. For the next twenty yards it is only about thirty broad and one deep, the southern bank gradually growing all the way. For the next sixty it is about thirty-four broad and one and an half deep. For the next sixty it is less deep, but is about forty yards in breadth; and the southern bank is scarcely visible. The fosse now begins to assume its formidable aspect, and gradually rises in grandeur as it proceeds towards the west. The southern bank all at once falls away in a long slope towards the north, and all at once becomes what the northern had hitherto been, the great striking signature of the fosse. At the end of forty yards the northern bank has no perceptible fall, but the southern carries a sharp descent of about twenty yards to the foot of it. At the end of ten more, where the northern slightly slopes away for eighteen yards, the southern descends as many yards much sharper than before to meet it. At the end of ten more, the northern presents to us a gentle fall of twenty, and the southern a steepy fall of eighteen. And both this and the other mount with a very steep ascent of twenty for the remaining twelve, as the channel, cutting the thick bank in two, descends with a quick fall to the west.

On the west was the natural barrier of a lofty bank, forming a sharp slope of fifty yards to the swampy ground below it. This is the southern point of that long bank which extends beside the ground immediately to the north of the British city. And where this natural barrier turned curving in an obtuse angle to the south-east, the line of the British fortification, not curving

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with it, was continued directly to the river, and the rampart still appears along the descent to it, and still carries a large appearance and an elevated crest. Beneath this bank and rampart spread out an impracticable morass about one hundred yards in breadth and three hundred in length, beginning at the margin of the Medlock on the south, extending betwixt the foot of the bank and the channel of a rill to the north-west of the British city, and giving it a full security upon that quarter [6]. But directly upon the margin of the Medlock the edge of the morass remained to the present period sufficiently practicable and hard, and obliged the Britons to continue the bank to the river.

These were the natural and artificial barriers of the British Mancenion on the east the north and the west. And, for greater safety on the south, the winding bank of the river was carefully scarped by the Britons. The long strokes of their large pickaxes appeared in 1764, for the whole compass of the bank, upon the face of the rocks which are below the present edge of the water, and descended nearly to the original surface of it, within a yard and an half from the stony bed of the river. The continuance of this scarping along the whole compass of the margin evinces it plainly to be British, as it was evidently performed at a period when the whole area of the field was a fortification. It was evidently performed when the whole area of the field was not merely a temporary fortification, used occasionally for a few weeks till a regular station could be constructed within it, which was probably the case in the time of the Romans; but when it was a fixed a stated fortification, which was certainly the case in the time of the Britons only. And accordingly, deep in the artificial soil with which the face of the bank has been since covered, were found in 1765 and 1766 a Roman fibula, a Roman urn which shall be described hereafter [7], a Roman coin, which had . . . . REDVCI upon one side and . . . . AN AVG COS upon the other, and a Roman lachrymatory of black glass, deposited in a little hollow upon the rock and half-filled with tears, the cork-stopple being nearly consumed by time, and

the liquid retaining a considerable degree of saltness.

Along one particular part of the margin; from the eastern boundary of the field beyond the mouth of the subterraneous tunnel, the only part in which the upper point of the bank has been hitherto cut down or laid open, the same effects of the British oeconomy in war have regularly appeared upon the front both of the rocks and of the soil which are above the present edge of the water, wherever the adventitious earth has been accidentally removed from the face of either. Both upon such a removal have appeared clearly to have been formerly cut down, either into a very sharp descent, or into an absolute perpendicular. Both therefore, as we have every reason to conclude, must have been so cut down, not only for this particular extent, but along the whole semicircular margin of the river. And about twenty yards to the east of the subterraneous tunnel, upon the point of a projecting rock and beneath the same artificial soil, appeared in 1766 a large flight of rude stairs leading down to the river, being seven steps about three yards in length, from three quarters of a yard to a foot in breadth and from ten to four inches in depth, and very visibly worn away near the middle. These stairs, formed as they must have been because of the steepness of the scarped bank and for an easier descent to the current, and formed as they pretty certainly were betwixt the original construction of the fortress and the advance of the Romans into Lancashire, would naturally upon the first alarm of the latter be thought to afford too ready a passage into the town. And the lower part of them had been actually cut down into an absolute perpendicular.

Such were the boundaries of this British city. The principal enterance into it must have been near the north-eastern angle of the field, and in the large vacancy betwixt the commencement of the eastern fosse and the conclusion of the northern ditch. This ground was opened in 1765, and the soil appeared plainly to have been never shifted at all. And the area inclosed within the whole the Britons must have filled with houses for themselves and with hovels for their cattle[8]. Both of them must have been habitations more strongly built than their temporary huts

huts of reeds or turf. The former particularly were designed to be the regular barracks of the garrison, and must therefore have been constructed in the superiour style of British architecture. They must have been great round cabins built principally of timber upon foundations of stone, and roofed with a sloping covering of skins or of reeds [9]. But the latter seem to have been constructed in a somewhat different form, to have been not rounded at all but nearly squared, and to have contained about sixteen yards by twelve within. Such at least was the groundwork of a building which was discovered within the area of the Castle-field in 1766, and which was laid in a manner that clearly bespoke it to be British. About half a yard below the surface of the ground was a layer of large irregular blocks, some hewn from the quarry of Collyhurst, and others collected from the channel of the river. And below it were three layers of common paving-stones, which were not compacted together with mortar, but were bedded in the rude and primitive cement of clay. Such was the architecture of this secret foundation, which was about two yards in breadth and about one in depth. And, as such, it appears to have been very antient. As such, it must have been laid before the preparation of lime for the purposes of building had been introduced among us, and consequently before the Sistuntii had been subdued by the Romans. The knowledge of that preparation was first communicated to us by the Romans. This appears plainly from the present remains of the British buildings in the isle of Anglesey in the Hebrides and in Wiltshire, which are all, like the more regular structures of the free Peruvians, constructed entirely without the assistance of mortar [10]. And the same sort of foundations has been actually discovered about those huge obelisks of the primæval Britons near Aldborough in Yorkshire, which are so similar to the obelisks frequently erected without their circular temples. A foot beneath the surface of the ground, a course chiefly of boulders has been found at one of them laid upon a bed of clay, four or five courses of clay and boulders spreading successively beneath it, and the whole rude ground-work regularly

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buttreſſing the baſis of the ſtone around ". This British foundation, upon which a ſtrong broad wall of timber had been undoubtedly erected, could not have been the baſis of a cabin for the Britiſh warriours, becauſe it was modelled in a ſquare form. It muſt therefore have been the ground-work of an hovel for the Britiſh cattle. And the opinion is ſtrongly confirmed by the nature of its ſituation. It was placed upon the ſlope of the bank, and about the mid-way betwixt the great tunnel and the preſent road; as the floor of it had a ſtrong inclination to the ſouth, and the large door-way took up one whole ſide of it and was oppoſed to the north. And the ſame ſort of foundations was diſcovered in 1765 and 1770, a few yards lower in the field, and running for thirty or forty yards together, a ſingle layer as it then appeared of ſmalliſh paving-ſtones bedded equally in clay; reſting upon the plane of the rock below, and covered with rubbiſh to the depth of a couple of yards above. The cabins perhaps were diſpoſed into two or three rows or ſtreets, courſed in right lines from eaſt to weſt, and poſſeſſed the whole extent of the higher ground. This the gracefulneſs of a regular arrangement and the neceſſity of regular walks would naturally occaſion. And the hovels perhaps were all placed in two or three lines behind the moſt ſoutherly of the rows, and along the inclining margin of the river. This the conveniency of the neighbouring water and the requiſite attention to neatneſs would obviouſly ſuggeſt. And the diſcovery of many blocks of Collyhurſt ſtone in the foundation evinces the Britons of Mancenion to have ſkirted along the woody area of the preſent town with their cars, and to have repaired to the quarry of Collyhurſt. The whole clough or woody hollow of Collyhurſt appears clearly upon a ſurvey to be nothing more than the ample cavity of a great quarry, which firſt began on the ſouth-weſt, and which had its firſt road of enterance from it. And of this quarry our Britiſh fathers muſt have been the original openers, and muſt have borrowed from it the foundations of their Mancunian cabins and the ground-work of their Mancunian hovels.

During the continuance of this British fortress in the Castle-field, the whole extended country around it must have been one large wood, which began immediately on the outside of the barriers, and diffused itself for a considerable space around them [12]. And the popular denomination of the wood among the Britons of this region will hereafter appear to have been Arden [13]. This was the common appellation of forests among the Britons in general, from the wildly extensive one which covered more than half the county of Warwick, and the site of which still retaineth the name of Arden, to the much smaller one that surrounded Mancenion. This was equally the common appellation of forests among their brethren of Flanders and of Scotland, and was originally written Arduen or Ardven [14]. And this original mode of writing the name demonstrates it to be compounded, not of Ar the præpositive article in Celtic and the substantive Den, as the great oracular interpreter of the Roman-British appellations states it to be [15], but of Ard an adjective and Ven the same as Den. The meaning of the name therefore is not, as Baxter renders it, simply the hills, or, even as the ingenious translator of Ossian renders it, the high hill. Ard signifies either high or great, and Ven or Den imports either an hill or a wood [16]. And had they signified the former ideas only, neither could have been ever applied to the site of the Warwickshire and the Flanders forests, which have scarcely an hill, and have never an high hill, within their whole extent. Arduen Ardven or Arden [17] signifies the great wood. Hence the name was applied to the Arden of Ossian, a part of which is synonymously denominated Morven or the great Ven, and the whole of which is characterized as uncommonly woody [18]. Hence, and hence only, the name became applicable to such very different sites as the plains of Warwickshire and Flanders and the hills of Scotland. And hence the name became applied, not only to the most considerable forests, to that which was the greatest in Gaul, or to that which was so great in Britain, but to many that were considerable only within their own contracted districts, to the forest of Morven and to the wood of Mancenion. The latter must have parti-

cularly

cularly covered all the ſite of the preſent Mancheſter. And all along the preſent ſtreets, inſtead of the chearful voice of induſtry and the numerous retainers of commerce, muſt have then exiſted the gloom of foreſts and the ſilence of ſolitude. So circumſtanced muſt have then been the whole buſy circuit of the preſent town, the ſolitude and ſilence being never interrupted but by the numerous reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs in war, by the occaſional viſits of hunters in peace, and by the hollow hum the dying murmurs of the garriſon converſing at a diſtance in the Caſtle-field. And a mind tolerably romantic might long amuſe itſelf with the reflection, that the boar and the wolf, then (as will hereafter appear [19]) the inhabitants of this gloomy region, were for the moſt part the only proprietors of theſe ample confines, and that they ſlumbered perhaps in ſecurity by day on the well-wooded bank of the preſent church-yard, and roamed perhaps in companies by night over the well-wooded area of the preſent market-place [20].

[1] Caesar p. 34. Noſtrâ memoriâ, and Richard p. 50. and 42. See alſo b. I. ch. xii. ſect. 4.—[2] See b. I. ch. iv. ſect. 2.—[3] Richard p. 50. and Cæſar p. 88. See alſo b. I. ch. xii. ſect. 2.—[4] The ſides of the Caſtle-field and the Roman fort do not quadrate exactly with the four cardinal points. But clearneſs and brevity oblige me to ſpeak as if they did.—[5] Horſeley p. 109 and 131.—[6] Cæſar p. 89. Oppidum Caſſivellauni—ſylvis paludibuſque munitum. And this lately continued ſo bad a moraſs, that even in the dry ſummer of 1765 horſes ſunk up to the belly in it.—[7] B. I. ch. ii. ſect. 3.—[8] Cæſar p. 92. Oppidum Caſſivellauni,——quò ſatis magnus hominum pecoriſque numerus convenerit.—[9] Mona p. 89; Strabo of the Gallic houſes p. 301; Cæſar, Edificia ferè Gallis conſimilia (p. 88); Man-cenion literally the place of ſkins; and Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[10] And the Germans in general were equally ignorant of lime: Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos uſus (Tacitus De Mor. German. c. xvi.)—[11] Gale's Eſſay on the four great roads in Leland's Itin.—[12] Cæſar p. 92. Oppi-

 dum

dum Britanni vocant quum ſylvas impeditas vallo atque foſsâ munierunt. P. 87. The Britons ſe in ſylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum.— [13] B. I. ch. x. ſect. 3. — [14] Cæſar p. 84. and 126, Tacitus Ann. lib. iii. c. 42, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 38 &c. — [15] Baxter's Gloſſar. See alſo Camden p. 426. edit. 1607. — [16] Dictionaire Celtique tom. I. p. 281 and 293. — [17] So Ruthven is pronounced Ruthen at preſent.— [18] Oſſian vol. I. p. 32, 39, and 97. Hence the great wood to the weſt of the Severn is ſtill denominated Dean or The Foreſt. — [19] B. I. ch. x. p. 3.

[20] ——— Paſſimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis. Æneid. lib. viii.

IV.

THIS muſt have been the ſtate of the Britiſh Mancenion in the Caſtle-field, this muſt have been the condition of all the extended country around it, when the Romans firſt advanced into Lancaſhire. And the former had been now conſtructed a little more than a century. In the regular progreſs of their arms from the ſouth, the Romans attacked the powerful and numerous tribe of the Brigantes in the year 72 or 73. This attack was made under the command of Cerealis, but was confined by him to the proper Brigantes, the inhabitants of Yorkſhire and Durham. In conſequence of it, and after ſeveral bloody engagements, equality of valour gave way to ſuperiority of diſcipline, and the proper Brigantes reluctantly ſubmitted [1]. Thus were the Siſtuntii of Lancaſhire and their northern allies accidentally freed by the Romans from the dominion of the Brigantes. But weakened as perhaps they ſtill were by their ſtruggle with that warlike tribe, and conſcious of their inability to make an effectual oppoſition to the ſubduers of their conquerors, they muſt every moment have expected and dreaded an invaſion from the Romans. And in this ſtate of impotence and fear they continued to the year 79 [2]; when one of the ableſt officers in the

Roman Annals, Julius Agricola, entered their country at the head of a powerful army.

The only Britons that now remained unconquered by the Romans, within the present kingdom of England, were such of the Carnabii as inhabited Cheshire, the Sistuntii and the Volantii, and a part of the Gadeni and Otadini beyond both. These therefore, the three first of these at least, must necessarily have been the nations which Agricola attacked in his second campaign, and the names of which his historian most unaccountably suppresses.

As Agricola led his troops directly from the Ordovices of North-Wales, he must previously have subdued the Carnabii of Cheshire; and have invaded Lancashire from the south. Victorious over the Ordovices and the Carnabii, early in the summer of 79 did he lead his troops to the conquest of Lancashire. And he would naturally direct his march in two divisions, and enter the country in two places at once. The main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington, defeated the resisting Carnabii of the north-western marshes, and attacked the very defensible fortress of Veratinum [3]. And a considerable party was most probably detached from the army at the same instant, crossed the Mersey at the indefensible pass of Stretford, marched along the fields of Trafford and the margin of the Irwell, and advanced up to the fortress of Mancenion [4].

In this exigence, the conduct of the Sistuntii and their allies was very different from the behaviour of the Brigantes. They wisely resolved to hazard no encounter with the Romans in the open field. They confined themselves within their woods, ever hovering upon the skirts of the Roman army, and ready to seize every opportunity of attacking it in the many defiles of their forests and morasses and in the many passages over their æstuaries and rivers. But their wisdom was ineffectual to save them. In the long march which Agricola made through the extent of their country, he did not afford them a single opportunity of attacking him to advantage. His smaller detachments constantly scoured the woods and morasses that flanked the army on its march,

march, and perpetually attacked the numerous parties of the enemy that were lurking in them; while the larger detachments or the main body pushed into the inmost recesses of their forests, stormed their fortifications, and sacked their cities [4]. Of these the city of Mancenion from its southerly position must have been very early exposed to the fury of the Romans. And in vain did it present to their arms the steep and scarped mound of its rivulet, the rising eminence of its bank, and the broad extent of its deep ditch. Terrified by the vigour with which Agricola pursued the war, and allured by the kind offers which he made them of peace, the Sistuntii and their northern neighbours submitted, and gave up some of their chieftains as hostages [5].

[1] Tacitus Vit. Agric. c. xvii. Magnam Brigantum partem aut victoriâ amplexus aut bello. In this author, who wrote only a little while before Ptolemy, Magna Brigantum pars must refer to the whole of the proper Brigantes, who are mentioned only as a part in relation to the western or subject Brigantes.— [2] See Horseley p. 47.— [3] See b. I. ch. v. sect. 4.— [4] Tacitus Vit. Agricolæ c. xx. Loca castris *ipse* capere, æstuaria ac sylvas *ipse* prætentare, et nihil *interim* apud hostes quietum pati quò minùs subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. The word interim opposed to ipse plainly implies some operations distinct from those of the main army; as the clause, Nihil apud hostes quietum pati quò minùs subitis excursibus popularetur, represents the Sistuntii to have confined themselves to the woods and morasses, and to have been there attacked by Agricola's detachments. And the word æstuaria connected with ipse plainly shews the operations of the main army to have been directed along the coasts.— [5] Tacitus c. xx. Ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant datis obsidibus iram posuêre.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

I.

THE Sistuntii of Lancashire being subdued in the summer of 79, Agricola immediately resolved to establish forts and to plant garrisons in several parts of their country [1]. He accordingly established the forts Ad Alaunam and Bremetonacæ in the north; Portus Sistuntiorum in the west, Rerigonium and Coccium about the center, Colanea on the east, and Veratinum and Mancunium on the south. Some fortresses were absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the Roman conquests in the county, and must always have been regularly erected by the Romans as they extended their conquests. Six of these in particular are mentioned by the earliest accounts which we have of the Roman stations in Lancashire, and five of them by one account that was drawn up about sixty years only after the reduction of it [2]. Having been five of them originally British fortresses, they were now changed into stationary camps. And small garrisons, consisting principally of the infirm and the raw soldiers [3], were lodged in them, while Agricola with the rest attacked the more northerly Britons in the following summer.

In the selection of sites for their stationary camps, the Romans generally pitched upon such as had previously been the sites of British fortresses. The fact is abundantly shewn by the British names of the stations in the Roman Itineraries, near three-fourths of the stations bearing British names, and thereby evincing themselves to be erected upon the sites of British fortresses. The latter were generally planted upon such ground as an intimate knowledge of the country recommended, and such therefore as the policy of the Romans could not but approve. The latter I have previously shewn to have been generally planted upon such ground as the British Mancenion naturally afforded, and the woody condition of Britain particularly required; such as by its

its poſition on the northern bank of a river, and by its gentle declivity to the ſouth or its collateral points, would give the Romans the whole undiminiſhed reflected warmth of our Britiſh ſuns[4].

On theſe united reaſons Agricola muſt have firſt lodged a garriſon in Mancenion, in order to ſecure the new-taken fortreſs and to awe the neighbouring Britons from it, while he advanced into the center of the county with the reſt of his forces. On theſe united reaſons Agricola muſt have afterwards commanded a regular ſtation to be conſtructed upon the Britiſh Mancenion, when the ſucceſsful campaign was terminated, and the Siſtuntii and their allies ſubdued.

The Roman garriſon of Mancenion muſt have begun the conſtruction of their ſtation in the autumn of 79. The compaſs of the intended fort being marked out by the metator, the ſoldiers allotted to the buſineſs muſt have left their ſhields and their knapſacks in the center of the area and in circles about their reſpective ſtandards, and have repaired in centuries to the poſts which the præfectus aſſigned. And the reſt of the garriſon muſt have been ſtationed at the extremities of the field, to defend the labourers and themſelves[5].

Adopting the Britiſh mode of building without the Britiſh neceſſity for it, the Romans founded their vallum as the Britons had previouſly founded their hovels, upon paving-ſtones bedded in the primitive cement of clay. This I diſcerned on making inciſions into the ſtationary wall in two different parts of it. I cut down the wall from the ſurface to the center and from the center to the baſe, in order to ſee the curious conſtruction of it within and below; and I found all the lime-laid parts of the wall in both riſing from two courſes of paving-ſtones cemented with clay. And the ſame extraordinary proceſs in building has been diſcovered in other walls of the Romans: At the Roman town of Boroughfield on the Foſſe in Leiceſterſhire, have been diſcovered the foundations of walls that were ſtones ſet edgewiſe in clay, and that had had a ſtructure of lime-mortar upon them. At the Roman ſtation of Aldborough in Yorkſhire, the walls of

the town appear to have been built upon layers of large pebbles laid upon a bed of blue clay four or five yards in depth [6]. And the same sort of foundations remained very common in the kingdom for many centuries afterward, the old steeple of the church at Prees in Shropshire being very lately found to be reared upon a course of boulders and clay immediately above the natural rock. But the wall of the Roman Mancunium was not founded uniformly upon the same sort of clayey cement. The foundation of the western vallum was laid on two beds of blue well-worked clay, the lower being nearly a foot in depth and remarkably stiff and solid. But the foundation of the southern was laid in two courses, not of actual clay, but of clay-mortar, clay and sand incorporated together, and both lying upon a deep bed of fine river-sand that still retained a little of its original moisture. And as clay-mortar actually remained in use among us at Manchester within these thirty or forty years, so the neighbouring church of Preston was discovered in 1769 to have been constructed upon a layer of loose paving-stones laid in sand.

The old materials of the British banks the British cabins and the British hovels must have supplied the Romans sufficiently with stones. And with these they constructed the high strong wall of their castrum, heaping them together in a very irregular manner, and only sloping the face of the rampart a little. And as the wall was gradually raised from the breadth of seven or eight feet at the base, and was narrowed to one or two at the crest, they copiously poured their boiling mortar upon it. This from its fluidity insinuated itself into the many openings and hollows of the work, and from its strength bound all the irregular pieces of stone into a solid compacted wall. And the whole course of the vallum must have been gracefully terminated with the line of a platform within and with a coronet of battlements above [7].

In the formation of the Roman mortar, the sand appears to have been mingled with the lime unrefined by the sieve, and charged with all its loose gravel and large pebbles. Some of the mortar appeared actually on breaking to have been mingled with pounded brick, the small fragments of brick very prettily

F chequering

chequering the surface of the mortar and being thoroughly incorporated into the substance of it [s]. And the lime was not derived either from the hills of Buxton on one side or from the heights of Clitherow on the other, which have long supplied the present town with that necessary fossil. The Roman lime is essentially different from both in its colour, being of a much shadier and browner hue. Nor would the Romans have collected their lime at so great a distance from the station, when it might have been easily found in the neighbourhood of it. A long vein of limestone stretches regularly across one region of the parish, and along the confines of Bradford, Newton, Ardwick, and Manchester townships. There, in the township of Manchester, was it discovered many years ago, and the discovery was briskly pursued for a short period. And there, in the township of Ardwick, has it been again discovered within these four or five years; and the proprietor, Thomas Birch Esq; of Ardwick, actually obtained from it a block of stone so elegantly veined and so variously clouded, that he ordered it to be polished, and it now forms the curious chimney-piece of one of his bed-rooms. But for a long time dubious whether he should break it up for marble or for lime, he finally resolved upon the latter, and has strangely neglected it ever since. This quarry breaks out in many places near the Ancoats, many ledges of limestone going athwart the channel of the Medlock, and various fragments being occasionally loosened from them by the force of the current. The fragments appeared lately very numerous in the channel. The fragments, upon any long intermission in the gathering of them, would appear very numerous again. They must therefore have been particularly frequent at the construction of the Roman station, and must many of them have lodged in the channel at the foot of the Castle-field. And, in their necessary enquiries after veins of limestone, the Romans would speedily discern these brown and marbled fragments in the Medlock, and would find in them a supply of lime sufficient for all their uses and immediately adjoining to their station.

The

The whole figure of the castrum was an irregular parallelogram. The parallel sides were equally right lines and equally long. But the corners were rounded. The Romans particularly affected the parallelogram in the configuration of their camps. And they esteemed those as the most beautiful of the sort which were just by one third longer than they were broad[9]. But they seldom rounded the angles of such camps; and Ivelchester, Dorchester, Chesterford near Cambridge, Little Chester near Derby, and our own at Manchester are some of the few stations in the kingdom where they have[10]. The area of the Roman castrum was much smaller than the compass of the British town. And while the latter contained nearly thirteen acres of our statute-measure, the former included only about five acres and ten perches, or 24,500 square yards.

The eastern side, like the western, is one hundred and forty yards in length. And, for eighty yards from the northern termination, the nearly perpendicular vallum still carries a crest of six and seven feet in height. It is then lowered to form the great enterance, the porta prætoria of the castrum[11], the earth there rising in a ridge and sloping up to the crest of the bank about 10 yards in breadth. Then rising gradually as the ground falls away, it has a crest of ten feet in height for three or four yards at the south-eastern angle. And the whole range of this eastern vallum is fringed with a broken line of thorns above, shews the white mortar here and there peeping from under the green coat of turf, and near the south-eastern angle bellies forth with a thick buttress of earth continued for several yards along it.

The southern side, like the northern, is one hundred and seventy five yards in length. And the vallum sinks immediately from its height of ten feet at the eastern termination, successively declining till about fifty yards from the termination it is now reduced to the inconsiderable height of only two or three feet. And about sixty-seven yards from it there appears to have been a second gateway, the ground particularly sloping up to the crest of the bank for four or five yards at the point. The Roman castra had constantly about

 the

the age of Agricola a gateway on the south and north as well as on the east and west [1c]. And such a gateway was particularly requisite in this castrum, in order to afford a ready passage from the station to the river, and the only one that could be secure in a siege. But about fifty-five yards from the south-western angle, the ground betwixt the station and the river falling briskly away to the west, the vallum, which continues in a right line along the ridge, necessarily rises, till it has a sharp slope of twenty yards in height at the angle. And the whole range of the southern vallum appears half-fronted half-crested at first with a broken hedge of thorns, a slender oakling rising from the ridge of the wall, and rearing its little head considerably over the rest, and runs afterwards in a smooth line nearly level for several yards with the ground about it, and just perceptible to the eye in a small rounded eminence of turf.

At the south-western point of the castrum the ground slopes away on the west towards the south as well as on the south towards the west. And the western side still runs from it nearly as it ran at first, having an even crest about seven feet in height, an even slope of turf for its whole extent, and the wall in all its original condition beneath. About forty yards from the north-western angle was the Porta Decumana of the station, the ground visibly sloping up the ascent of the wall in a large shelve of gravel, and running in a slight perceivable ridge from it. And beyond a level of forty-five yards, that still stretches on for the whole length of the side, it was bounded by the western boundary of the British city, the sharp slope of fifty yards to the morass below it.

On the northern side are several chasms in the original course of the vallum. And in one of them, about forty-eight yards from the eastern termination, must have been another gateway opening into the station directly from the great road to Ribchester. The remaining parts of the wall still rise five, six, and four feet in height, lined all the way with a thick uninterrupted hedge of thorns above, and exhibiting a broken chequered scenery to the eye below. Various parts of the rampart have been

been fleeced of their facing of turf and ſtone,[a] and now ſhew plainly the internal ſtructure of the wall; preſenting to the eye the rough undreſſed ſtones of the quarry, the angular pieces of rock, and the ſmooth round flints of the river, all bedded in the ſtrong mortar, and united by it into one. And the white brown patches of lime and mortar ſtand ſtrikingly contraſted, on a general view of the wall, with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line of the rampart, and with the green moſs that half ſkins over and half reveals the projecting points of the vallum.

The great ditch of the Britiſh city the Romans preſerved along the courſe of their northern wall, for ſeveral yards beyond the eaſtern end of it, and for the whole beyond the weſtern. They preſerved it for more than thirty yards beyond the eaſtern end of their wall, and, as the preſent appearances of the ground fully teſtify, terminated it by an high bank, which was raiſed upon the courſe of the ditch, and which was ſloped away into the former part of it.

The conſtruction of the Roman caſtrum upon a ſmaller ſcale than that of the Britiſh town occaſioned the former to recede from the eaſtern and weſtern barriers of the latter. The garriſon therefore carried on a new ditch from the north-weſtern and north-eaſtern angles of their vallum in order to ſecure both. And, as the ſoldiers proceeded in the work, the centurions appointed to ſuperintend it muſt have regularly examined the line of the ditch, and carefully meaſured the depth of the channel, with their ten-feet rods [13]. The north-weſtern ditch was made to ſlope away north and ſouth, becauſe the Britiſh bank and the moraſs below it were a ſufficient defence on the weſt. But the north-eaſtern, having no ſuch defence of a bank and a moraſs before it, was ſloped away eaſt and weſt, and for the ſame reaſon was ſunk to a much greater depth than the other. This ſinks about five feet in depth, and That only about two and a half. Both however were carried on along a part only of their reſpective ſides. The north-weſtern return was continued only about thirty-five yards in breadth, and filled up in length the whole ſpace between the Roman rampart and the Britiſh bank.

And

And the north-eastern was extended as many yards in breadth and about seventy-five in length, even up to the great road of enterance into the station.

[1] Tacitus c. xx. Civitates—præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ. Here the word Circumdatæ plainly shews the common opinion to be false, which fixes the generality of these forts along the line of Hadrian's future wall.—[2] See b. I. ch. iii. sect. 1. &c.—[3] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 3. edit. 1670. Vessaliæ Clivorum in 2 V. [4] Horseley p. 109. But this was not (as Horseley supposes it to be) peculiar to the Romans as natives of Italy. More than half of the Romans in the island were natives of colder countries than Italy, as the Gauls the Batavians the Frieslanders &c. &c. (See Horseley's inscriptions). And the human constitution, as such, must have naturally affected a southerly position in the cold bleak and wooded state of our island at that period.—[5] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. and Cæsar p. 90.—[6] Itin. Cur. p. 100. and Camden c. 875. —[7] Vegetius lib. iii.. c. 8. Super quem ad similitudinem muri et pinnæ et propugnacula componuntur.—[8] See also Camden p. 624. for cæmentum lateritiis frustulis intritum at Ambleside, and see Itin. Curios. p. 96. for the other.—[9] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. —[10] Plates in Itin. Cur. See also Horseley p. 145. and Phil. Trans. 1759. p. 13, &c.—[11] Vegetius lib. i. c. 23.—[12] Grævius tom. x. c. 944.—[13] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.

II.

THE new-erected fort in the Castle-field now became a stationary castrum of the Romans, and the Romans now settled a garrison within it. The new-erected fort in the Castle-field still retained the name of the antient fortress upon it, and Mancenion was only changed into Mancunium [1]. And this small change in the appellation must obviously have resulted from a particularity in the pronunciation of the name among the Britons, as the name of the town upon the river Kennet was similarly

5 changed

changed into Cunetio by the Romans, and as the Kennet itself is still popularly denominated the Kunnet among the inhabitants of the neighbouring region [2].

The garrison appears to have once consisted, and we may therefore reasonably presume it to have ordinarily consisted, of a single cohort. Amid the period of uninterrupted peace which the Romans of Mancunium enjoyed to the time of their departure, there must always have been the same reason for keeping the same number of troops in the garrison. And in the Notitia we find seventeen different cohorts forming seventeen different garrisons in the kingdom.

The cohort which was stationed at Mancunium was Cohors Prima Frisinorum, an auxiliary cohort belonging to some legion, and the first which had been raised among the natives of Friesland. This cohort appears from an inscription which was discovered in the Castle-field [3] to have been in garrison there. This cohort therefore we may reasonably presume to have resided there, as it certainly continued in the island [4], even to the final departure of the Romans from the station. The Romans seldom shifted the quarters of their troops within the island, as is clear to a demonstration from the history of the twentieth and the sixth legions and the first wing of the Asti. The first of these appears to have garrisoned Deva for nearly two centuries successively. And the two last appear to have resided at Eburacum and Condercum for nearly three [5].

The auxiliaries of a legion consisted both of infantry and of cavalry. The cavalry of the auxiliaries, which was double in number to the cavalry of the legion, was thrown into independent troops of four or five hundred men. The infantry of the auxiliaries was exactly the same in number with the infantry of the legion [6], and like it was divided into several cohorts. But the cohorts of the legion were ten in number [7], and the cohorts of the auxiliaries only eight. The eight cohorts of the Batavi are expressly mentioned by Tacitus as the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion [8]. And, upon a subject so minute in itself and so little explained by the Romans, such a

mention,

mention, unopposed by any other evidence, must carry a decisive authority with it. And none of these eight cohorts was distinguished from the rest, as one of the legionaries constantly was, by the title of primary and a double complement of men. Each was distinguished only by the name of the people of whom it consisted, and by the order of succession in which it had been raised among them. Each must have contained nearly the same complement of men. And as the whole amount of the ten legionaries in infantry during the second, third, and fourth centuries was exactly six thousand one hundred men [9], and the amount of the eight annexed auxiliaries was exactly the same, each cohort of the latter must have had seven hundred and sixty-two men. If therefore the first-raised cohort of the Frisians had, as we have every reason to suppose that every corps of Romans in the island ordinarily had [10], its entire complement of men, the garrison of Mancunium must have ordinarily consisted of seven hundred and sixty-two foot-soldiers. But since about three hundred and fifty of these must have been regularly absent from the station, and have been fixed upon duty at some distance from it, as I shall shew hereafter [11], the real garrison could have been only about four hundred men. And eight men out of every century in it, thirty-two in all, must have continued upon guard in the Castle-field from six in the evening to six in the morning; being fixed at their posts within the castrum by the sound of the trumpet, being relieved every third hour by the sound of the horn, and being kept alert at their posts by the appointed walkers of the rounds [12].

The whole compass of the area within must have been filled with cabins constructed of timber upon foundations of stone, and roofed with tiles shingles or straw [13]. The prætorium, or the pavilion of the commandant, must have been erected in a superiour style. The barracks of the rest must have been raised in regular lines on each side of it. And the several cabins of the centurions, and the standards of the centuries, must have risen regularly over the whole [14]. Each cabin of the soldiers was large enough to contain a band of eleven men, and eleven were quartered

tered in each, ten under the government of one, and the latter denominated the dean or the head of the band[15]. Each cabin must have been large enough to have contained more, as it is evident from several inscriptions, and as it would be evident without them, that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. And the number of cabins in Mancunium must have been about fifty or sixty in the whole, including the hospital for the sick, the workhouse of the armourers, the magazine for the corn, and the repository for arms. Formed by these, one principal street must have crossed the area obliquely from east to west, and another, a subordinate one, obliquely from north to south. The former must have begun at the prætorian gate, have led to the front of the prætorium, and have terminated obliquely behind it at the decuman gate. The latter must have commenced at the water-gate, and have stretched away to the gate which opened into the road for Ribchester. And both these ways must have been particularly narrow. Such actually was the way which Mr. Horseley measured exactly from one range of structures to another, betwixt the very visible foundations of the barracks at the station of Amboglanna or Burdoswald in Cumberland. The outer walls of the barracks were absolutely twenty-eight inches in thickness. And the clear opening between them was only thirty-two in width[16].

[1] The name is differently read in Antoninus. Some MSS exhibit Mamucium, some Manucium, and others Mancunium; and the agreement of Richard (see b. I. ch. iii. f. 1.) with the MS. that presents the last reading shews Mancunium to be indisputably the right appellation.—[2] Itin. Curios. p. 60.—[3] See f. 3.—[4] See b. I. ch. xii. f. 5.—[5] Cheshire No. 3. in Horseley, and Antonine's Iter 2.; Ptolemy and Notitia for York; and Horseley p. 211. and Notitia. See also ch. vi. f. 4. and ch. xii. f. 5. b. I.—[6] Horseley p. 87.—[7] Vegetius l. II. c. vi. and vii. where he speaks expressly of the Ordinatio Legionis Antiquæ.—[8] Hist.

 lib. I.

lib. I. c. 59.—[9] Vegetius l. II. c. vi. and vii.—[10] See b. I. ch. vi. sect. 4.—[11] B. I. ch. vi. s. 2.—[12] Vegetius lib. III. c. viii.—[13] Vegetius l. II. c. xxiii. and Tabernacula vel Casæ l. II. c. x. and Horseley p. 152.—[14] Vegetius l. II. c. xiii.—[15] Vegetius ib. See also Grævius tom x. c. mxxviii.—[16] Horseley p. 152.

III.

THE open ground of the Castle-field, which extended itself on three sides around the barriers of the Roman station, must have been applied to a great variety of purposes. Immediately without the vallum, and perhaps along the western level, must have been the stables of the officers and the slaughter-houses of the garrison [1]. And all around the vallum many of the Roman officers and soldiers appear to have been interred. In the beginning of the last century was discovered a stone, which was the sepulchral monument of one of the officers, Candidus Fidesius, a centurion of the garrison that died here in his 21st year [2]. It is delineated in the plate, and was inscribed

Dis Manibus	To the Shade
Centurionis Candidi Fidesii	Of the Centurion Candidus Fidesius
Annorum 20	Aged 20 years:
Mensium	..... months
Dierum 4.	And 4 days.

About seventeen years ago a labourer collecting gravel near the eastern boundary of the Field, and on the upper edge of the slope, found an urn strongly bedded in the gravel and containing a quantity of bones. This was composed of fine clay, was neatly glazed both within and without, and, under a slight molding which encompassed the upper part of it, had some unmeaning circles and some ill-wrought figures embossed upon it. It had no inscription. But from the appearance of the bones, which were extremely small and even as little as those of a chicken, the contents of the urn could never have belonged to any

any human being, and could have been the remains only of a favourite bird. And such remains have been equally found in an urn at a place which I shall hereafter shew to have been the antient Cambodunum of Yorkshire [3], the bones being extremely small and yet evidently entire. An urn so filled is a singular discovery in itself, and is almost the only one of the kind that has been made within the island. And such an act of regard to a little favourite was never perhaps very common among a people, whose general genius was too much steeled to all the finer feelings of humanity by the regular philosophy of a perverted patriotism, the regular practice of a relentless heroism, and the regular attendance upon sanguinary diversions [4].

In the spring of 1765 was found another sepulchral vessel at the same extremity of the Field, though on the lower part of the declivity, and among the artificial soil that had been heaped upon the perpendicular face of the natural ground. It was discovered about seven feet below the surface, at the bottom of a little hole, the diameter of which was little more than that of the vessel, and which had been filled up again with the shifted earth. There it rested on the rock, covered with a lid of the same and placed within two other vessels of much coarser materials, and containing a quantity of ashes. All were unwarily fractured before they were discerned, but nearly the whole of the former was preserved. This is a small urn, and not quite equal in capacity to a quart, containing only fifty-four solid inches and an half within. This must therefore have inclosed merely the ashes of a child. The above-mentioned circumstances of attentive care demonstrate the ashes to have been the child of a considerable officer in the garrison. And I have previously observed, that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. This sepulchral vessel however is not formed in the usual figure of an urn, but exactly on the model of a modern Bason. Urns of such a configuration are a little uncommon, but have been discovered at London, in Cornwall, and in other places. This is composed of very fine clay, and is similar to,

 but

but more brightly coloured than, the brown china of Staffordshire. This and the other urns we must obviously presume to have been fabricated where they were found, there being in all probability a pottery more or less considerable at every station. And our pottery at Mancunium, which might be supplied with proper clays from many places in the precincts of Manchester, seems plainly from this specimen of its skill to have been a very considerable one, and to have had very considerable artists engaged in it [5]. This coral-coloured vessel is ornamented with various figures and devices, all equally fanciful and unmeaning, and has the name of the maker embossed upon it. Upon the bellying part of the bowl, and just above the little circle on which it stands, is written in small Roman capitals ADVOCISI. And it is plainly the Romanized name of a foreigner, and pretty certainly the name of the Frisian master-potter to the Frisian garrison [6].

Other or the same parts of the ground were employed in the support of military discipline, by the erection of honorary monuments and the infliction of disgraceful punishments upon them. The infliction of punishments must have been confined to the ground which lies on the western side of the station, the military delinquents being conducted through the Porta Decumana of the camp, and punished immediately without the western vallum [7]. And at the execution of such punishments as were capital the musicians of the garrison assisted, and continued all the time sounding the charge of war [8]. But the erection of honorary monuments was probably confined to no part. Few probably were erected in any. And only one has been discovered. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, but was removed or destroyed before the middle of it [9]. The inscription however had been previously copied by the learned Warden of the Collegiate Church, and was inserted in the last edition of the Britannia as I have delineated it in the plate. This inscription obviously mentions the first cohort of the Frisians, and incontestably proves it to have been stationed in the Castle-field. This, the important part of the inscription, is

certain

certain. The rest is not so. The former part of it is thus read by Horseley, Cohors Prima Frisinorum, and thus by Ward, Cohortis Primæ Frisinorum; as the latter part is thus read by both, Centurioni Marco Savonio Stipendiorum 23[10]. But both are mistaken in part. Neither has remarked the very remarkable vacancy betwixt the letter P and the figures xxiii. There something has been evidently erased by time which must be supplied in the reading. And as that erazure cannot be supplied by the word Stipendiorum at large, because it is either expressed by the abbreviature SP or was not expressed at all, it must be supplied with some other word which will agree with the figures xxiii. The interposition of such a word betwixt the letters and the numerals must have entirely precluded any connection betwixt the one and the other. And the former can never be considered as the abbreviature of Stipendiorum at all. They can be considered only as the initial letters of two distinct words, and as put for Sepulchrum posuit. And both these words occur in inscriptions upon the sepulchral stones of the Romans among us[11]. Nor is the name of the centurion, as the above-mentioned criticks have given it, Marcus Savonius, but, as the inscription undeniably shews it to be, Marcus Savo. And the critick has surely no right to suppose a corruption when there is no reason to make a correction, or an abbreviation when there is no occasion for an addition. Thus stated, the former part of the inscription must be thus read, Cohors prima Frisinorum Centurioni Marco Savoni sepulchrum posuit, The first Cohort of the Frisini placed this sepulcher for Marcus Savo the Centurion: and the latter part must be thus supplied, Vixit annos 23, He lived 23 years. And, thus inscribed, the stone appears to have been neither a monument of honour to the living nor a cenotaph to the dead. It appears to have been an honorary monument erected over the grave of Marcus Savo, who was a young Frisian officer in the first Frisian cohort, and who died in his twenty-fourth year. And it appears to have been erected by the common act of the garrison, in an honourable regard to the memory of an hopeful though subordinate officer.

See

[1] See Patricius in Grævius tom. x.—[2] Britannia edit. 1607. p. 611.—[3] See b. I. ch. iv. sect. 1.—[4] Augustus raised a tomb over his horse, Pliny lib. viii. c. 42; and Hadrian buried his hunter Borysthenes, Dio p. 1159. See also an account of a tomb with an inscription to a mule discovered at Rome, in Montfaucon's Italian Diary p. 83. Henley's 2d edit. And see an inscription taken from Fabretti to a Roman buried with his hunting-nets, hunting-spear, two dogs, a boar, a stag, and a wolf, in Horseley p. 340.—[5] See b. I. ch. ix. sect. 2.—[6] See also Wren's Parentalia p. 266.—Among many fragments of vessels that have been discovered upon the opposite bank of the river and on the site of Mr. Walford's house, was an unglazed fragment of a massy Amphora, having VABEO, the name of another potter, inscribed rudely upon its handle: and we have Phœbio upon a vessel at Rome in Montfaucon's Italian Diary p. 99. and Vibia on a sepulchal inscription in Horseley p. 328.—And within the circle on which the Mancunian vessel stands are some characters rudely scratched with a sharp tool, and seeming to form Avittii, perhaps the name of the person whose ashes the urn contained. And in Phil. Transf. 1759. p. 13. we have a tin Patera thus rudely inscribed with a tool. The vessel is preserved at the manour-house of Worseley.—[7] Vegetius lib. i. c. 23.—[8] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 22.—[9] Mr. Hollingworth's MS. in the publick library of Manchester p. 3, a rude Essay towards an History of the Town, and written about the year 1650.—[10] Horseley p. 301 and 351.—[11] See Sepulchrum in an inscription No. 8. Westmoreland, and Posuit and Ponendum curavit in p. 273, p. 303, p. 274, p. 322, and Oxfordshire, in Horseley.

IV.

The Roman garrison of Mancunium had undoubtedly some particular structure set apart for the periodical services of religion. This however must have been within the walls of the station, and merely a cabin of the same construction with the

Three Roman Inscriptions found at Manchester.

From Camden.

Ↄ CANDIDI.
FIDES. XX.
IIII.

The Bowl at Worsley.



By a Scale of three-fourths.

COHO.I.FRISIN
Ↄ MASAV·ON·IS
P. XXIII.

From Camden.

H Clarke delt. I Taylor sculp.

Inscribed to the Revd. Mr. Ashton, Fellow of Christ-College Manchester.

rest, but appropriated entirely to the offices of publick devotion. This must have been near to the great pavilion of the commander and the great standard of the garrison, the latter being always planted close to the former [1]. Near to both was regularly a temple or chapel in every station. And in it several altars were erected and religious rites performed [2].

But in every station private altars were occasionally raised as private gratitude for past or private supplication for future favours directed. These seem never to have been erected within the area of the station. There was never any room for such erections within. They were fixed without, and in such places as fancy or convenience recommended.

But of these, or of such as stood within the temple, only one has been discovered at Mancunium [3]. And that has a curious inscription upon the plane of it, which may be seen in the annexed plate. It was erected, as the inscription witnesses, by Lucius Senecianius Martius, a centurion of the sixth legion, and of that particular brigade in it which for its gallantry was surnamed the Victorious, which passed over from Germany to Britain about the year 120 [4], and which marched into Scotland before 140 [5].

The route which this legionary brigade must necessarily have taken into Scotland from the south was either by London to Lincoln York and Binchester on the east, or by London to Litchfield Manchester and Penrith on the west. These were the only roads which the Romans then had into the north [6]. And by these the legionaries must have marched in several divisions. The garrisons of the larger stations must otherwise have been distressed, and the garrisons of the smaller must have been rendered utterly unable, to afford them the requisite quarters. And while one of the divisions perhaps halted at Mancunium, a centurion of the corps took the opportunity of erecting this altar.

Such I apprehend to be actually the date of the altar, more antient perhaps than any other altar, more antient almost than any other monument, in the whole compass of Roman Britain. And to so high a date every circumstance in the inscription per-

fectly

fectly accords, the ſtructure of the letters in general, the punctuation and complication of ſome of them, and the centurial mark in the middle. The letters are well-cut and well-rounded, and better in both reſpects than the generality of the characters in the inſcriptions of Antoninus Pius [7]. I mention not the inſcriptions of Hadrian or any preceding Emperor, becauſe the only two that are certainly coeval with Hadrian, and the only three that are certainly previous to him, have been all ſo inaccurately copied, that we cannot judge concerning the ſtructure of their characters at all. The points alſo, being merely the round dots or periods, certainly beſpeak an higher antiquity than the angular triangular and leaf-like points of Antoninus's inſcriptions; as the uſe of the periods only in the former has certainly more the caſt of antiquity, than the mixture of all four in the latter [8]. And the complications for UN in the firſt line and for VA in the ſecond are certainly as little involved and modern as thoſe for NT for DR and for IO in the inſcriptions of Antoninus [9].

The centurial mark indeed may ſeem by its uncommon form to fix a late date to our inſcription. So thought at leaſt a conſiderable critick in antiquities [10]. But ſo he thought for want of ſufficient attention. The centurial mark muſt have been originally CENT, CEN, or CE; and the letters of the laſt were often inverted to diſtinguiſh it from the ſignatures of prefix names. The centurial mark therefore thus inverted became ƎƆ, and the moment that complications began was formed into a common character that partook equally of both, the very character which appears upon the Mancunian altar. This is certainly older, becauſe it is certainly nearer to the original mark, than > the centurial mark of Antoninus [11]. This occurs not upon any other inſcription within the iſland, but occurs with ſome little variation upon many on the continent [12]. Within the iſland we have no inſcriptions, except the ill-copied five which I have previouſly mentioned, that carry any higher date than the reign of Antoninus. And if this centurial mark had been the invention of a later age, it muſt neceſſarily

cessarily have appeared upon some of the many inscriptions that we have of those ages.

Erected then about the year 120, this altar was consecrated by the centurion to Fortune, in grateful acknowledgement to the Divinity that had so often preserved him in the hour of danger. To this Deity have several altars been erected in Britain by the hand of mistaken piety. We have three consecrated to Fortune alone, a fourth to Fortune and other Deities, and a fifth to the Fortune of the Emperor, and all five in supplication of future favours. And we have three others erected in gratitude for past, the Mancunian altar, and one which was discovered about thirty years ago at Netherby in Scotland, being inscribed to Fortune the Preserver, and another which was discovered in Cumberland being inscribed to Fortune the Redux or Re-conductor [13]. And it is a very remarkable particular, that four of these were erected by persons who were or had been of the same corps, and even of this the sixth legion, the above-mentioned altar at Manchester, another lately discovered at Cambodunum [14], a third erected by Julius Ralticus, and a fourth by Audacius Romanus; and that the two first and the last of these were erected by centurions of that legion [15].

But it is more observable in this altar, though it has never been observed by any of the numerous descanters upon it, that it has no focus for the sacrificial fire. It is evident therefore, that no victims were designed to be consumed, no libations to be poured, and no incense to be burnt upon it. Two others only of the same nature have been discovered within the island, the one dedicated to Jupiter and the Emperor at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and the other, like this, to the Goddess Fortune at Carrawbrugh in Cumberland [16]. And all these three must have been entirely appropriated either to the oblation of prayers from them, or to the presentment of the fruits of the ground upon them, or to both.

Erected upon one of these designs, the Manchester altar seems to have stood near the eastern extremity of the Castle-field, and perhaps on the edge of the avenue that led up to the eastern

 gate

gate of the camp. Thence certainly it had been thrown down the rocky bank of the river into the channel below. Luckily it fell into a soft part of the channel, and was not broken by the fall. And there it lay undisturbed and unknown for many ages, the lettered side lying upon the ground, and an oak spreading out its roots above it. In that situation was it found in the year 1612 [17]. The stone is twenty-seven inches and a quarter in length, fifteen and a quarter in breadth, and nearly eleven in thickness; and, what is a full argument of the haste with which it was originally formed, and remarkably coincides with the supposition concerning its date before, it has neither capital nor base, and only a large plane in front bordered on either side by a molding. It is charged with a common præfericulum on the left edge and with a common patera on the right. And it is now carefully preserved by the worthy and learned George Lloyd Esq; in the neighbouring hall of Hulme.

[1] Grævius tom. x. c. 1044. compared with Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—[2] Grævius c. 1044.—[3] Dr. Stukeley has converted this altar into two, Itin. Cur. p. 55.—[4] Gale's Antonine p. 47.—[5] Horseley Scotland No. 4. and p. 79.—[6] See b. I. ch. v. sect. 4. [7] Horseley Scotland Fig. 1, 3, 16, 25, and 26.—[8] Horseley Scotland Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—[9] Horseley Scotland Fig. 2 and 25. and Northumberland Fig. 7. See also the Imperial Inscriptions in Gruter and Reinesius.—[10] Horseley p. 189. and plate No. 1. p. 189.—[11] See Horseley Northumberland No. 71.—[12] See Ursatus, where it also appears in its natural position.—[13] Phil. Transf. 1763. p. 134. and Horseley Northumberland Fig. 52. p. 240, and Cumberland Fig. 68. See also a bath or an altar in it dedicated to Fortune in Yorkshire (Horseley Fig. 1. and p. 352).—[14] See b. I. ch. iv. sect. 3.—[15] Horseley Northumberland Fig. 55 and 78.—[16] Horseley Northumberland Fig. 32, p. 218, and Oxfordshire Fig. 1. p. 537.—[17] See Mr. Hollingworth's MS. p. 3.

V. MANY

V.

MANY coins have been occasionally discovered about the station in the last and present century, and many have been lately found in the precincts of the town. But none of the pieces were uncommon. And one of them was of that species of brass coins or medals which have C. CAESAR DICTATOR upon one side and VENI VIDI VICI within a laurel wreath upon the other, the well-known forgery of modern craft, and the mintage of the famous Paduan.—A large Roman ring of gold has also been discovered at the station '.—And about fifty years ago was thrown up by the plough a large sword of iron in very good conservation, as it is delineated in the annexed plan, and five feet five inches and a quarter in length. The handle is eighteen inches and a quarter in length and four inches and a quarter in circumference, lined all round with some soft pieces of wood, and covered over with leather above; is terminated by a large round ball of iron, about a pound in weight, at one extremity; and is crossed by an iron guard, twenty inches and a quarter in length, at the other. The blade, which is forty-seven inches in length, carries a double edge, is nearly two inches in breadth at the guard, and tapers gently away to a sharp point. And the whole weapon, lighter than the stone-made Celt described before, and equally with the Celt designed to be wielded by both hands together, is seven pounds and eleven ounces in weight. The curiosity is undoubtedly Roman, is very like the sword that is described upon a Roman monument discovered in London and reposited at Oxford, and is now in the possession of Thomas Birch Esq, of Ardwick '.

But while the whole area of the Castle-field was thus applied to a variety of uses, the low level of the ground which is di-

rectly to the west of it must have been employed as a pasture by the garrison. Lying along the fertilizing currents of the Medlock and the Irwell, and just under the high bank of the station, it must have afforded them an excellent pasture. Such they must necessarily have wanted in the immediate vicinity of the Castle-field. Such therefore they must have readily embraced in this, and have constantly turned the live-stock of the garrison into it. Bounded by the two streams on two sides and an half, and terminated by the stationary morass and an hedge on the rest, it must have contained an ample extent of ground and sufficient for the use of the garrison. And there the cattle of the Romans must have continued in safety, ranging along the fruitful level of the well-watered peninsula, and feeding under the immediate eye of the garrison; a ready supply for the consumption of every day, and constantly recruited by other supplies from the more distant parts of the country [3].

[1] Itin. Curios. p. 55.—[2] A Roman sword was also dug up a few years ago at Badbury in Dorsetshire (Camden c. 63).—[3] See B. I. ch. vi. sect. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I.

THE only accounts that had descended to us concerning the Roman stations and the Roman roads within the island in the year 1757 were the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Imperial Notitia, and the Anonymous Chorography. But in that year the science of Roman antiquities received an extraordinary illumination from the discovery of a work, which contains a very curious account of Roman Britain, and exhibits to us a new Itinerary for the whole of it. And, what infinitely enhances the value of the work to a Roman-British antiquarian, the Itinerary is more antient than that of Antonine, is more extensive in its design, and is more circumstantial in its execution.

This appears to have been the surprising collection of a monk in the fourteenth century, who, having the spirit to travel, had the good fortune to meet with and the good sense to preserve these invaluable remains. But in an age when general curiosity was little awake and antiquarian curiosity had slumbered on for ages, being perhaps originally confined within a few MSS, those being most probably reduced to one, and that transported out of the kingdom, to which alone it had any relation; the work was in the most imminent danger of perishing for ever. In this state Mr. Bertram an English gentleman discovered it at Copenhagen in 1747, and immediately acquainted Dr. Stukeley with the discovery. Struck with the nature of the work, a copy of which had been transmitted to him, and with a copy of the hand-writing, which Casley the Keeper of the Cottonian Library pronounced to be of the fourteenth century, the Doctor sollicited and Mr. Bertram made a publication of it. In 1757 Dr. Stukeley published a translation of the Itinerary with a comment in quarto from the transcript. And in the beginning of the subsequent year

year the whole was printed at Copenhagen from the original MS, and a few copies of the work were immediately ſent as preſents into England *.

The collector was Richard, a native of Cirenceſter but a monk of Weſtminſter, and the author of many other hiſtorical and theological pieces. That the work is genuine, needs no proof. All the embodied antiquarians of the fourteenth and the three ſucceeding centuries could not have forged ſo learned a detail of Roman antiquities.

Whence Richard collected it, we know not; or whether he found his authorities in England or at Rome, to which latter place he had a ſpecial licence to travel *. He has thought proper to ſay nothing of either. He only refers, and he refers frequently, to his vouchers, to Ptolemy and his cotemporary writers, the tradition of the druids, antient monuments, documents, and hiſtories *. And the Itinerary in particular he declares himſelf to have collected from ſome remains of records which had been drawn up by the authority of a certain Roman general, and had been left by him for the uſe of ſucceeding ages *.

The date of theſe records muſt be the date of Richard's Itinerary. Dr. Stukeley carries the æra of both to the period of Agricola's command in the iſland, whom he ſuppoſes to be the Roman officer here ſpoken of, and to whoſe time he thinks the general aſpect of the Itinerary to look *. But theſe are ſurely reaſons of too feeble a nature to ſupport ſo weighty a concluſion. And the many parts of the work, as many there are, which are certainly later than the age of Agricola, directly refute the ſuppoſition.

The eighteen Itinera which Richard has preſented to us all obviouſly unite to form an entire Itinerary. No ſingle part ſtands forth of a different texture from the reſt. One uniform

* The title of the book is Britannicarum Gentium Hiſtoriæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres, Ricardus Corinenſis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorenſis; and at the cloſe it is ſaid to be printed Hauniæ, Typis Ludolphi Henrici Lillie, Anno ſalutis 1758, Menſe Januario: and Dr. Stukeley's Tranſlation and Comment was printed for C. Corbet in Fleet-ſtreet, 1757. One copy was ſent to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

colour

colour plainly tinctures over the whole. And the whole Itinerary plainly refers itself to one period [5]. It was certainly composed after the wall of Hadrian, and even after the vallum of Antoninus, were erected, because it expressly mentions both [6]. This necessarily reduces the date of the Itinerary below the year 138, the first of Antoninus's reign. It was certainly composed when the Romans retained their stations on Antoninus's wall, when they retained their stations beyond it, and when they had prosecuted their roads and their conquests along the eastern coast of the island as far as Inverness. Two of the eighteen Itinera traverse all the country betwixt Inverness and the friths. And as such a road could not have been prosecuted or such an Iter drawn up in the days of Agricola, who plainly advanced very little beyond the river Tay [7], so could neither have been done much later than the reign of Antoninus Pius. We have the positive authority of the same author, who speaks undoubtedly from records, and whose particular mention of the year is a full argument that he does, that in the year 170 the Romans deserted all the country which lay to the north of Antoninus's vallum [8].

This reasoning therefore confines the date of the Itinerary within a small circle of years. Drawn up certainly after the year 138, it was as certainly drawn up before the year 170. And this necessarily obliges us to assign the construction of the roads beyond the Tay, and the composure of an Itinerary for them, to the only one that could possibly execute either, Lollius Urbicus, the well-known governor of the island under Antoninus Pius. This officer, being sent into the island in 140 [9], immediately passed the former bounds of the empire, and invaded the country that lay to the north of the two friths. Betwixt the friths Agricola had formerly erected a line of forts [10]. These had not been destroyed; and Lollius immediately joined them together by a long vallum [11]. Agricola raised his prætentura of forts before he advanced beyond the Tay to the Grampian mountains [12]; and Lollius seems to have acted in the same manner. He seems to have erected his wall in the year 140 [13], and

and then to have extended his conquests beyond it. And these he appears to have prosecuted along the eastern coast of the island as far as Inverness.

History, or Time the destroyer of History, has been very unjust to the memory of this gallant officer, and has scarcely given us any intimation of his signal victories. But that Lollius gained considerable advantages over the northern Britons, is plainly evinced by the testimony of Richard, who expressly mentions the glories that he gained by his victories in Britain, and by the concurrent testimony of Capitolinus, who says that he conquered the Britons [14]. These victories also were esteemed so important and honourable by Antoninus, that he assumed the name of Britannicus upon his coins [15]. And that Lollius extended his conquests to Inverness, may be easily shewn. He only to the days of Ptolemy can be supposed to have passed the limits of Agricola's conquests, and to have fixed a garrison at Inverness. And he did it; a Roman station being actually there in the days of Ptolemy, and expressly mentioned by him under the name of Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον or the winged camp. That this is Inverness, the Geography of Ptolemy more darkly suggested [16], and the Itinerary of Richard most clearly evinces [17]. And here, as at the utmost boundary of the Roman empire and the most northerly point of accessible ground, Ptolemy or some of the Roman officers made the astronomical observation which he has given us in the second chapter of his eighth book.

To Lollius the Romans owed the subjection of most of the countries beyond the friths, and Ptolemy the opportunity of having an astronomical observation made at Inverness. To Lollius the Romans owed the continuation of their military roads from the former to the latter, and we the Itinerary which measures those roads and which Richard so happily preserved. And in this Itinerary Lollius has left an useful monument to posterity; useful to the memory of his own actions, which it has been the means of rescuing from oblivion and of which it will be now a perpetual record, and very useful to the antiquarian critick. The very discovery of a new Itinerary would have been of consider-

able

able importance to the science of antiquities, had it been of as late a date as Antonine's confessedly is, and even as much later as from the mention of Constantinople and Maximianople it actually appears to be [a]. The very discovery of a new Itinerary would have been of considerable importance to the science of antiquities, had it been even as short as Antonine's apparently is in its notices and as uncertain as that in its numerals. By the collation of one with the other, much that was wrong might have been rectified, and much that was doubtful might have been ascertained. But we have it with almost every possible advantage. The numerals are in general exact, the notices given in it are many and curious, and the date of it is equally certain and early. It was drawn up as early as the middle of the second century, in a period when we have scarce any informations concerning the island from the Roman historians, and when the Roman empire within it was in its greatest glory and at its farthest extent; when the Romans had two walls stretching across the island; when they possessed all the north of it to the two friths, and all the north-east up to Inverness; and when they had one great road that nearly traversed the whole island from Inverness to the Land's-end [19].

This Itinerary has thrown a particular lustre upon the Roman antiquities of Lancashire, and has acquainted us with one whole road, a part of another, and two or three stations, that we were ignorant of before. Under the guidance of this and the other Itinerary, and with the occasional assistance of Ptolemy the Notitia and Ravennas, I shall now endeavour to point out the sites of the Roman stations in general within the county, to describe such in particular, whether within or without the county, as were the first stages from Mancunium, and, only mentioning the roads that issue from the former, carefully trace through our own parish the roads that extend betwixt the latter [20].

[1] Stukeley's Comment p. 6.—[2] P. 3, 4, 18, 24, 28, 29, and 32.—[3] p. 35. Ex fragmentis quibusdam a duce quodam Romano consignatis et posteritati relictis.—[4] P. 12 and 71.—[5] The only dissonant

parts

parts are these, which sufficiently of themselves betray the interpolating hand of Richard: Iter 1, Verolamio municipio 12 [unde fuit Amphibalus et Albanus Martyres]; Iter 3, Camoloduno Colonia 9 [Ibi erat templum Claudii, Arx triumphalis, et imago victoriæ Deæ]; Iter 4, Eboraco Municip. [olim Colonia Sexta]; Iter 11, Isca Colonia 9 [unde fuit Aaron Martyr]; &c.— [6] See No. 1. Appendix 4, 9, and 10 Itinera. —[7] Tacitus Vit. Agric. c. 24, 29, and 38. —[8] P. 52; and see b. I. ch. xii. § 2. [9] Richard p. 52.—[10] Tacitus c. xxiii. —[11] Horseley p. 158.—[12] Tacitus c. xxiii and xxix.—[13] Horseley p. 203 and 52.—[14] Richard p. 52. and Hist. Aug. Scriptores p. 19., Paris 1620.—[15] P. 50 of Casaubon's remarks upon Capitolinus ibid.—[16] Horseley accordingly conjectured it to be a little to the north of Inverness.— [17] Iter 9 and 10.—[18] P. 9, a Constantinopoli usque &c. and p. 20. Bertius's edition. See a mistake therefore in Gale, Horseley, and others, who merely from the title of the work, and in direct contradiction to these passages, have supposed it to be written by one of the emperours that bore the name of Antoninus, and particularly under Caracalla, the last of them.— [19] In Richard is a Map of Britain drawn up by himself (as he says) secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum. This Mr. Bertram thinks superiour to all the rest of Richard's Commentary for the curiousness and antiquity of it (Preface). This is a great curiosity undoubtedly, being the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old map of Roman Britain. Maps of the island however were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some as recentiore ævo descriptas and generally known (p. 3). And this is but of little value. It frequently inaccurate. It frequently contradicts its own Itinerary. —[20] Richard also drew up an History of England under the title of Speculum Historiale de gestis regum Angliæ. The hope of meeting with discoveries as great in the Roman-British and in the Saxon history as he has given us concerning the preceding period induced me to examine the work. A MS. copy is preserved in the publick library at Cambridge, Ff. 1, 28, containing 516 pages. But my expectations were greatly disappointed.

 The

The learned scholar and the deep antiquarian I found sunk into an ignorant novice, sometimes the copier of Huntingdon, but generally the transcriber of Geoffrey. Deprived of his Roman aids, Richard shewed himself to be as ignorant and as injudicious as any of his illiterate cotemporaries about him.

II.

To delineate the British and Roman-British geography of the island, has frequently attracted the attention and frequently engaged the application of our antiquarians. But their attention and application have been hitherto exerted to little purpose. A cloud has settled deep and dark upon the general face of our island in those antient days. And the few scattered rays with which it has been hitherto enlightened have only served to make the darkness more visible to us. The Commentary of Richard however has now happily dispelled the thicker part of the gloom. The position of each British tribe, and the extent of each Roman-British province, may now be ascertained with sufficient precision. And the whole interiour disposition of Roman-Britain, before as well as after the conquest of the Romans, may now be sketched out with a pretty accurate hand. Some little darkness must always be expected to infold the antiquarian in his searches. And he must always oblige himself to the task of thinking over his work.

The Roman conquests within the island were divided in general into higher or western and into lower or eastern Britain, the one being separated from the other by a line that was carried through the length of the island. The Roman conquests in the island were divided in particular into the six provinces and distinguished by the six denominations of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, and Vespasiana. And a regular Itinerary, the first perhaps of Britain, appears to have been drawn up by Lollius for the whole.

* Britannia Prima comprehended all the country that lies to the south of the Thames and the Severn, and of a line drawn from Creeklade or its vicinity upon the one to Berkeley or its neighbourhood upon the other, included eleven nations of the Britons, and contained about thirty-six stations subject to Rutupæ or Richborough the provincial capital. The Cantii generally possessed the exact compass of the present Kent, being bounded by the Thames on the north [3] and the Lemanus or Rother on the west [4], and acknowledging Durovernum, Cantiopolis, or Canterbury for their capital; but once crossed the boundary of the Thames, and annexed London and all the southern regions of Middlesex to their dominions [5]. The Regni resided in Sussex and Surrey; and Regnum, Regentium, or Chichester must have been their metropolis [6]. Immediately to the north of these were the Bibroces or Rhemi; who originally occupied only the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, from the Lodden or its neighbourhood on the west to the current of the Thames on the east, and had Bibroicum, Bibracte, or Bray for their capital; but who afterwards subdued the Regni, and made Noviomagus, a town of the Regni in Surry, their metropolis [7]. Contiguous to these on the west were the Attrebates, spreading nearly over all the remainder of Berkshire; were bounded by the Lodden or its neghbourhood on the south-east, by the curving bank of the Thames on the north-west and west, and by the hills of East-Ilsley Lambourne and Ashbury or their vicinity on the south; and acknowledged Calleva or Wallingford for their chief city. The Segontiaci inhabited the little remainder of Berkshire and the adjoining north of Hampshire, the Cunetius or Kennet flowing through their dominions in the former, and their principal town being Vindomis Vindonum or Silchester, in the latter. The Proper Belgæ enjoyed the rest of Hampshire, held all Wiltshire except a small district upon the north-west, and had Winchester for their Venta or head-town. But the Proper Belgæ appear to have attacked the Segontiaci before the Roman arrival, and to have seized their dominions, all the possessions of the latter being pretty plainly attributed to the former by Ptolemy. The Durotriges

or

or Morini lived in Dorsetshire, and had Durinum, Durnovaria, or Dorchester for their capital. The Hædui filled all Somersetshire to the Æstuary Uxella, Bridgewater Bay, or the river Ivel on the south, the south-west of Gloucestershire to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge or its vicinity, and the north-west of Wiltshire to the Avon and to Creeklade [8]. These however appear evidently from Ptolemy to have been subdued by the Belgæ, their country being expresly ascribed to that people by Ptolemy [9]. The Cimbri extended over the rest of Somersetshire, except a small part to the east of the Thone [10], and along the north of Cornwall as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour [11]. The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west as far as Falmouth Haven [12]. And the Damnonii possessed originally the rest of Somersetshire [13], the rest of Cornwall, and all Devonshire. But before the coming of the Romans the Damnonii had subdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and had usurped their dominions [14].

[15] Britannia Secunda comprized all the country that lies beyond the Severn and the Dee, contained three tribes of the Britons, and reckoned about twenty stations under Isca or Caerleon its capital. The Silures inhabited originally the counties of Hereford Radnor [16] and Monmouth, and the small portion of Gloucestershire which is to the west of the Severne, and acknowledged Caer Gwent in Monmouthshire for their metropolis; but afterwards conquered both the Ordovices and the Dimetæ that bordered upon them. The Ordovices at the Roman invasion possessed all North-Wales, the counties of Montgomery Merioneth Caernarvon Denbigh and Flint, except a small part of the last county adjoining to Banchor and belonging to the Carnabii; but previously possessed some adjoining regions of Flavia which shall be specified hereafter [17]. And the Dimetæ inhabited all the rest of South-Wales, the counties of Cardigan Pembroke Caermarthen Glamorgan and Brecknock; and Muridunum or Caermarthen was their capital.

[18] Flavia, or (as it was first denominated) Cæsariensis [19], or (as it is therefore called in the Notitia) Flavia Cæsariensis, took in all

all the central regions of the island, was limited by the two other provinces on the south and west, and by the Humber the Don [20] and the Mersey on the north, and had about eight tribes and fifty stations within it. The Trinobantes resided in the counties of Middlesex and Essex, Londinium or London being their metropolis [21]. Beyond the Stour were planted the Iceni [22], consisting of two tribes. Of these the Cenomanni inhabited the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, perhaps the north of Bedfordshire to the Ouse on the south, certainly the south of Northamptonshire to the Nen on the north, and absolutely the whole of Huntingdonshire and Norfolk, being limited on the north by the Nen, and having Caster near Norwich for their Venta or first city. Of these the Coritanni occupied the remainder of Northamptonshire, all Leicestershire (except a narrow line of it on the west, which belonged to the Carnabii), the whole of Rutland Lincoln Nottingham and Derby counties, and the little portion of Yorkshire which is to the south of the Don [23], and acknowledged Ragæ or Leicester for their metropolis [24]. The Cassii were originally masters only of all Hertfordshire, all or the rest of Bedfordshire [25], and the adjoining parts of Buckinghamshire [26], having Verulam in all probability for their capital; but before the Roman arrival extended their dominions, seized the kingdom of the Trinobantes and the country of the Dobuni [27], and made Camulodunum or Colchester in Essex their capital [28]. The Dobuni or Lowlanders appear from their name to have first possessed only the south of Gloucestershire, and had Corinium or Cirencester in it for their capital; but afterwards extended their authority over the north of Gloucestershire and the south-west of Warwickshire, over all the extent of Worcestershire and Oxfordshire, and over the remainder of Buckinghamshire, reaching up to the western frontier of the Cassii [29], and still retaining Corinium for their capital [30]. The north of Gloucestershire and the whole of Warwickshire and Worcestershire were pretty certainly occupied by a people whom I shall mention hereafter [31]; as the whole of Oxfordshire and the greatest part of Buckinghamshire were in all probability possessed by the

Anca-

Ancalites [21]. And the Carnabii spread over the rest of Flavia, and had Urieconium or Wroxeter for their capital [22].

[23] Valentia inhabited all the country that was bounded by the two walls and the two seas, contained five tribes, and had ten stations under its capital. The Ottadini inhabited the whole extent of Northumberland, except the small region that was to the south of the wall, all Mersy half of Tweedale, and all Lothian, being bounded by the wall of Antoninus on the north, the wall of Hadrian on the south [24], and the Tweed on the south-west, and having Bremenium or Riechester in Readsdale for their capital. The Gadeni occupied the little region of Cumberland that was beyond the wall, Tiviotdale, Tweedale up to the Tweed, and Cluydisdale as far at least as Lanerk on the north-west, having Curia, or Corsford by Lanerk, for their capital. The Selgovæ held all Anandale, Nithisdale, and Galloway up to the Dee, and perhaps the south-eastern side of Kyle and the south-western of Cluydisdale. Beyond the Dee resided the Novantes, spreading over all the rest of Galloway, and having Lucophibia or Whitern for their capital. And to the north of three of these tribes, the Novantes the Selgovæ and the Gadeni, were the Damnii, possessing all Carrick Cunningham and Renfrew, the rest of Kyle, and the remainder of Cluydisdale; a chain of mountains, formerly denominated Montes Uxelli or the Uchel Hills, running all along the south, the barrier betwixt them and their southern neighbours; and the vallum of Antoninus ranging along their northern border.

[25] All the region then which was bounded by the two seas, the wall of Hadrian on the north, and the Mersey the Don and the Humber on the south, and which contained the whole counties of Durham Lancaster and Westmoreland, all Yorkshire except a very small portion on the south, all Cumberland except a little angle on the north, and a narrow slip of Northumberland on the south, was entitled Maxima or (as the Notitia and Richard's Itinerary call it) Maxima Cæsariensis [26]. It comprized the Brigantes the Volantii and the Sistuntii. It included about thirty stations, besides the line of the forts at the wall, and acknowledged

knowledged Eburacum for its metropolis. The Siſtuntii inhabited the whole compaſs of our own county and the ſouthern region of Weſtmoreland. The Volantii poſſeſſed the remainder of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland. And the Brigantes enjoyed the whole of Durham, and all Yorkſhire to the Don and the Humber. The ſixth legion appears to have been ſettled at York as early as the year 140. And Eburacum appears to have been raiſed as early to that dignity under the Roman government which Iſeur or Aldborough had previouſly enjoyed under the Britiſh [17].

[1] Dio p. 794 and 795 compared with Ptolemy and Antonine. Mr. Camden, p. 111. edit. 1607, makes the higher part of Britain to be the ſouthern and the lower to be the northern, carrying the former to about the Humber or the Merſey. But Mr. Horſeley inverts the plan, and makes the ſouthern the lower and the northern the higher, for this one good reaſon, becauſe Cæſar expreſly calls the ſouthern the lower; p. 307 and preface p. 22. The true diviſion is certainly into eaſtern and weſtern, the legions at Caerleon and Cheſter being placed by Dio in the higher Britain, and the legion at York in the lower. And ſo Pliny places Ireland ſuper Britanniam (lib. iv. c. 16). And Roman Britain is naturally broken into eaſt and weſt Britain, a chain of hills running from the highlands of Scotland, and joining to the peak of Derby, the moorlands of Staffordſhire, the range of Edge-Hill in Warwickſhire, and the Chilterne in Buckinghamſhire. [2] Richard, p. 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20. In the delineation of this province Richard's map is pretty accurate in general. Dr. Stukeley's, prefixed to his comment upon Richard, which very falſely pretends to be an exact copy of the other, has totally omitted one tribe which appears in Richard's map and which ought to appear in both, the Carnabii of Cornwall, and has equally omitted the dotted lines that divide the kingdoms.— [3] See alſo Iter 1. of Richard.—[4] Somner's Roman forts in Kent p. 40, &c.—[5] Ptolemy. He carries the Cantii to or nearly to the

the Attrebates, and places the Regni to the south of the Cantii.
—[6] Ptolemy. See Regnum in Iter 15 of Richard and 7 of Antoninus.—[7] Ptolemy. The whole country of the Bibroces and of the Regni is given to the latter by Ptolemy and to the former by Richard, both considering them as one people after the conquest of the other, and Richard more accurately naming them by the appellation of the Conquering tribe.—[8] Richard p. 20 and 24. Quæ intermissione Uxellæ amnis Heduorum regioni protenditur, and, Thamesis per fines Heduorum—in oceanum—influit.—[9] Ischalis and Aquæ Calidæ—So also Ptolemy places the Durotriges, not south-west, as he is generally translated, but to the south and west, of the Belgæ, απο δυσμων και μεσημβριας, the Durotriges being to the south of the Belgæ of Somersetshire and to the west of the Belgæ of Hampshire.—[10] Uxella urbs is given to the Damnonii by Richard.—This Uxella is given to the Hedui by the map, in express contradiction to the account.—[11] Richard's map.—[12] Cenia urbs and Cenius fluvius given to the Damnonii by Richard.—[13] Uxella urbs, Richard.—[14] Ptolemy and Richard p. 20. Damnonium Promontorium. The Damnonii are δυσμικωλατοι or the most westerly tribe.—[15] P. 21 and 22. In this province Richard's map is faulty, carrying the Ordovices into Radnorshire and giving them Magna. Dr. Stukeley has corrected the mistake, but has made others. He has at once inserted and misplaced the Heriri Montes, he has placed the Dimetæ to the south of the river Stuctia when he ought to have carried them beyond it to the Dovy, he has entirely omitted the Dovy, and he has neglected the dotted lines that limit the three kingdoms.—[16] Civitas Silurum-Magna—Richard p. 21.—[17] B. I. ch. v. s. 3.—[18] Richard p. 15, 24, 25, and 26. In this province Richard's map has committed two or three mistakes, giving Forum Dianæ to the Coitanni (or Coritanni) which belonged to the Cassii, and giving them also Bennonæ which belonged to the Carnabii, and Durnomagus which belonged to the Cenomanni. And Dr. Stukeley's is so confused, for want of the defining lines of the original, that it would be idle to criticize upon it.—[19] Richard p. 25.—[20] Richard Iter 4.
[21] Richard p. 25. and Iter 3. Ptolemy, who places the Cantii

in

in all the south of Middlesex, places the Trinoantes in Essex only, more easterly than the Iceni and along the æstuary of the Thames. But as the Trinoantes once certainly resided in Middlesex (see Richard p. 23), Ptolemy's account of the Cantii and the Trinoantes must certainly be taken from records of two different dates, and must therefore be referred to two different periods. See b. I. ch. xii. s. 2.—[22] Richard Iter 3.—[23] Richard Iter 4. And in Richard Iter 18. is a station ad Fines, meaning undoubtedly Gravesborough upon the Don, the limits of Maxima and Flavia, and the borders of Yorkshire and Derbyshire.—[24] See b. I. ch. v. s. 3.—[25] Ptolemy, Salenæ.—[26] Richard's map.—[27] Dio p. 958. B. I. ch. ix. s. 1. and Richard p. 24.—[28] Dio p. 959. This tribe is also called Cattieuchlani in Ptolemy, a name that has greatly puzzled the etymologists, but which is only Catieu-chlan-i the clan of the Catti or Cassii.—[29] Finitimi Dobunis Cassii—Richard p. 24. And see Richard's map.—[30] B. I. ch. v. s. 3.—[31] Cæsar p. 92.—[32] See b. I. ch. iv. s. 2.—[33] Richard p. 15, 28, and 29. In this province Richard's map is inaccurate in one particular, and Dr. Stukeley's in many. In the former the Gadeni are carried greatly too far to the north, quite up to the Frith of Forth; and the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes and Selgovæ only, not to the north of the Gadeni as well as them. In the latter, the Ottadini, who should be extended along the sea from Severus's wall to the Frith of Forth, are placed to the north of the Tweed, and the Gadeni who lived to the west are placed directly to the south of them, and betwixt them and the wall. Coria the capital of the Gadeni is given to the Ottadini. And Bremenium the metropolis of the Ottadini is consigned to the Gadeni. The Selgovæ, who lived entirely to the east of the Dee, are even carried to the west of that river. And the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes only, being thrust up into Cunningham and Renfrew.—[34] Ptolemy (corrected) places the Novantæ on the west, the Selgovæ to the east of them, the Damnii to the north and west of them, the Gadeni to the east of the Selgovæ, and the Ottadini to the east of the whole; assigning

figning thereby all Mers and Lothian to the Ottadini. And fo Richard's map carries the Ottadini up to the Frith of Forth.—[35] Richard p. 15 and 27. The map of this province in Richard is very inaccurate. It places the Siftuntii along the fea-coaft of Lancafhire Weftmoreland and Cumberland, and fettles the Volantii at the back of them and at the foot of the hills. Such a pofition is abfurd in itfelf. And it is refuted by the pofition of Volantium of Elenborough on the margin of the fea. But the map is ftill more inaccurate, placing Rerigonium not far from the mouth of the Alauna and a very little to the fouth of it, fixing Coccium a good way to the fouth and eaft of Rerigonium and to the north of the Belifama, and fettling Portus Siftuntiorum at the mouth of the Alauna. For the abfurdity of thefe pofitions fee the following chapters. And Dr. Stukeley has added two other miftakes, extending the Alpes Peninæ through half of Valentia, confining the Siftuntii to Cumberland, laying the Voluntii at the back of them, removing Rerigonium nearly from the mouth to the fource of the Alauna, omitting the Belifama entirely, and putting Merfeia fiu: for Seteia.—[36] Iter 4.—[37] Ptolemy—and Richard p. 27.

III.

IN the comprehenfive hiftory of that remarkable people the Romans, there are few particulars which fo ftrongly betray their native grandeur of foul as the roads which they profecuted over all the ample extent of their empire. They girt the whole globe as it were with new zones and new zodiacs in every poffible direction [1]. And the tables of Peutinger and the Itinerary of Antonine prefent us with a magnificent difplay of the whole.

The Romans, on their invafion of this country, muft have certainly found feveral roads in the fouthern parts of the ifland, and among the Belgic colonies that lined the fouthern coaft of it. Thefe muft have been previoufly laid out, though rudely,

 for

for the public uſe. Theſe muſt have been previouſly adapted, though indifferently, to the conveyance of the native commodities of the iſland to the ports, and to the introduction of foreign commodities from them. And this commercial intercourſe, as well as the roads by which it was proſecuted, ſeem to have been extended much farther into the iſland than the higheſt ideas of our hiſtorical critics concerning its interior condition would allow us to apprehend. They ſeem to have been extended from the ſouth-weſt into Suffolk on one ſide, and from the ſouth-eaſt into Cheſhire on the other.

From the joint teſtimony of Richard's Itinerary and Bede's Hiſtory it appears, that the Roman road which reaches from Sandwich to Caernarvon was diſtinguiſhed among the Romans by the Britiſh name of Guetheling or Watling-ſtreet [a]. This has been hitherto ſuppoſed to be not the original but a poſterior name, and has long baffled all the analytical powers of etymology. But it is plainly derived, as Dr. Stukeley formerly conjectured it to be [b], from the ſame principle which gave name to the Ikening-ſtreet. Both were denominated from the people to whom they were carried, the latter confeſſedly from the Iceni of the eaſtern coaſt, and the former clearly from the Guetheli or Gatheli of Ireland. As the Ikening-ſtreet ſignifies the way which led to the Iceni, ſo the Watling-ſtreet imports the road which led to the Guetheli. And this Britiſh appellation of the road among the Romans atteſts it to have been previouſly a Britiſh road. Had it not been a Britiſh before it was a Roman road, as it could have had no name at all when the Romans took poſſeſſion of the country, ſo could it never have adopted a Britiſh name afterwards among them. Had it not been a Britiſh before it was a Roman road, it could not poſſibly have adopted among them the particular appellation of Guetheling, as the inhabitants of Ireland were never known to the Romans at all by the appellation of Guetheli. The Guetheling or Watling ſtreet muſt have originally been denominated by the Britons Sarn Guethelin or the road of the Iriſh. And the Ikening-ſtreet muſt have been originally denominated Sarn Ikenin of the

road

road of the Iceni. But as a merely Roman road would scarcely have received any appellation that related to the Iceni, as a merely Roman road would assuredly have received no appellation at all that related to the unconquered the unattempted Irish, so a merely Roman road could certainly have never received the appellation either of Guethelin or of Ikenin, these words being actually the British plurals of Guethel and of Iken[4]. Such roads indeed as the Romans primarily constructed within the island, like the fortresses of the same origin, are plainly distinguished from such as they found already constructed by the obvious discriminations of their names. If from the Itinerary of Richard and the voice of tradition we have the British names of Guetheling and Ikening for two roads, from the same Itinerary and the same tradition we have the Roman names of the Julian way and the Fosse for two others[5]. And the former are as evidently evinced to be British as the latter are to be Roman.

Thus were these two great roads originally undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans; undertaken for the purposes of British conveniency, and executed in the stile of British simplicity. Both must have been begun by the Belgæ of the southern countries, and, what is very extraordinary, both appear plainly to have been actually begun from the south[6]. Till the Belgæ came over into Britain, either no commerce at all was pursued by the islanders, or the commerce was confined to a few promontories on the south-west and a few vessels from Phœnicia. The Belgæ were strongly actuated by a commercial spirit, and pursued its directions so vigorously, that, within a century from their first entrance into the island, the most westerly tribes of them certainly carried on a considerable commerce with the Phœnicians, and all of them afterwards a much more considerable one with the Romans of Narbonne and the Greeks of Marseilles[7]. In consequence of the latter, the native commodities of the island in the time of Augustus were regularly exported into Gaul, and conveyed by barges upon the rivers or by horses upon the roads across the Gallic continent to both[8]. And at this period the Belgæ must have contrived and the Britons

must

must have concurred in the construction of two great roads, which should traverse the central parts of the island, and should lead to such provinces as were the great treasuries of the saleable commodities.

In the progress of commerce from the west, the Belgæ of Dorsetshire would naturally catch the enlivening spirit before their more easterly brethren of Kent. And, in the settlement of the staple at the isle of Wight, the Belgæ of Dorsetshire would be nearer to the animating centre of the commerce than their more easterly brethren of Kent. These therefore must have been the first to contrive and to execute the plan. They accordingly opened to themselves a communication with the Iceni of the eastern coast. But the Cantii certainly rivalled the Durotriges in commerce at the period of Cæsar's invasion [9], and must soon have copied their example. They copied it in a bolder style and upon a more extensive scale. They boldly opened to themselves a communication with the North-western parts of Britain and the British colonists of Ireland, that they might receive from them those supplies of cattle which Ireland now so remarkably furnishes, and which it must then have furnished in a much more remarkable degree. And such must have been equally the object of the Ikening-street. Such must have necessarily been the great object of both, while the riches of the Britons, like those of the patriarchs, consisted almost entirely in their cattle. And these roads must have probably occasioned the erection of several towns upon them, some raised by the tribes upon the confines, and others in the center, of their respective possessions; the former as fortresses to guard these great avenues into their dominions, and the latter as necessary places of refreshment for the cattle and their attendants so frequently passing along them [10].

The Britons must equally have constructed many other ways before the coming of the Romans, inferiour indeed but public, and leading in different directions from one state to another, or connecting the different parts of the same state? The former

must

must have necessarily existed as the marching-ways of the armies which were so frequently detached by one tribe against another. And the latter must have equally existed as the necessary chain of communication betwixt the several fortresses of the same tribe.

But neither the one nor the other, neither the smaller nor the greater roads, were likely to satisfy the desires or answer the exigences of the Romans, a polite and a politick nation, studious equally of private pleasure and of publick emolument. They therefore constructed new roads, two of them indeed and many others perhaps in the line of the British ways, but all of them upon plans much more beautiful and useful, and much better calculated for immediate convenience and a long duration.

These however were not, as our antiquarians have constantly supposed them to be, the admirable effects of Agricola's command in the island. In a country like this, where forests must have risen and morasses have spread betwixt station and station, roads must have been nearly as necessary as stations, and were certainly therefore nearly cotemporary with them. As the Romans prosecuted their conquests within the island, they must also have multiplied their stations and extended their roads. Accordingly, the road that traversed the country of the Silures, and retains in its name of Via Julia the name of its constructer, appears clearly from this circumstance to have been laid by Julius Frontinus, the very same legate that conquered the Silures[1]. The conquest of the Sistuntii and Volantii must have occasioned the construction of other roads in Cumberland Westmoreland and Lancashire. And Agricola, like every other legate, must have constructed the roads of those provinces only which he himself had reduced.

As the station of Mancunium and its sister stations in Lancashire and Cheshire were erected in the year 79, the roads which formed the necessary line of communication between them must have been necessarily constructed about the same period. They must certainly have been constructed in the immediately succeedi ng

ceeding summers of 80, 81, and 82. And to the prosecution of these and the more northerly roads especially does Galgacus in all probability refer, when in the year 84 he speaks so particularly of the ways that were carried on by the Romans [11]. Every new conquest indeed of the Romans must have strongly suggested the reflection; but the newest must have suggested it most strongly. And no roads but these could have been constructed, because no conquests had been made, during the ten preceding years.

The roads then that issue from Mancunium and the other stations in Lancashire were all laid while Agricola was making and securing his conquests in the north. And from that particular, as well as from the above-mentioned speech of Galgacus, it obviously appears, that the roads were not carried on, as is frequently imagined, and as the beautiful roads in French Flanders and our own later roads in Scotland were, by large detachments of the soldiery. The Romans were merely the directors; and the more laborious employ was imposed upon the natives. The Romans, says Galgacus, are perpetually exhausting the health of the Britons in the painful employment of clearing the woods and of paving the fens of the island [12]. The whole line of the road must have been previously designed and the course of it prescribed upon paper, after an accurate survey of the country. And the officers of the neighbouring garrisons must have inspected the execution by turns.

[1] See Itin. Cur. p. 72.—[2] Iter 1, Ab eâdem civitate (Rhutupi) ducta est via Guethelinga dicta usque in Segontium—sic; and so exactly Iter 11, Ab Aquis—per viam Juliam Menapiam usque sic: And Bede's Hist. lib. i. c. 7. Verulamium quæ Verlamacaestir sive Vætlinga-caestir appellatur —[3] Itin. Cur. p. 108.—[4] Ikening-street is also written Ikenild, as in the laws of the Confessor or Conqueror. That termination is either Iken eld, Old Iken street, or rather the same as Ikenin and equally the plural termination of Iken.—[5] See Richard Iter 11.—[6] Itin. Curios.

Curiof. p. 113 and 179.—[7] See b. I. ch. xi. f. 2.—[8] See b. I. ch. xi. f. 2.—[9] Cæfar p. 89 and 73.—[10] The Ricning or Ricnild ftreet, or (as it is more generally written) the Icening or Icenild ftreet, of Derbyfhire muft alfo be derived from the fame original. If rightly denominated Icening, it muft have been fo denominated fimply as terminating among the Coritani, and as laid to their country after they were conquered by and received the appellation of Iceni (fee b. I. ch. v. f. 4). If rightly called Ricning, as Dr. Stukeley affirms (Itin. Curiof. p. 50), and as common accuracy requires it to be, it muft have been fo called in all probability as leading to the R-Iceni, the Iceni before, the further or northern Iceni. Thus Caer-nar-von is fo called as being oppofite to Von, Mon, or Anglefey. And thus fee Rerigonium and other names in b. I. c. v. f. 11. This road extends from the mouth of the Severn into Derbyfhire (Itin. Cur. p. 51, 58, 64, and 65), had the Britifh towns Etocet, Bremenium, Glev, and others, upon it, and was originally conftructed (I fuppofe) by the Belgic conquerours of the Hædui, a people which poffeffed (as I have fhewed before) all the fouth of Gloucefterfhire and all the north of Somerfetfhire.—[11] Iter 11 of Richard, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xvii. So Appian way from Appius Claudius.—[12] Tacitus c. xxxi. Agric. Vit.—[13] Tacitus c. xxxi. Corpora ipfa ac manus fylvis ac paludibus emuniendis—conterunt.

IV.

THE county of Lancafter is interfected from end to end by four great roads of the Romans. Two run from eaft to weft. And two range from north to fouth. One of the latter, the knowledge of which we owe entirely to Richard's Itinerary, enters the county on the north-weft, and traverfes a good part of it, even till it meets with a road which is given to us by Antonine and which enters the county on the north-eaft. From the point of coincidence both roads proceed in the fame route, which is given us by both Itineraries, and profecuted to and

beyond Mancunium. The account of the north-weſtern is a part of the 10th Iter of Richard, and in it the road runs from Luguvallium or Carliſle to

Brocavonacis 22

AD ALAUNAM m. p. . . . . .

COCCIO m. p. . . . . .

MANCUNIO 18[*].

The account of the north-eaſtern is a part of the 10th Iter of Antoninus, and in it the road goes from Alione to

Galacum 19

BREMETONACIS 27

COCCIO 20

MANCUNIO m. p. 17.

In Richard's Iter the ſtation AD ALAUNAM appears clearly from the mention of Luguvallium and Brocavonacis on one ſide, and of Coccium and Mancunium on the other, to be ſomewhere upon or within the northern borders of Lancaſhire. And this and the name Ad Alaunam carry us at once to the ſtation at Lancaſter, the caſtrum upon A LAUN or the river Lan. The reality of this ſtation has always been confeſſed. But the name of it has been ſometimes ſuppoſed to be the Lugandunum of the Chorography, and more generally but more wildly the Longovicus of the Notitia. It was certainly fixed upon the plane of the preſent Caſtle-Hill, as the rocky eminence of the hill and the immediate vicinity of the river clearly evince of themſelves, and as the ſtill-hanging remains of the Roman wall upon the ſteepeſt part of it concur to demonſtrate [*].

In Antoninus's Iter Bremetonacis is certainly, as the antiquarians have previouſly ſuppoſed it to be, the ſtation of Overborough. The only objection that could have been made to the ſuppoſition, the want of a known road from the north to Overborough, is now precluded, as the road is diſcovered. And two other roads appear viſibly to go away from the ſtation, the one towards Bough near Aſcrig in Yorkſhire, and the other to Ribcheſter [*]. The latter has been hitherto imagined to be the road upon which this Iter of Antoninus proceeds through Coccium

to

to Manchester; as another which certainly goes from Lancaster to Ribchester may be imagined to be the road upon which this Iter of Richard proceeds. Both particulars may be supposed. But both must be equally supposed in opposition to decisive evidence. That Rerigonium is Ribchester, the consent of Ptolemy Richard and Remains will fully demonstrate hereafter [4]. That Coccium therefore cannot be Ribchester, is abundantly plain, the one being expresly distinguished from the other. And Coccium being thus dislodged from the site which it has so long maintained, we must endeavour to give it its proper site, by finding a new station for the old name, as we have already found a new name for the old station.

From the preceding account it is obvious, that this Iter of Richard from Luguvallium to Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam proceeds along the course of the present road from Carlisle to Lancaster. Along the course of the same road I apprehend it to proceed from Lancaster to Coccium. It must necessarily in general point towards Manchester, because to Manchester it certainly goes, and it as certainly does not go to it by the round of Ribchester. It must therefore necessarily stretch away directly to the south-east, and consequently in the line of the present road from Lancaster to Manchester. But this is not our only direction. We have a still more particular one. The distance betwixt Overborough and Coccium in Antoninus is confessedly erroneous; and the distance betwixt Lancaster and Coccium in Richard is either equally erroneous or absolutely lost. But the distance betwixt Coccium and Mancunium appears in both, and is seventeen miles in Antonine and eighteen in Richard; a difference that in Itineraries like these, where the fractions of miles are never enumerated as such, is really no difference at all. The fraction omitted by Antonine is computed by Richard, and is therefore reckoned for a whole mile. And this agreement of the two Itineraries decisively ascertains the distance of Coccium from Manchester. Such an agreement must always be allowed as a decisive argument. Such an agreement must always be supposed

 to

to arise from the existence of the same numbers in the originals of both.

Following then the course of the present road from Lancaster to Manchester till we come within seventeen or eighteen Roman miles of the latter, we should expect to find the site of a Roman castrum. And lo! just at the requisite distance we find one, one hitherto unknown to fame, but pointed out to be one by the most determinate of all stationary characters, the existence of two roads from it to two well-known castra. Such is the village of Blackrode! It is indeed about the distance of thirty-five measured miles from Lancaster and of forty-five from Overborough. But this is a stage which the decisively ascertained distance from Coccium to Manchester necessarily leads us to make. It is actually less than another in this Iter of Richard, that betwixt Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam being no less than forty-eight measured miles. And it must necessarily be very long, when only the station of Coccium appears betwixt Overborough and Manchester, though the one is nearly sixty measured miles distant from the other by the nearest route, and though that distance is lengthened, as here it certainly is, by the diversion of the road from the nearest route through Rerigonium to the rounding one through Coccium.[3]

Tradition universally declares the village of Blackrode to have been originally a considerable town. And the construction of a Roman road from Manchester, and the coincidence of another from Ribchester with it, demonstrates the town to have been originally Roman. A Roman road, which shall be described hereafter, comes directly from the Mancunian station by Stany-street and Street-Yate near Walkden-moor to the precincts of the present village. And in those precincts another road meets it, coursing through the neighbouring street in the township of Charnock, and pointing to Ribchester one way and to Blackrode the other.

It is justly observed by the right reverend and very learned enlarger of Camden's Britannia[4], that wherever we find the ap-

pellation

pellation of Street we have good reason to expect a road of the Romans. And with equal justice he might have observed, that wherever we meet with such a name we may be absolutely certain of such a road. We may be absolutely certain, that such a road has formerly proceeded or still continues to proceed along the place. Wherever the track of a Roman road has persisted invariably in the course of a modern highway, the name of Street along the line of the latter is the only proof that we can have concerning the existence of the former. The name of Stræt Strat or Street, and the kindred appellation of Ceaster Caster or Chester, are two words derived from the Romans to the Britons, and communicated by the Britons to the Saxons. In the original application of the words by the Romans, they could absolutely signify nothing but the Roman roads and the Roman camps. And in the posteriour application of them by the Britons and the Saxons, they must have been merely continued to the same camps and have been merely retained by the same roads. As the Britons must have originally adopted these names from the Romans before the departure of the latter from the island, so were there then undoubtedly no public highways or roads and no stationary camps or castles within the island, but such as had been formed by the Romans. And as the Saxons must have derived these names from the Britons after the subjection of the latter in war, and must therefore have found them already affixed to the camps and the roads of the Romans, so they appear equally with the Britons to have used the name of Chester for the characteristic denomination of a Roman camp, and the name of Street for the characteristic appellation of a Roman road [7].

Thus plainly is Blackrode evinced to have been formerly a stationary town. And the particular site of the station I shall point out hereafter [8]. Hereafter it will naturally succeed in its turn to be descanted upon, as I trace the several roads that commence from Mancunium and extend to the neighbouring stations. These roads are many in number, proceeding in various directions and issuing as it were in radii from center to circumference.

And

And these I shall now begin to investigate, pursuing them as they once stretched in conspicuous ridges along the surface of our adjacent heaths, and once opened in ample vistos across the thickets of our surrounding woods, and now seeing them either present only some faint half-formed resemblance of a road, or steal forgotten and unknown in a fair elevation over the fruitful levels of our numerous inclosures.

[1] The original has no number of miles annexed to Coccium. But Dr. Stukeley's copy has, and by some strange blunder has sixty-six p. 53.—[2] Camden p. 617, and Leigh's Hist. b. iii. p. 10.—[3] Mr. Rothmell's Overborough, and Mr. Percival's Essay in Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. p. 227. The road from Overborough to Ribchester had been positively mentioned before by the knowing Camden (p. 614); but later criticks had discredited the existence of it by their doubts (see Horseley).—[4] B. I. ch. v. sect. 1.—[5] And the sixty-six miles which Dr. Stukeley gives us were intended by him, I suppose, for thirty-six. The road from Overborough to Blackrode (I suppose) passed through Wiersdale Forest to Broughton, where was a small intermediate castrum (I apprehend), and where it fell into the great road from Lancaster to Blackrode. This, allowing for the considerable inequalities of the road over the hills of the forest, would measure (I believe) about forty Roman miles. And perhaps the number was thus expressed in Antoninus $\overset{xx}{xx}$, and, the upper pair of tens being casually omitted by a transcriber, the number became as it now appears twenty.—[6] C. 636.—[7] Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 11. The Roman residence in the island (he says) Civitates, Farus Pontes et Stratæ ibidem factæ usque hodie—testantur. Sax. Chron. p. 22, speaking of Ceaulin's taking three Roman or stationary towns, says that he took *three Chesters*, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bathe-cester. And Bede Hist. lib. iii. c. 19, in *Castro quodam* quod—Urbs Cnobheri vocatur,[8] meaning the Gariannonum of the Notitia or the present Brugh near Yarmouth in Norfolk. And we have Stratfleur

and

and Stratfleur Abbey, the hundred and the monaſtery of Yſtrad Margell or Strata Marcelli, among the Britons of Wales (Leland's Itin. vol. VII. p. 47 and 16. and vol. VI. p. 105), and Temeceſtre and Brumcheſter among the Britons of Wales and Caledonia, Temeceſtre being in Montgomeryſhire, and Brumcheſter in Athol (Itin. vol. VII. p. 15 and 17). — [s] B. I. ch. iv. ſect. 3.

CHAP. IV.

I.

IT has been questioned by the antiquarians, whether the stations or the roads of the Romans were prior in time [1]. And no determination has hitherto been given to the question. But the decision is very obvious. The stations, as I have previously intimated, were certainly prior, and the roads were the channels of communication between them. Many of the stations must have necessarily commenced, as I have mentioned before, during the very conquest of the country, and all of them at the conclusion of it. And the roads could not have been constructed till the first or second summer after both.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and from Mancunium to Condate is delineated to us by both Richard and Antonine, and one part of it twice by both. The whole of it is given in the sixth Iter of Richard and the second of Antonine, and the part is repeated by both in their 10th Itinera. And the road to Coccium is equally delineated to us by both Itineraries. But the four other roads which connected this and four others of the neighbouring stations are given to us in neither.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and Condate stands thus in both:

Richard's sixth Iter,	Antonine's second Iter,
Ab Eburaço Devam usque sic:	From Eburacum to
Calcaria m. p. 9	Calcaria 9
CAMBODUNO 22	CAMBODUNO 20
MANCUNIO 18	MANUCIO 18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ et FLAVIÆ m. p. 18	CONDATE 18
CONDATE 18	Deva 20.
Deva 18	

And

And the road from Coccium to Mancunium and from Mancunium to Condate is thus given us

In Richard's 10th Iter,		And thus in Antonine's,	
From COCCIUM		From COCCIUM	
MANCUNIO	18	MANCUNIO m. p.	17
CONDATE	23	CONDATE	18
Mediolano	18;	Mediolano	18.

We are concerned only with ſuch of theſe ſtations as are the firſt ſtages from Mancunium. And let us begin with Cambodunum and the road to it.

The road to that ſtation muſt have commenced from the eaſtern gate of the Caſtrum, and would naturally have ſlanted along the left-hand ſide of the Caſtle-field and the right-hand of the adjoining gardens. But the poſition of the gate and the intervention of the ditch muſt have prevented the route. And the road appears to have proceeded in a very gentle ſlant upon the left to the extremity of the Caſtle-field, and in one common ſtem along it for the roads to two other ſtations. At the extremity of the Field muſt all the roads have commenced, and have taken the proper lines of their ſeveral deſtinations. At this extremity the road was cut down from the ſurface to the baſe in the year 1765, and the materials of it lay plainly diſtinguiſhed from the natural gravel of the ground by the melted bricks and the broken mill-ſtones which were found incorporated with them. It appeared to be conſtructed with a ſtrong gravel mingled with large boulders and rocky fragments. And the whole road was about fourteen yards in breadth and a yard and an half in depth.

Leaving this common ſtem, which was the grand avenue into the camp, and was therefore conſtructed with an unuſual breadth, the road muſt have begun its courſe to York, have croſſed the preſent highway, have entered the oppoſite garden, and have ſlanted to the right of the preſent windmill. Leaving the garden, and paſſing by the wind-mill on the left, it muſt have pointed through the left-hand corner of the dye-houſe beyond both, muſt have croſſed the Infirmary-lane, and muſt have left an hay-ſtand very cloſely and the two new houſes

more diſtantly on the left. Then croſſing the lane to Ardwick, and pointing directly through Stanley-barn on the other ſide, it muſt have ſwept along the middle of the two next fields, have ſlanted along the left-hand ſide of the third, and have obliquely deſcended the little ſlope of the fourth into Ancoats-lane. And in all this courſe, ſo contiguous to the growing town, the trace of it is wholly obliterated by the deep bed of artificial ſoil with which all the fields are enriched.

Croſſing the Ancoats-lane obliquely betwixt a large houſe and the reſting-ſtone, it is diſcovered in the firſt field beyond it by a ridge of ſixteen or ſeventeen yards in width, three quarters of a yard high in gravel and one quarter in marl laid upon it, and ſloping towards Shooters-brook. Upon the right and in the field but one immediately beyond the Brook, it is evidenced by a ridge which is about half a yard in height and four or five in width; and the gravel, when the ground is ploughed, appears powdering the ſides of the furrows. In the fourth field the ridge riſes to a greater height and expands to a greater breadth, and in the fifth returns to its former height of half a yard and its former width of five or ſix. And in the fifth and ſixth cloſes the gravel is very copious, as the ridge of it is pretty plain in the ſeventh and ſtill plainer in the eighth.

The road then relinquiſhes the fields for a while, enters the right line of Butler's-lane, and paſſes along it beyond the ſign of the Fire-engine, the left-hand bank of the lane being near its commencement compoſed of the gravel of the road. At the corner of the ſecond field on the right beyond the ſign, the road once more enters the fields, and appears for the whole length of the third or Brickhill-field half a yard in height and five or ſix yards in breadth, the left-hand bank of the field being formed with the plunder of the road.

Croſſing the lane beyond it in a conſiderable ridge, it appears in the firſt field with an evident elevation, extending eight or nine yards in width, and fringed with a broken line of ruſhes on either ſide. The ridge is viſible along a part of the ſecond incloſure and very plain along the whole of the third. Inter-
rupted

rupted by a lane, the road ſteals along the fourth field juſt traceable from the looſened gravel and juſt viſible from the lowered ridge. But in the boggy extent of the fifth the gravel becomes copious and the ridge very plain. And in the ſixth it preſents a width of ſix or ſeven yards to the eye. In the ſeventh juſt perceivable by its ſlight ridge, it diſappears in the eighth, but is diſcovered by the gravel in the ninth and along the ſloping ſide of the right-hand rill. And in the tenth the ridge of the road is once more conſpicuous, and the body of the gravel is even with the horizon.

The road then croſſes the lane which leads to the Medlock and Bradford with a fair elevation, but immediately loſes it, and is only diſcovered by the ſpade in the firſt field and along the left-hand edge of it. Thus paſſing another field and a croft, it is cut through by one of the waſhing-pits at Richard Rothwell's houſe, and now furniſhes a ſtrong hard bottom of gravel to the ſtagnant water. Croſſing the pit and paſſing through the fold beyond it, the road enters the broad line of the neighbouring lane, and reaches the miry expanſe of Newton-heath. Mounting the gentle aſcent of the heath, it points directly upon the chapel above. But obliterated for the firſt hundred yards, it becomes very plain for the next hundred and fifty, the gravelled ridge riſing more than half a yard in height and ſpreading eight or ten yards in breadth, and the brown-green colour of the beaten track in winter being ſtrongly contraſted by the light hue of the withering ruſhes along it. For a few yards immediately on this ſide of the chapel the courſe of the road is effaced, but appears to have gone directly into it, and through the whole length of the ſouthern ſide, and was there diſcovered upon the recent erection of the preſent ſtructure. On the other ſide of the chapel the elevation appears again, but leſs conſpicuous and of a ſhorter extent, the ridge being only about a quarter of a yard in height and ſeven or eight yards in breadth, and continuing only about one hundred yards in length. Here the line of the road points viſibly through the right-hand extremity of the houſe which ſtands upon the eaſtern margin

of the heath. And the gravel of it is eaſily found in the ground-made flooring of the loom-houſe within it.

Entering the fields that lie betwixt the heath and Back-lane, and traverſing them obliquely a little to the right of the foot-road, the Roman way is diſcovered by the ſpade at the farther end of the firſt field, appears with a ridge in the third, and re-appears with another in the eighth. In the third the ridge riſes about half a yard in height, and continues acroſs the whole breadth of the field; but in the eighth the ridge is ſmall and the gravel low. And from this point, running nearly parallel with the courſe of the Back-lane and within the diſtance of a few yards from it, the Roman road muſt have proceeded through the houſes at the extremity of Lort-lane and through the barn and houſes of Wagſtaffe-fold. And it was accordingly diſcovered a few years ago upon the conſtruction of the barn. Soon afterwards, croſſing the curving line of the Back-lane, it falls directly into another, and extends along it to Hollinwood. This is a lane which is continued about a mile and an half in length, which courſes all the way in a direct line, and which is all the way denominated Street. And about eighty yards from the entrance are ſome remains of the road which are remarkably perfect, and which carry the grandeſt appearance of any Roman remains that I have ſeen in the iſland.

In this lane the range of a moſs interſected the courſe of the road. An houſe on the right is ſtill denominated the Moſs-Yate; the fields on either ſide ſtill ſtrongly retain their moſſy quality; and the rotten ſtocks and the branchy bodies of trees are ſtill frequently diſcovered by the plough. And this moraſſy tract appears to have extended a whole mile in length acroſs the line of the Roman road, ſome part of it being tolerably firm and dry, but others being particularly dangerous and deep.

About fifty yards within the entrance into Street-lane, the Roman road reaches the margin of the moſs, and immediately preſents a conſiderable ridge to the eye, having inſtantly an elevation of a yard and an half above the contiguous ground on the left. In ſixty yards more, the ground ſloping ſharply away on the right,

right, the elevation is three or four yards above it, as in sixty more the elevation is nearly five, and in seventy more is actually six. Thus gradually gaining a more elevated crest and a more magnificent aspect, the road is carried for no less than four hundred yards across this hollow of the moss. The ridge of the gravel rises gently for the first two hundred yards, and falls as gently for the next. And the summit of the crest is nearly level in the fall with the roof of an adjoining cottage.

This extraordinary grandeur of the road in the fall is not, as might naturally be imagined at first, the mere result of Roman contrivance and British industry. It has been partly occasioned by the accidental subsidence of the ground upon either side of the road, the thick coat of the turfy surface having been greatly cut away, and the ground being somewhat reduced to the deep level of its vegetable mold. And it has been equally occasioned by the process of the Romans in constructing the road. From a large incision which I made into the bed of the turf beneath the Roman gravel, they appeared plainly to have originally trenched the line of the moss that was destined to receive the road very deeply upon either side. And the larger and more solid plates of turf, which rose with the shovel from the lower part of the trench, they appeared to have laid upon the original face of the moss, and to have raised the level of the line with them more than a yard in height. Upon sinking a pit along the side of the gravel and for a yard and an half into the black soil, no ling or heath was found upon the surface of the soil and immediately below the gravel. It was first found about a yard below the surface. And it was then found in considerable quantities. The whole work was carried gradually sloping upwards from the broad basis of twelve or fourteen yards on the surface of the moss, till at the height of nine or ten it terminated in a narrow crest of three or four above, and ran level with the firmer ground upon either extremity of it. And the Roman gravel appears heaped upon the black line of the original soil, and raised in general near a yard and an half above it.

The

The road having extended about forty yards beyond the cottage and having passed the boggiest region of the mofs, the turf of which even beneath the weight of the Roman gravel is still very soft and spongy, the level of the ground on both sides begins to arise, and the height of the ridge is immediately lowered. But the track continues to be very evident, the gravel even lying half a yard in depth upon the firm black mofs, and the crest rising about a whole yard in height above the adjacent fields. Thus proceeding, the road sometimes extends into the fields on the left, and the basis of the left-hand hedge is almost continually formed with the gravel of it. And in the third field beyond the cottage, where the cart sometimes plunges to the axle-tree and the horses sink to the belly in the boggy soil, the border of the road is well known to the farmer by the great difficulty of harrowing the ground and by the great scantiness of the corn upon it.

Thus does the Roman road continue along the lane, the course of it being still denominated Street, and the gravel of it being more or less visible all the way. But the road approaching the common of Hollinwood, and the lane turning away on the right and left, the former deserts the latter and re-enters the fields, sweeping across Wulfenden's meadow, where it is frequently found, ascending the little elevation of Barnfield, where it is just visible, and appearing in a plain green ridge along the rushy level of Mofs-grave. And coursing through Mr. Kershaw's Kitchen-croft and Fold and over Mr. Bent's Gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, the village of Osterlands, and the valley of Saddleworth. It crosses the road of Huthersfield and the fields of Castleshaw. It passes in one long green seam over the boggy extent of Clouzemofs. It passes visibly over the summit of the Reaps. And it points directly upon Polemoor-stone, the northern side of Gowkerhill [1], and the genuine site of Cambodunum.

The site of this station has never been hitherto discovered. Fixed originally at Almondbury, it has since been removed to or near to Gretland-moor [2]. But the same good reason which occasioned

sioned it to be removed from the former site, that lying too much to the south of the visible Roman road, has equally occasioned it to be removed from the latter, that lying equally too much to the north of the road[4]. Thus uncertain does the site of Cambodunum remain. And though the moors have been searched with uncommon diligence by a couple of antiquarians[5], and though the track of the road is occasionally very visible over them, not a station or the vestiges of a station have been hitherto discovered, except a large one at Kirklees, about a mile to the south of the road's direction and about twenty-eight measured miles from Manchester, and a small one at Castleshaw, directly upon the track, but only about twelve from Manchester. Neither of these can stand for Cambodunum. The one is certainly too small, the other is too remote from the road, and neither about the specified distance of Cambodunum from Mancunium.

From the concurrent authority of Richard and of Antonine Cambodunum appears to be eighteen miles from Mancunium. And, as to Calcaria on the other side, we may fix the former at any distance from that station, because of the difference in the numerals of the two Itineraries, Richard's placing Cambodunum at twenty-two miles from Calcaria, and Antonine's at twenty. But these eighteen Roman miles, by the necessary deduction of one fourteenth for the difference betwixt the Roman and the English measure, will be contracted to sixteen and three quarters English, and by the as necessary addition of one fourth for the difference betwixt the road and the horizontal mile across this broad and lofty chain of mountains[6], will be augmented into twenty-two.

About the twenty-second mile therefore from Castle-field along the track of the Roman road must be the site of the Roman Cambodunum. And just about that distance from it and from Manchester I find it. The ground upon which I settle this long-lost town is vulgarly denominated Slack, and lies in the township of Longwood and within the parish of Huthersfield. Here are four closes which are called the Eald or old fields and crofts[7], and adjoin to the track of the Roman road from Mancunium.

cunium. These contain an area of twelve or fourteen acres, and are watered with a couple of brooks, that meet just at the town and curve round three sides of it. And along the extended area of these fields have foundations of buildings been discovered, some of them being a yard in thickness, and all of them composed of strong stone and cement. Two of the fields have been lately cleared of these crowded foundations, but the other two still remain entirely filled up with them, and the farmers have frequently broken their ploughs in all. And several loughs have been discovered, pieces of thick glass, urns, bones, and slips of copper.

Thus plainly have these Eald fields been the site of some considerable town. And that the town was Roman is absolutely certain. The position of it amid the wild expanse of these dreary moors and upon the course of the Roman road over them, and its exact distance from Mancunium, do of themselves evince it to be Roman. And a great quantity of bricks has been discovered in the foundations, some of which were long and some square, and all of a very beautiful red. The latter bricks were frequently twenty-two inches in the square, and were found in the floorings of some of the houses; as in others was found a thick crust of brick rudely scored into squares in imitation of the tessellated work, and in others was taken up a pavement composed of pounded bricks and very white mortar. Near the eastern side of the area, where three stone-hedges and three lordships now meet, and whence a long line of houses appears from the discovered foundations to have extended towards the north and in the line of the hedges, were lately found three coins of brass, two of which were soon lost by the carelessness of Ignorance, and the third has ...... CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. on one side, an S and a C in the middle, and PVBLICA .... round the margin of the other. And two Roman inscriptions have been found, which are exhibited in the plate, the larger of which, walled up in a building, was copied for me by the reverend Mr. Watson, and the smaller is in my own possession.

But near the place where the coins were discovered was very lately a mount one yard in height and about thirty in circumference. In the rubbish of this mount, and about three yards below the surface of the ground, was dug up the foundation of a building which was constructed of stone and had a flooring of bricks. Upon the eastern side of this building, and beneath the level of this flooring, was a small chamber four yards in length and two and a half in breadth. It was supported by pilasters rising half a yard in height and formed of square bricks. And it was paved with mortar and bricks pounded to a great hardness and laid to the thickness of a yard. This was clearly a Roman Hypocaust, and such a flooring was clearly designed to bear the requisite force of the fire; as the space between the pilasters was sufficient to admit the body of a boy, and the surface of the floor was covered with a quantity of black ashes. And on the western side of this building, where was pretty certainly a temple, were dug up a Roman altar and its basis. The altar is now in my own possession, and it and its inscription are represented in the plate. And the inscription at full length is this, Fortunæ Sacrum Caius Antonius Modestus Centurio Legionis Sextæ Victricis Piæ Fidelis Votum solvit lubens merito, Caius Antonius Modestus Centurion of the sixth victorious pious and faithful legion consecrated this altar to Fortune, and with pleasure discharged the vow which he owed.

Thus plainly are the remains evinced to be Roman. And thus clearly have we found what Industry has vainly toiled and Genius has ineffectually schemed to discover through the long extent of a century and an half, the real site of Cambodunum. The town was constructed along these four closes, and the station must have been placed upon the neighbouring fields and immediately beyond the channel of the western streamlet. There is a proper site for a camp, a lingula formed by the union of the two above-mentioned brooks, and defended by their deep channels upon two sides.

So situated were the town and the station of Cambodunum, and four Roman roads commence at both, and go away to

Manchester to York and to two other ftations. The Roman road from Manchefter, croffing the level of the fecond and loftier range of the Yorkfhire hills, becomes the boundary to the parifhes of Halifax and Huthersfield, has Stainland-moor on the left and Longwood on the right, and, paffing within two hundred yards from the ftation and the town, throws off a way to them on the right. And the Roman road from York, courfing fourteen yards in breadth over Lindley-moor, defcending along the left fide of Lee-hill, and paffing along the courfe of the Out-lane, throws off another way to the town and ftation. But both thefe branches are alfo parts of two other roads which extended from this to two other ftationary towns. The one ftretches vifibly over Stainland-moor, appearing as a green lift acrofs the embrowned heath, paffes over Foreft-hill to Stainland-Dene, and in fome inclofures at the bottom has been difcovered by the plough; courfes the valley near the prefent bridge into the townfhip of Barkifland, being in this and in the townfhip of Stainland denominated Saville-Yate; goes by Mofsleyden-Yate and acrofs the townfhip of Rifhworth to the old road over Blackftone Edge, and to that part of it which is called the Devil's Caufeway, being denominated the Danes-road by the fhepherds of Rifhworth; then goes to the Roman road from Manchefter to Ilkley, and, as is afferted by the fhepherds, proceeds acrofs it into Lancafhire *. The other goes away from Cambodunum N. E. by N., has been difcovered in an adjoining field fix or feven yards in breadth, croffes the Roman road from York to Manchefter in a confiderable angle, paffes along a green broad lane and is therefore denominated Green-Gate, and, going along the foot of Lee-hill, points directly, I think, to the Roman town of Adel Mill near Leeds †.

The name of this ftation in the Itineraries of Richard and Antoninus is written Cambodunum, but in the Geography of Ptolemy Camulodunum, and in the Chorography of Ravennas more rightly Camulodunum; being fully diftinguifhed in both from the ftation which partook of the fame name, the Camulodunum of the former and the Camulodunum Colonia of the latter.

ter. External testimony therefore, the only testimony that we can have in the present case, favours the one name as much as it countenances the other. Both must have been equally the names of the station: and we shall soon meet with other instances of stations that bear a duplicate of names. Camulodunum is merely the general name of a camp, Camulus being one of the British names for Mars, and Dunum signifying a town [10]. And Cambo-dunum signifies more specifically the fortress upon the stream. The one name is descriptive of its particular position: And the other is declarative of its military application.

The pass over the mountains which goes along the site of Cambodunum is much less intersected with hills vallies and rivers, than any other which could be found for very many miles upon either side of it [11]. This therefore, in the time of the Britons, must have been the customary passage from the south of Lancashire into the south of Yorkshire. And this pass the Brigantes of the latter and the Sistuntii of the former would both of them, for their own security, endeavour to guard by the erection of fortresses upon it Nor was this the only pass that seems to have been guarded by fortresses. Bremetonac in the north, a fortress about Colne in the center, and a second perhaps about Littleborough or Windy-Bank, and another at Castleshaw in the south, seem to have formed a regular chain of forts for that purpose upon the Sistuntian side of this natural barrier. And these seem to have been regularly answered by another chain of fortresses upon the Brigantian, Camulodune being opposed to Castleshaw and Olicana answering to Colne. That Castleshaw in particular was once a fortress of the primeval Britons, is pretty plainly evinced by the few remains which have been accidentally discovered at it. Within the area of the castle, extended as it evidently appears to have been from the present eminence of the ground and the appellation of the Husteads and Castle-hills, and containing several statute-acres in its compass, have been dug up those round beads of the Britons that have been equally discovered in the British barrows upon Salisbury Plain [12]. They were of earth or paste perforated, ribbed or fluted on the

 outside,

outside, and coloured over with a green-blue dye. And within one or two fields from the castle was lately discovered a brazen Celt, hollow in the blade, and carrying a loop at the head [13]. The region of Saddleworth indeed, of which the site of Castleshaw is a part, now belongs to the county of York. But it must evidently have been originally dismembered from Lancashire, being even now a chapelry in one of our Lancashire parishes, and the greater of this double range of hills most naturally forming the barrier betwixt the Sistuntii and the Brigantes [14].

The Britons finding a site at Cambodunum that was very well calculated for a fortress, being screened from the violences of the weather by the high grounds around it, and yet no-ways liable to be insulted from them, being well provided with water, and very capable of defence, they placed their fortress upon it. It must then have been encompassed on every side by the forest which covered this particular region of the moors to these later ages, and which has given the denomination of Forest-hill to a neighbouring height. And here the Romans for the same reason afterwards planted a stationary town. This appears from its remains to have been considerable. This appears from Richard to have even obtained the honourable privilege of the Jus Latinum [15]. And this must have given the chearful aspect of cultivation to these now sable wastes, and must have made the busy hum of men to resound amid these now dreary solitudes. But it was destroyed very early in the period of the Saxons. The voice of Tradition, which speaks so loudly at the sites of some Roman towns, is either absolutely silent or very faintly whispers at this, though scarcely a single relique perhaps appears at the former, and though the remains are equally numerous and remarkable at the latter. And the town was certainly, as Cambodunum has been generally supposed to have been, the famous Campodonum of Bede, and was levelled to the ground during the wasteful invasion of Cadwallaun and Penda in 633 and within a few years only after its first submission to the Saxons. With the Romans began the glory of this hilly region. And nearly with the Brigantes it was absolutely terminated for ever [16].

Horseley

[1] Horsley p. 387, and others.—[2] Mr. Percival's Essay in Phil. Transf. V. XLVII. p. 219, &c.—[3] Horseley p. 414.—[4] Mr. Percival's Essay.—[5] Mr. Angier of Heton (Horseley p. 413.) and Mr. Percival of Ryton.—[6] Ogilby's Roads p. 41. 1698. and Horseley p. 412.—[7] The name is vulgarly pronounced the Yeld Fields, as the neighbouring Ealand is popularly denominated Yelland, and as some Eald houses at Rushulme near Manchester are popularly called the Yeld houses.—[8] The account of this road I received from the rev. Mr. Watson, who lately resided at Ripponden in the neighbourhood.—[9] See Phil. Transf. V. XXIII. p. 1285.—[10] Camden p. 322. Cæsar p. 164. and Gruter p. 56.—And see also Montfaucon's Antiq. Expl. tom. I. p. 46. plate 17. Mr. Pegge on Cunobeline's coins p. 15. supposes Mars to have had different denominations among different tribes, Camulus among the Cassii or Trinovantes, Belatucadrus among the Brigantes, and Braciaca among the Coritani. But this is evidently a mistake. Mars appears from the other name of Cambodunum to have been called Camulus among the Brigantes as well as among the Trinovantes or Cassii. And all the names without doubt were common to all parts of the island.—[11] Phil. Transf. V. XLVII. p. 225.—[12] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 45.—[13] See ch. i. f. 2. B. 1.—[14] See ch. v. f. 1. b. I.—[15] See b. I. ch. 8. f. 1. of this work.—[16] See the Campodonum in Bede l. ii. c. 14: and the B and the P are frequently interchanged, as I shall shew hereafter. Basilicam cum totâ eâdem villâ succenderunt. It was levelled to the ground just thirteen years after its submission to the Saxons. See b. ii. ch. 2. f. 5.

The antiquarian world has long called upon the incorporated antiquarians of London to publish the many useful dissertations that were known to be lodged in their archives. The work is at last begun. And the public has been this winter obliged with the first volume of the Antiquarian Transactions. This is a valuable present in itself. This is more valuable for its future consequences. It now forms a regular and respectable repository for the effusions of the antiquarian genius. It will peculiarly

liarly stimulate the ingenious and the sensible both in and out of the society to remit their disquisitions to it. And we may therefore very safely affirm, that each succeeding volume will rise superior in spirit sentiment and usefulness to the first. In this, my learned and worthy friend the rev. Mr. Watson, now rector of Stockport in Cheshire, and the late Thomas Percival Esq; of Ryton near Manchester, have advanced several particulars relating to the subject of the present section, which have been too hastily taken up and are generally unjust. Thus Mr. Percival in p. 63. and Mr. Watson in p. 218—220, on suppositions frivolous in themselves and confessedly contrary to authority, fix the boundaries of Maxima and Flavia, not (as they actually ran) along the Humber the Don and the Mersey, but along the Humber the hills of Castleshaw and the Ribble. Thus p. 216—217 Mr. Watson endeavours, as Mr. Percival had endeavoured before in Phil. Trans. V. XLVII, to fix the Alunna of Ravennas at Castleshaw, principally because it occurs in that ever-desultory Chorography near to Mantium, the supposed Manucium of Antonine; when both Richard and Antonine confessedly go over the road on which Castleshaw stands without the least mention of Alunna; when the very name implies a situation the reverse of Castleshaw, a position upon a river, from which Castleshaw is at some distance; and when the Alunna of Ravennas so obviously points at the Ad Alaunam or Lancaster of Richard. And thus p. 225 Mr. Watson fixes the Campodonum of Bede at Doncaster, because Alfred mistakenly translates it Donafelda, and because Campodonum was destroyed at the invasion in which Edwin was killed at Heathfield near Doncaster; when the names of the towns in Bede must certainly be sought in the Itineraries of the Romans, and Cambodunum is so obviously reflected in Campodonum; when Doncaster must necessarily have been mentioned by him under the appellation of Dane Daunp or Dono Caestir or of Castrum ad Danum, and is expressly mentioned by the Continuator of Nennius under the similar title of Caer Daun; and when from that mention it plainly appears to have not been destroyed at all in A. D. 633,

II. To

II.

To settle the particular position of Condate hath long embarrassed the antiquarian criticks. Settled originally at Congleton because of some remaining sameness in the name, that only guide in the infancy of antiquarian learning, it has been lately fixed upon better principles at or near Northwich. But it was neither at the one nor at the other. The site of the station is sufficiently pointed out by the course of the road. And the course of the road is sufficiently ascertained by the broken remains of it which sometimes appear, by the direction of them where they cease, and by the sure signatures of the name of Street where both fail us.

Richard's 6th Iter runs thus,		And Antonine's 2d Iter thus,	
From MANCUNIUM		From MANUCIUM to	
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ			
ET FLAVIÆ m. p.	18	CONDATE	18
CONDATE	18		
Deva	18;	Deva	20.

Richard's 10th Iter runs thus,		And Antonine's 10th Iter thus,	
From MANCUNIUM to		From MANCUNIUM to	
CONDATE	23	CONDATE	18
Mediolano	18;	Mediolano	18.

The road to Condate did not take the direct way from the station to Throstle-nest, but made an ample curve on the south to reach it. The right line of the road would have carried it from the south-western angle of the camp across the channel of the Medlock, and in the line of the canal into the road at Cornebrooke. But this route of the road was prevented by the steepness of the banks, by the want of a ford there across the channel

channel of the river, and by the prudence of retaining both in their natural ſtate as the principal barriers of the camp upon the ſouth.

The road to Condate and to Cambodunum commenced at the ſame time from the eaſtern gate of the Caſtrum, and proceeded in the ſame line along the eaſtern ſide of the Caſtle-field. At the extremity of the Field the road to Condate muſt have left the road to Cambodunum, have winded along the deſcent to the river, and a little on this ſide of Cornebrook have turned on the right to gain the line in which it ſhould originally have moved. Paſſing from this point along the line of the preſent road, but twiſted into little angles by the unequal encroachments of the incloſures upon it, it muſt have proceeded through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Merſey. And as no appearance of the Roman workmanſhip can at all be expected along the track of the preſent road, ſo none are diſcoverable along the borders of the adjoining fields. Along the unvarying level of thoſe low meadows particularly which extend from the village to the ford, the leaſt elevation of a road would be immediately perceived. Along the coat of river-ſand which covers thoſe meadows to a conſiderable depth, the leaſt ſeam of gravel would immediately be diſtinguiſhed. But as no traces of a ridge appear to the eye above, ſo no veſtiges of a foundation are diſcovered by the ſpade below [a].

The road, having paſſed the meadows and croſſed the ford, continues along the courſe of the preſent lane to the village of Croſs-ſtreet, and proceeds through it to the once ample extent of Broad-Heath. There the preſent road beginning to wind upon the left and to point towards the little town of Altringham, the Roman way deſerts it, and, paſſing about the middle of the preſent heath, enters the fields that have been lately incloſed from it. And in theſe fields the line of the gravel is frequently diſcovered by the ſpade, lying upon the black turf and the white ſand. And at the extremity of theſe fields was the road diſcovered in the cutting of the new canal, and the traces of it appear to the eye at preſent in the gravelled ſide of the

bank.

bank. Beyond the canal it entered the fields of Oldfield-Hall, is invisible in the first, but is very visible in the other three. These appear to have been originally a part of the neighbouring moss, which is denominated Seaman's, which spread into a large extent upon the right; and some narrow remains of which still continue immediately on the left. And the Roman road must have been constructed along them with a good elevation. Within these very few years, the gravel has been carried away to the depth of a yard in many places. And yet the seam of the gravel remains very conspicuous along the third and fourth fields.

But, leaving these closes, the road enters a field that was hedged in from the moss only a few years ago. This must have been the most boggy part of the moss in the time of the Romans, as even now the soil of it is so extremely loose and soft, that I pushed a whalebone whip with great facility a full yard into the ground. Over such a tract of land, the road must necessarily have been raised with gravel to a considerable height. Over it the road still carries a lofty ridge, being popularly called the Upcast, and having a fall for ten or twelve yards on either side. And over it the road lately carried a loftier; a great quantity of gravel having been taken off from the summit soon after the inclosing of the field, and dispersed equably along the sides.

Having thus crossed the moss, the Roman way leaves the low grounds to which it had hitherto been confined, and begins to ascend the Dunes or hills which terminate the rich valley of Manchester to the south-west, and give name to the neighbouring Dunham. Not mounting the summit but passing along a lower shelve of the hills, it enters Dunham-park, and must once have communicated the name of Street-head to the high ground upon its left. And this name is now retained by the only habitation which is near it, a small house at the foot of the high ground and upon the margin of the present road.

Descending along the slope of these heights and leaving the inclosure of the Park, the Roman road must have crossed the

little valley beyond and its little rivulet the Bollen, and have once more fallen into the present road near New-Bridge. This a single significative circumstance sufficiently indicates of itself. The whole length of the present road from New-Bridge to Buckley-Hill is denominated Street. The Roman road therefore stretches away from the angle immediately beyond New-Bridge along the course of the present road, and leaves Rostherne-Mere about a bow-shot from it on the left. Thus does it proceed to Buckley-Hill, being all the way popularly known by the expressive appellation of Street. From Buckley-Hill it passes to Mere-town, proceeding in the same line and retaining the same name. And about two miles beyond the latter, passing the narrow hollow channel of a brook, it assumes the name of Holford-street, and preserves it for half a mile together.

A little beyond the conclusion of this half-mile, the present road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich, the Roman road insensibly steals away to the left. But about a mile beyond the point, and in the direction of the line, we recover the road again. This new part of the road is a well-gravelled lane, denominated Street, and extending in a right line for four or five miles together. The Roman road stealing over the inclosures, or passing along the bye-lanes, must have stretched directly across Penny-lane, and have instantly entered the ample opening of the street. The appellation of this road is written Kind-street by the only antiquarians that have named it, Mr. Horseley and Mr. Percival; but is invariably spoken King-street by the people. The former however is pretty certainly the name, and the latter is merely a corruption. And the alteration has resulted entirely from the natural humour among all nations of assimilating strange to familiar names in popular pronunciation, as the road must have led to the antient Condate, and as it now leads to the present Kinderton [4]. At its commencement, leaving the town of Northwich about half a mile to the right, the Kind-street goes on about twelve or fourteen yards in breadth, a great public road, and now wanting considerable repair. In its continuance, leaving the sandy waste

4 of

of Rud-heath a little diſtant on the left and Newton near Middlewich leſs diſtant on the right, the Kind-ſtreet paſſes through Ravenſcroft into Kinderton. And both the name and the lane are inſtantly heard of no more.

Here therefore the concluſion of the road and the length of the diſtance invite us ſtrongly to ſearch for a ſtation. The name of Condate is pretty loudly echoed in the name of Kinderton*. And, what is much more weighty, this is the firſt place convenient for a ſtation about the requiſite diſtance from Mancheſter.

The Kind-ſtreet, pointing down the bank of the river to the bridge of Ravenſcroft, muſt have forded the channel two or three yards to the right of the bridge, and have entered the field beyond it. In this field it has been actually diſcovered. This is denominated the Harbour's field. And this was certainly the area of the Roman ſtation. The particular ſituation of the field betwixt the rivers Croco and Dane is a ſufficient proof in itſelf. The appellation of the ground is an additional evidence, the Har-bourh's Field ſignifying plainly the area of the military ſtation. And the ſite and the name, the remains about it and the tradition concerning it, are an abſolute determination*.

This field is nearly a parallelogram of ten ſtatute-acres in extent, and is bounded by a natural bank lofty and ſteep upon one ſide, and the little Croco curling at the foot of it, and by another natural bank leſs lofty but more ſteep on another ſide, and the larger Daven or Dane gurgling directly beneath it; the former rivulet falling into the latter at the angle of the field. Upon the third ſide, but ſeveral yards within the hedge of the field, are the conſiderable remains of a ditch, riſing up the aſcent, and being once undoubtedly continued in the ſame line and along the hollow of the contiguous lane. And upon the fourth ſide the antient ditch ſtill preſerves its original perfection, being a ſteep foſſe about ten yards in depth to the narrow bottom and about eight in breadth at the top, formerly converted, like a part of the other ditch, into the courſe of a road, and lately made the channel of an artificial ſtreamlet.

Such was the ſtation of Condate. And a road has been diſcovered commencing from it, traverſing a field immediately without the caſtrum, and frequently viſible in a dry ſummer for the whole length of the field immediately beyond both. This is ordinarily called the Roman road, and muſt certainly from its direction have gone to Mediolanum in Shropſhire. Another muſt have courſed by Home-ſtreet-Hall to Cheſter. And a third muſt have extended by Street-Forge and Red-ſtreet to Cheſterton near Newcaſtle.

This then is Condate, the ſtation ſo long loſt and ſo vainly ſought. And that it has been loſt and ſought ſo long may juſtly excite our admiration. The road pointing certainly towards Cheſter, becauſe to Cheſter one Iter of Antonine carries it, and pointing as certainly to the ſouth or ſouth-eaſt of Cheſter, becauſe another Iter of Antonine carries it into Shropſhire, the courſe of it might have been very eaſily inveſtigated. The ſure ſignatures of Stretford Croſs-ſtreet Street-head Street Holford-ſtreet and King-ſtreet, names all occurring in the line, all pointing out either well-known villages conſpicuous eminences or public roads, and ſome retained for ſeveral miles together, trace out the courſe of it in the plaineſt colours. And the clear tradition of a Roman camp and the ſimilar appellation of Kinderton, at the concluſion of the whole, aſſuredly ſhed the fulleſt light upon the genuine ſite of Condate.

The diſtance of this ſtation from Mancunium is fixed by the ſixth Iter of Richard at thirty-ſix miles, but in the tenth at twenty-three, and by the ſecond and tenth of Antonine at only eighteen. In this diverſity of informations, we are fully at liberty to chuſe ſuch of the meaſures as beſt agree with the real diſtance, and to reject all of them if none agree. We need not the evidence of the numbers to aſcertain the poſition of the caſtrum.

In the firſt meaſure of Richard, which reckons thirty-ſix miles from Mancunium to Condate, he makes the remarkable inſertion of a ſtation betwixt the one and the other. This he or his tranſcriber has placed at eighteen miles from both, and at the boundaries

boundaries of the two provinces Flavia and Maxima. But, certain as we are concerning the course of the road, the very mention of these boundaries shews the number of the miles to be greatly erroneous. The limits of the provinces are the banks of the Mersey at Stretford; and these are only four or five Roman miles from the Castle-field. And if Richard's other distance of twenty-three miles to Condate be the right one, as we shall find it to be, five must be the number in this place; five added to the following eighteen in the sixth Iter being equivalent to the twenty-three in the tenth. This was pretty certainly the original number. And the eye of Richard or his transcriber unwarily catching the number eighteen immediately below, his hand inserted the latter instead of the former [s].

Differing equally from both and from truth are the numbers in Antonine. But the difference may be removed with ease and without any alteration of the present figures. The two Itinera of Antonine give us exactly the same number of miles for the distance betwixt Castle-field and Kinderton, as one Iter of Richard gives us for that betwixt Kinderton and Stretford. And from this coincidence it is highly probable, that the intermediate stage was originally inserted in the tenth Iter of Antonine as well as in the sixth of Richard, and had the number five annexed to it in both; and that the next reckoning of eighteen miles commenced from it in that Iter as well as in this. This was very probably the original state of that Iter. And when this and all the similar notices, which must surely have been once inserted in Antonine's as they now appear in Richard's Itinerary, were thrown out of the former in order to abridge the work, the abridger overlooked the number annexed to this notice, and left the next to stand as it stood before.

The real distance from Castle-field to Kinderton Camp is this. From the Cross at Manchester to the Inn at Buckley-Hill the distance measures about twelve miles, as from Buckley-Hill by Mere-town to Middlewich the distance measures about other twelve. But as we must deduct three quarters of a mile for the distance betwixt the Castle-field and the Cross at Manchester, so

must

must we subtract about a mile for the difference betwixt the direct road of the Romans and the curving road of the present times from Broad-Heath to New-Bridge, and for the angle which the present road describes in going nearer to Northwich and then turning by Penny-lane to King-street. Thus settled, the real distance from the station at Manchester to the camp at Kinderton must be twenty-two English miles, which are very nearly equivalent to twenty-three and three quarters Roman miles, and are therefore fully correspondent with the number in the tenth Iter of Richard.

But here, as we tread the grassy circuit of the Roman Harborough or station, let us reflect a little on the antient history of this part of the country, which is so near to the confines of Manchester, and with which Condate, the first stage from Manchester to the south-west, is so nearly connected. It is utterly unnoticed by others. It is curious in itself. And it will greatly illustrate the antiquities of both.

The Cornavii of Ptolemy, before the arrival of the Romans, possessed that detached region of Flintshire which adjoins to the village of Banchor, all Cheshire, all Shropshire, all Staffordshire, the greater part of Warwickshire, and the adjoining parts of Leicestershire. They owned the towns of Deva or Chester, Uriconium or Wroxeter, Banchorium or Banchor, and Etocetum or Wall near Litchfield[6]. And their dominions appear to have reached all across the whole extent of Warwickshire to the south-eastern verge of it, as they enjoyed Bennonæ or Claychester in the neighbouring skirts of Leicestershire, and as, still lower to the south, a part of Warwickshire that lies betwixt Coventry and Southam and along the range of the fosseway is denominated from them the Cornavy to the present period. These with the Britons of Cornwall in the south-western regions of the island, and with the Britons of Cathness in the north-eastern, are all equally denominated Carnabii by Richard. And all of them must have been undoubtedly denominated from some one striking circumstance of position or of origin which was common to them all. They were all evidently denominated from the

common

common nature of their site. The Carnabii of Cornwall and the Carnabii of Cathness obviously inhabited a region exactly similar in this great particular, that, open upon one side, it narrowed gradually upon the other, and shot out in a promontory into the sea. Such a promontory the Britons expressed by the word Keren-av, the horn of the sea. And from this the common the significative characteristic of the two countries the two tribes that possessed them must have been undoubtedly denominated. The Carnabii therefore who inhabited the whole of Staffordshire Shropshire and Cheshire, and several parts of Warwickshire Leicestershire and Flintshire, must have equally received their denomination from the nature of their sea-coast. And as all their possessions in the other counties are entirely removed from the sea, this necessarily carries us into Cheshire. There, in the neighbourhood of the Dee, the Carnabii are expressly declared by Richard to have been originally situated [7]. And there we have a region similar to those of Cornwall and Cathness, a region open on one side, narrowing on the other, and shooting out into the sea. The county is contracted on the west into the peninsula of Wirrall, and pushes out in that long promontory betwixt the æstuaries of the Dee and the Mersey. Thus considered, do the same three names all result from one and the same circumstance. And the uniformity of the etymology is a sufficient proof of its propriety [8].

Within this peninsula then, and along the contiguous parts of the county, the Carnabii originally resided. From this peninsula and the contiguous parts of the county the original Carnabii must have sallied out, and spread their dominions over the rest of the county, over the whole counties of Shrewsbury and Stafford, and over the neighbouring parts of Warwickshire Leicestershire and Flintshire. While they were confined within the precincts of West-Cheshire, they seem to have had only the towns of Deva and Condate. And of these Condate appears from its name to have been the capital, being composed of the words Conda Te, and signifying the principal abode [9].

Thus

Thus was Condate the capital of West-Cheshire, and, after the acquisition of the rest of the county, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and the neighbouring parts of Warwickshire Leicestershire and Flintshire, the capital of all. But as it had certainly lost its dignity before the arrival of the Romans, so did it as certainly lose it in consequence of an invasion from the Brigantes. When that active and spirited tribe, about the commencement of the Christian æra, had seized all the fortresses that guarded the passes of the Yorkshire hills, and had subdued all the country that lay betwixt the hills and the sea, they appear to have carried their victorious arms to the south and north, to have crossed the river of Mersey and the frith of Solway, and to have conquered equally the Selgovæ of Anandale and the Carnabii of Cheshire. The conquest of the Selgovæ is clearly evinced by the statue which was discovered in their country and which was inscribed to the Goddess Brigantia [10]. And the conquest of the Carnabii may be equally evinced from an altar which was discovered at Chester and was inscribed to the Goddess-Nymph of the Brigantes [11]. The Carnabii of Cheshire therefore and the Selgovæ of Anandale had certainly adopted themselves, and had actually communicated to the Romans, the worship of the peculiar or tutelar divinity of the Brigantes; and both therefore at the invasion of the Romans must have been reduced under the dominion of the Brigantes. Nothing can be a fuller proof of the subjection of one British tribe to another, than its desertion of its own tutelar divinity and its adoption of the other's.

This reasoning is fully confirmed by the authority of Ptolemy. He mentions not the Cornavii as the possessors of Cheshire. He gives them Chester indeed; but for that purpose has removed it far away from the county, and has even placed it forty-five miles to the south of Wroxeter and an hundred and five to the east of it. And from a comparison of the latitude and longitude of Seteia or the Dee with those of Devana or Chester, as they are all given by himself, it appears plainly that he did not apprehend the latter to be within or even near to Cheshire, having placed Devana ninety miles to the east and an hundred and twenty

to

to the south of Seteia [12]. The whole county of Chester appears to have been as much subject to the Brigantes in the time of Ptolemy, as the counties of Lancaster Westmoreland and Cumberland; and therefore Ptolemy equally cedes them all to the Brigantes. He particularly extends their possessions on this western side to the channel of the Dee, expressly assigning them all the region that reached up to the Ordovices, who certainly lived beyond it [13]. And he particularly fixes the Cornavii, not at all to the north of the Ordovices, in Cheshire, but absolutely and entirely to the east of them, in the regions of Shropshire and Staffordshire.

The eruption of the Carnabii must have been undoubtedly prior to the invasion of the Brigantes, and the invasion must have been equally prior to the migration of the Brigantes from our western coast into Ireland about the years 51 or 52 of the Christian æra [14]. The migration appears plainly, from the friendly accompaniment of the Lancashire Cangii with the Brigantes in it [15], to have been many years after the invasion, and when the conquered had subdued the first natural impressions of aversion, and now began to associate in friendship with their conquerors. And the invasion must have been a considerable number of years after the eruption, as in the interval betwixt both the mighty conquerors of three or four counties were reduced enough in character to be attacked within their original dominions, and were sunk enough in reality to be even subdued within their native territories. But, Condate being thus possessed by the invading Brigantes, the unsubdued Carnabii of Flintshire Shropshire Staffordshire Warwickshire and Leicestershire naturally erected a new capital, and raised Uriconiu or Wroxeter to that honour. And Uriconiu appears to have been possessed of it at the period of the Roman invasion, Condate having then lost all its former lustre, and being reduced under the dominion of the Brigantes and the supremacy of Iseur their metropolis [16].

[1] Mr. Percival therefore in Phil. Tranf., afferting the road to be traceable in the meadows near the bridge, fuffered his imagination to impofe upon his judgement. Such impofitions will frequently happen in antiquarian purfuits, if a perfon be not upon his guard againft them.—[2] This without doubt is the road which Camden conjectures to be Roman and which he erroneoufly mentions to extend from Middlewich to Northwich (p. 461.)—[3] The name of Kinderton is probably formed only by the popular pronunciation of the letter R, as Pottage is invariably pronounced Porrage, Rachel is familiarly pronounced Tachey, Grammatica is now pronounced Grammar, and Arterith, a place near Carlifle and the fcene of a battle in the Triades, is now called Atterith.—[4] Some of the people about Middlewich ridiculoufly place the Roman camp upon the area of Bellpool-Hill in the adjoining field, a mount furrounded with ditches and the Dane, but containing only half an acre in extent.—[5] See b. I. ch. vi. f. 2. for this inferted ftation.—[6] Richard p. 24.—[7] P. 24. Ad fluvium Devam primò fiti erant Carnabii.—[8] See Baxter in Corinavii, and Carte vol. I. p. 108, for two etymologies that are as idle in themfelves as they are impertinent in their application.—[9] So Condate Rhedonum in Antoninus &c.—[10] Horfeley Scotland No. 34.—[11] Gale's Antoninus p. 53.—[12] See b. I. ch. v. f. 1. for Seteia being the Dee.—[13] Under the Brigantes (fays Ptolemy) in the moft wefterly regions refide the Ordovices, and more eafterly than the Ordovices are the Cornavii.—[14] Richard p. 51.—[15] See b. I. ch. xii. f. 4.—[16] Among the Carnabian towns Reliquarum Mater Uriconium, in Richard p. 24; and Utriconion Cornoninorum in Ravennas, or, as the Vatican MS. juftly reads the words, Urioconium Cornaviorum.

In the firft volume of Archæologia, publifhed this very winter by the Antiquarian Society, I find that the late Thomas Percival Efq; fixes Condate at Kinderton with me. But he afferts the Roman road from Manchefter to it to be "vifible almoft all the "way" (p. 62.); when, as the Roman and the prefent road actually run together almoft all the way, it is abfolutely impoffible for the Roman to be more than partially and occafionally vifible.

visible. And he asserts the Roman camp to be "yet visible at "Kinderton where the Dane and the Weaver join" (p. 62.); when the camp is certainly visible only in the remains of two ditches, and when these are really at the distance of two or three miles from the conjunction of the Weaver and the Dane. But Mr. Percival was but a young antiquarian when he died. Had he lived longer, his natural genius for antiquarian studies would have been more highly cultivated, his fund of antiquarian learning would have been considerably enriched, and his lively mind would have acquired new vigour and additional accuracy from the habit of observing and reflecting.

III.

Richard's 10th Iter,	Antonine's 10th Iter,
From Brocavonacis	From Galacum
AD ALAUNAM m. p.....	BREMETONACIS m. p. 27
COCCIO m. p......	COCCIO m. p. 20
MANCUNIO 18.	MANCUNIO m. p. 17.

The road to Coccium or Blackrode did not commence immediately from the station. It might have begun at the south-western angle of it, have swept over the peninsula of Hulme-field, have crossed the Irwell at the point of the meadow, and have slanted away for Walkden Moor. And this route would have been the most direct line of the road. But this route was prevented by the badness of the morass betwixt the station and Hulme-fields, and by the prudence of retaining so useful a barrier to the camp. The road to Blackrode actually began with the road to Kinderton, and actually proceeded with it for more than a mile. Taking the same course to Throstlenest, it there turned away to the right, and there forded the Irwell at the shallow which originally gave denomination to the neighbouring Trafford, and which was lately destroyed by the commissioners of the navigation. And having passed the channel of the river, it

then took its proper direction, and then first pointed towards the station at Blackrode. It ranged across the level eyes, mounted the little heights, crossed the high road to Warrington, and joined the present plain and continued remains of it near Hope-Hall. This was even in part the customary road into the present town from that region of the country as late as the present century. But in all this course from the river to the hall the road is absolutely invisible; and the remains that begin at the latter and extend for two miles together are the only decisive arguments of its course.

Proceeding along the foot of Harts-hill brow, and crossing Broomhouse-lane, it enters the estate of Hope-Hall. It first slanted along the side of Dovehouse-Croft, has been there turned up by the plough, and appeared to be seven yards in breadth. It is next discovered in the field which is beyond the old Hope-Hall, and which is denominated the Upper Broad-Hope, by the gravel beneath the surface, and in the next field or the Lower Broad-Hope by the long ridge above it. The seam of the gravel is a certain proof of the road, as the ground is all naturally clay; and the course of the ridge is very evident to the eye. In the next or Little Brook-field, when the ground is ploughed, the gravel appears very thick upon the brown furrows, and much thicker at the extremity of the field and on the margin of the brook. And in all these inclosures the track of the road is clearly marked to the farmer by the great luxuriancy of the corn upon it.

The road here leaving the Hope-Hall estate and entering the Heath-fields, the gravel is easily discovered by the spade in the first of them, as it crosses the corner of the field. In the second Heath-field the ridge of the road appears again, but much greater and very considerable, extending ten or twelve yards in width, and having a fall on either side. Passing through a corner of the third Heath-field, the ridge continues still evident but reduced in the fourth and fifth, rises to a very considerable height in the sixth, and retains it in Heath-lane and in the field beyond it. In the last close the elevation of the road appears

equally

equally green and dry for twelve or thirteen yards in width, and is ſkirted by a border of ruſhes in the wet ground of either ſide. But at the extremity of this and in the next or Toad-hill Field, and in the field beyond both, the ridge entirely diſappears, and the road is diſcovered only by the ſpade in the hither end of the ſecond and at the further end of the third fields, and by the gravel which the ſpade diſcovers lying upon the natural ſoil. And here the ridge of the road has been evidently taken away by the farmers, and the materials of it diſperſed with an equal hand over a part of the ſloping ground on the right.

Croſſing the next field and the lane, the Roman road points through Chorleton Fold and through the ground beyond it to the lane. It there enters the Weſtwood-fields, and appears again with a ſmall ridge aſcending the ſlope of the ſecond incloſure, and pointing to a large oak upon the furzy ſummit of it. At that oak and in the adjoining field the gravel of the road is very evident, lying very thick upon the road, and ſpreading ſeveral yards in width. It croſſes the ſecond field of Mr. Bailey in a plain ridge and the firſt field of Mr. Watſon in a plainer. Loſing its ridge at this end of Mr. Watſon's ſecond field, it recovers it with an addition at the other. But in the next or Mr. Blomiley's field the gravel of it appears along all the three cloſes, lying in a tall ridge of ten or twelve yards in width. And in the adjoining fields of Brookſide eſtate the road ſtill appears, though leſs conſpicuous, but retaining an evident ridge, and pointing directly by Drywood-houſe to Shaving-lane or Shaving-ſtreet about half a mile beyond it.

This name is retained by a direct and open lane for a mile together, and is loſt only in the name of Stany-ſtreet a little on this ſide of Walkden-moor. There the Roman way becomes the preſent road, and paſſes in a direct line by Street-Yate and Win-Yates towards the village of Blackrode. There was it diſcovered about fourteen years ago parallel with the preſent road and at a little diſtance from it, lying a foot below the ſurface, covered

with

with a ſtrong crop of furzes and briars, and being three yards in breadth as well as eight or nine in length.

The name of Stany or Stony ſtreet would naturally induce one to imagine, that the road which was ſo denominated muſt have been regularly paved. And ſo it certainly was. In the firſt field which it enters belonging to the Hope-Hall eſtate, and in the diſcovery which the plough made of it ſome years ago, it was found to be paved with large boulders. And the ſmall piece of it which was laid open by the ſpade at Blackrode appeared to be a regular pavement, firmly jointed together and compoſed of heavy ſtones.

Such was the road that led to the Roman ſtation at Blackrode. But were ſhall we fix the actual ſite of the ſtation? The town, as it ſeems, having been very early deſtroyed, the traces of its antient dignity are almoſt entirely erazed, and exiſt only at preſent in the faint retroſpect of traditionary hiſtory and in the vague generalities of a winter's tale. The town, as it ſeems, having been entirely demoliſhed, and afterwards built upon a different ſite, almoſt all the veſtiges of its Roman maſters have been long obliterated by the hand of time, and even the very exiſtence of them forgotten in the chronicles of tradition. In this ſtate of uncertainty, the attention of an antiquarian is naturally engaged at firſt by the name of Caſtle-Croft at the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of the village, by the tradition of a caſtle upon it, and by the evident remains of ditches around it. But this can never have been the area of a Roman ſtation. This is merely an area of half an acre in extent. And the ſtation can never have been on this ſide of the village at all. It muſt aſſuredly have been on the other and upon the lofty bank of the river. There, and there only, is that particular in the ſite which the Romans generally ſecured in the poſition of a ſtation, the concurrence of a brook with the river, and a commodious lingula of ground betwixt both. There, and there only, are thoſe greater particulars in the ſite which the Romans more generally ſecured in the poſition of a ſtation, the convenience of a ſtream and the advantage of a bank, that the one might afford a re-

gular ſupply of water to the garriſon, and that both might furniſh ſome natural defences to the camp.

Tradition aſſerts the town to have been originally erected, not, as now, upon the narrow creſt of a lofty hill which has a long gradual deſcent on every ſide of it, but along the ſlope to the north-weſt and in the courſe of the road to Preſton. And that part of the Roman road which was ſome time ago diſcovered at Blackrode lay pointing directly to the river. And to the river the actual diſtances in the Itineraries lead us. The chapel at Blackrode is juſt at the eighteenth meaſured mile along the curving courſe of the preſent road from the croſs at Mancheſter. But from the ſtation in Caſtle-Field, and along the courſe of the Roman road, which falls into the other betwixt the ſeventh and eighth meaſured mile from the Croſs, and which meaſures only about five miles and a half to that point, the diſtance is only about ſixteen Engliſh miles to the chapel. And from this reckoning we muſt deduct one ſixteenth for the difference betwixt the horizontal and the road mile, as the road riſes gently all the way from the ſtation to the chapel, and is frequently interſected with narrow gullies; and we muſt add one fourteenth to the remainder for the difference betwixt the Engliſh miles and the Roman. The former ſettles the diſtance along the Roman road from the Caſtle-Field to the village at fifteen Engliſh horizontal miles. And the latter fixes it at ſixteen horizontal Roman miles. But as the ſpecified diſtance to the ſtation at Blackrode is more than ſeventeen horizontal Roman miles, we muſt neceſſarily proceed for more than a mile in the line of the above-diſcovered road before we can expect to diſcover the ſite of the ſtation.

Proceeding then in this line and for this length, we come to the river Douglas, which riſes in the neighbouring Pike of Rivington, and deſcends by the town of Wigan to the ſea. Proceeding in this line and for this length, we find ourſelves very near the bottom of the winding deſcent to Preſton, and near the extremity of the ground on which tradition has erected the original Blackrode. And here undoubtedly was the ſtation of the

Romans.

Romans. Here the Douglas forms a large crook in its channel, here a brook discharges its little urn into it, and here are natural or artificial banks on the sides. Here, closely adjoining to the site, is a considerable barrow; and tradition speaks of a considerable battle near it, in which a great officer was slain, many of the soldiers were cut to pieces, and the Douglas ran crimsoned with the blood to Wigan. And here, and here only along the whole bank of the river, are all these advantages to be found united.

This site comprehends two fields, the one of which is peculiarly denominated the Rie-Hay, and the other is called the Smithy-field, and both of which contain an area of seven or seven and a half statute-acres *. Lying within a large curve of the Douglas and at the union of a small brook with it, they have the channel of the former and its steep bank of five six and seven yards in height for the whole of the northern side and for a part of the eastern, and the course of the latter and its steep bank of two four and five yards in height upon the western. And on the south must have been a ditch, winding from the extremity of the western bank along the side of the neighbouring field, and going, I suppose, across the present road obliquely to the high bank of the river below the barrow.

Thus situated, the station appears plainly to be the Coccium of Richard and Antonine and the Rhigodunum of Ptolemy. Both the former and the latter have been hitherto supposed to be the Ribchester of the present times. But I have formerly shewn the supposition to be false concerning Coccium. And the supposition concerning Rhigodunum is directly contrary to the testimony of Ptolemy.

The relative position of the towns in Ptolemy are nearly as inaccurate in general as his absolute positions are. Thus, to confine my observation to Rhigodunum in particular, that station is placed by Ptolemy both thirty miles to the east of Vinnovium or Binchester and as many to the west of Devana or Chester; when it is certainly, according to all the antiquarians and to truth, considerably to the west of the former and to the east of the latter.

But

But though his relative positions of the towns are thus greatly erroneous, yet his relative bearings of the coasts must necessarily, from the progressive particularity of his coasting and from the striking permanent nature of the marks in his description, be sufficiently exact. If therefore we collate his positions of the towns with his bearings of the coast, and determine the site from both, though we must expect that determination to partake of the errors in the former, we shall certainly come nearer the truth by this than by any other direction.

I shall hereafter shew the Setantian port of Ptolemy, which is in 17° 20′ of eastern longitude, to be within the mouth of the river Ribble and at the famous Neb of the Nese. Rhigodunum therefore was certainly not at Ribchester, because this is not, as that is placed, forty Roman miles in a right line to the east of that site; being, as Richard's Itinerary will hereafter inform us, only twenty-three upon the road [3]. That port is also placed in 57° 45′ of northern latitude, and Rhigodunum in 57° 30′; a circumstance that shews the latter to be no-where upon the Ribble at all, as the channel of this river is so far from lying to the south-east of its mouth, that it actually lies to the north-east of it.

And as Rhigodunum is thus evinced from Ptolemy's bearings of the coast not to be Ribchester, it may as easily be evinced to be Blackrode only. I shall hereafter prove Belisama to be the river Mersey, the mouth of which is placed by Ptolemy in 17° 30′ and 57° 20′ [4]. Rhigodunum therefore, being in 18° 00′ and 57° 30′, is just thirty miles to the east and ten to the north of that mouth. This necessarily confines us to the south of Lancashire in general. This necessarily confines us to Blackrode in particular. Blackrode is the only station that in the east approaches the requisite distances, and is exactly about thirty Roman miles or twenty-eight English to the east of Black-Rock and about nine or ten to the north of it.

Thus plainly does Rhigodunum appear to have been intended by Ptolemy for the Coccium of Richard and Antoninus, and to have been the capital of the Sistuntian dominions. And the

former name is equally expressive as the latter of this the joint supremacy of both over the towns of Lancashire. The latter, which from the Roman termination of the word sufficiently appears to have been Caer Coccui, imports literally the City of Supremacy: and the former, which may be either Rigod-dunum or Rigo-dunum, and which analogy requires and history hereafter evinces to have been actually Rigod-dunum [5], as literally signifies the Fortress of Royalty. The Britons appear frequently to have adopted such abstract terms as these to denote their Kings and to denominate their Capitals. Such are Bren, Pend, and Vint, all signifying properly the highest place or the greatest dignity, and all applied constantly to the highest person or the greatest town [6]. Such more particularly is Ragæ, the Roman name of the present Leicester and the British appellation of the Coritanian capital; Rageu and Rigod being equally the British terms for Royalty, and equally with Coccui the designation of a metropolis [7]. And a duplicate of names appears to have been not uncommon among the Britons in general for their fortresses in the woods, Camulodunum and Cambodunum being two names for the same fortress, and the Bovium of Antoninus being only a different name for the Banchorium of Richard.

Thus was the British fortress which stood upon the site of the Roman Coccium the metropolis of the kingdom of Lancashire, before the Brigantes descended from the hills of Yorkshire and over-ran the country. And it must have been within the compass of that great forest which remained three or four centuries ago under the denomination of Horwich Forest; and the black and dreary site of which still continues very near unto it under the appellation of Horwich Moor. There must it have been placed by the Britons of Lancashire upon the alarming irruption of the Carnabii into the counties of Flint, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Leicester, and Warwick. Upon such an alarm, the first precaution of the Sistuntii would naturally be to fortify their exposed frontier on the south, and to construct the fortresses of Veratin and Mancenion. The second would be to settle other fortresses in other parts of their little kingdom, to which the inhabitants

might

might retreat and the cattle might be driven in case of an actual invasion. The ford at Warrington was sufficiently secured, as I shall shew hereafter[s]: And almost as probably was the ford at Stockport, because it could be almost as easily defended. But the fords at Wulston, Hollin's-Green, Stoneford, Stretford, Barlow, and Didsbury could not be defended at all, because of the low grounds for a considerable way on either side of them, and for want of such a particular site as I shall shew Warrington to have possessed, and must therefore have been all neglected. And this rendered it the more necessary to construct two or three fortresses in the interior parts of the county. In consequence of this political necessity, the inland fortresses of Rerigon and Coccui must have been immediately laid out; as about half a century afterwards in all probability, upon a just suspicion of the neighbouring Brigantes, two new forts were settled at Concangion and at Bremetonac, and others perhaps at Colne at Littleborough and at Castleshaw. But of all these, and perhaps of others, Coccui was appointed the metropolis or capital, because it was nearest to the center of the kingdom, and because it was fixed in the most considerable forest within it. And any invasion of the country from the northern the eastern or the southern quarters might easily be notified to the capital, and be communicated by it to the kingdom. A fire at Warrington, at Manchester, at Castleshaw, at Pendle-Hill near Colne, or at Longridge-Fell near Ribchester, would immediately be seen from the summit of Rivington-Pike, and might immediately be answered by another from it; as a fire upon some of the lofty mountains near Kendal might be answered by successive fires from Ingleborough-Hill at Overborough, from Pendle-Hill or Longridge-Fell, and from the Pike. And we find beacons familiarly in use among the primitive Britons, the besieged capital of one of our northern islands in the third century actually lighting up a fire upon one of the buildings, and Fingal immediately knowing "the green flame edged with smoke" to be a token of invasion and distress[t]. Thus would all the towns of the Sistuntii be immediately apprized of an invasion, immediately open their

gates to receive the women the children and the cattle, and be immediately put into a condition of defence. And thus would Coccui, the capital of the whole, be as certain as a town could be to be the last attacked by an invading enemy, and to be the best prepared for a vigorous defence against them.

[1] See Horseley p. 384, 385, 397, 398, &c.—[2] See b. I. ch. vi. s. 2. for another station upon a rie or river field.—[3] B. I. ch. v. s. 1.—[4] Ibid.—[5] See b. II. ch. ii. s. 4.—[6] Baxter in Brennus. So also Pendragon, Venta Silurum, &c.—[7] B. I. ch. v. s. 3.—[8] B. I. ch. v. s. 4.—[9] Ossian Vol. I. p. 198.

In vol. I. of Antiquarian Essays, published this very winter, I find Mr. Percival and Mr. Watson both agreeing with me in fixing Coccium at Blackrode, but both differing from me in the particular position of it. Mr. Watson gives an account, but too general and indistinctive, of the Roman road from Manchester to Blackrode (p. 70). And both Mr. Watson and Mr. Percival settle the station just at the entrance of the village from Manchester, and upon the area of the Castle-Croft, (p. 70 and 63); when the distance, the site, the tradition, and the remains all agree to carry it to the banks of the Douglas. Mr. Watson avers "the remains of a Roman station to be there," (p. 70); when there are only the remains of a small modern castle, which gradually occasioned the present village to be constructed near it. Mr. Percival asserts "a middle-sized fort to be yet seen there," but acknowledges that he "had not *time to trace the whole* of it" (p. 63); when the only remains are the relicks of the small castle, and when these are all confined to the small area of the Castle-Croft. And Mr. Percival, in his wild way of asserting generally without any specification of proofs, affirms "a Roman road to be yet visible" from Blackrode to Penwortham, to Garstang, to Lancaster, and to Overborough, and the three intermediate stations to have been dropt in transcribing both by Richard's and by Antonine's Itinerary. And in his wilder way of supposing without advancing any reasons for the supposition, he imagines an Iter to be lost both in Richard

and

and in Antonine, that went from Kinderton to five ſtations at Warrington at Wigan at Penwortham at Garſtang and at Lancaſter (p. 63). Of aſſertions without argument, and of ſuppoſitions without warrant, the multiplication is eaſy and the fate obvious. And had Mr. Percival been left to the guidance of his own untutored genius in antiquities, he would have ſtocked Lancaſhire with an infinite variety of ſtations, and every Saxon caſtle, every modern chateau would have been fancifully aggravated into an actual Caſtrum. That the one only determinate characteriſtic of a ſtation is [illegible] the appellation of Caſter affixed to the place or the concurrence of Roman roads at the point, has never yet been ſufficiently attended to by the antiquarian critick. And, for want of ſuch a deciſive ſtandard, the antiquarian mind has been left to brood fondly over its own ungrounded ideas, and to multiply ſtations at the random ſuggeſtions of the fancy.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

I.

THESE are all the ſtations with which the two Itineraries repreſent Mancunium to be connected, and theſe are the roads which connected both. But there were alſo many others. Four other roads actually proceeded from Mancunium, one to Rerigonium or Ribcheſter, another to Olicana or Ilkley, the third to Buxton, and the fourth to Warrington. Thus greatly defective are the notices which the Romans have left us of their roads, even after the acquiſition of a ſecond Itinerary.

The road to Rerigonium muſt have iſſued from the ſtation about forty-eight yards from the north-eaſtern angle of it, and muſt evidently have paſſed the large remaining cavity of the northern ditch by a bridge. The road was found about ſix years ago in the adjoining garden, and is ſtill viſible from its ridge, ſtretching acroſs the breadth of it, and being five yards in width. It was alſo found about twenty years ago in the ſecond garden, proceeding in the line of an hedge five yards in breadth, bordered with large ſquariſh ſtones at the ſides, and raiſed into a convexity of half a yard above the ground. Croſſing the narrow lane beyond both, ſome traces of the convexity lately appeared, and pointed acroſs the level of Camp-field to Mr. Philips's two houſes in Quay-ſtreet. There the road was diſcovered about ſeventeen years ago near the door-way of the more eaſterly houſe, more than half a yard below the ſurface of the ground, four or five yards in breadth, and more than a yard deep in ſtones and gravel. In the gardens and in Camp-field it appeared to be continued, not directly in a line to Ribcheſter, but in a line ſlanting conſiderably to the eaſt of it. This obliquity of the road was neceſſarily occaſioned by the great curve of the Irwell into the margin of the Deanſgate, of the Old Church-yard, and of the Huntſ-

bank, and into the right line of the road. And, continuing in this obliquity, the road must have passed among the present houses, have fallen into the present Deansgate, and through the present area of the church have reached the opening into the hollow of Huntsbank.

At Huntsbank the rocks must then have fallen exactly as they now fall along it, very steeply to the Irwell on the west and perpendicularly to the Irke on the north; and the passage of the Romans must have been obstructed by them. To clear this obstruction and to continue the road, the labourers wielded their pickaxes, cut down the softered rocks of the steep bank as we now see them, and made the first road that had descended along it to the rivers. Cutting the rocks on the eastern side of the intended way into a very lofty perpendicular, and leaving a small ledging of them on the western, which was also useful as a battlement for the road and a security against the precipice, they laid their materials upon the new-made plane of the rock betwixt them. And, to lessen the sharpness of the descent, they did not carry the line of it directly down the steep of the Huntsbank, but, as the face of the eastern side demonstrates, prudently gave it two or three small curvatures in the fall. Having gained the bottom of the bank and made a ford over the river, the road did not proceed on and climb the summit of the High Knolls. Having deviated from the right line to Ribchester in order to avoid the curving stream of the Irwell, it had necessarily turned in the church-yard to the left in order to reach the Huntsbank, as it had been before diverted to the right in order to reach the church-yard. And it now as necessarily turned again at the foot of the Huntsbank, and went off in a slanting line to Ribchester. Continuing therefore along the flat ground at the foot of the High Knolls, it must have passed obliquely through the gardens and houses on the right of the present road, have entered Strangeways-lane, and have edged along the park of Francis Reynolds Esq. There it was discovered some years ago in forming the present canal at the end of the park. And from this point it must have stretched away in the course of the present lane,

lane, ſlanting as this ſlants to the left, and having the chain of the High-Knolls gradually approaching it on the right. And about two miles from the ſtation it was directly interſected by them.

This range of interſecting hills is called the Stony-Knolls, and conſiſts of three parallel ridges, that commence from the extremity of the High-Knolls on the eaſt, and extend to the ſtream of the Irwell on the weſt. Aſcending the long ſlope of theſe Stony-Knolls in the narrow lane, we begin to ſee the traces of the road again, and obſerve the gravel of it very plainly diſtinguiſhed from the natural ſand, and appearing in great quantities along the lane. And theſe appearances increaſe as we proceed. At the upper end of the lane, the road enters the incloſures which are the ridgy ſummits of theſe hills, and which are peculiarly denominated the Stony-Knolls; and it is there popularly reported to be the effect of ſupernatural agency. In the entrance of the firſt incloſure the road appears at once in pretty good conſervation, being a ſtrong thick gravel, three yards in width, and lying upon the natural bed of clay and marl. Riſing up the ſide of the ridge it is four yards in width, but upon the creſt is reduced again to three, and points in a right line and in equal conſervation over the next incloſure or the Higher Stony-Knoll. Deſcending the one in order to aſcend the other, it winds a little on the right to the bottom, and then winds as much on the left to the top *. In this the ſecond incloſure it firſt dilates into four yards in width, afterwards contracts into three, and has a fall from it on both ſides, very gentle on the right, but two three and four yards in depth upon the left. Sloping from the ſecond ridge, and leaving the ſecond incloſure, it enters a narrow lane, the line of ſtrong gravel ſtill continuing, eſpecially on the left-hand ſide of the lane, and the road advancing up the third hill, the leſſer knoll of the Broken-bank.

At the extremity of the lane, the road iſſues into the way that leads from Broughton-Ford to Kerſall-moor, and inſtantly becomes inviſible. But the line of the road is obliquely acroſs the above-mentioned way, obliquely down the ſandy bank, then not

broken

broken as it now is into an abrupt precipice, and along the course of the foot-way to Kersal-moor. And in this line Tradition asserts the road to have gone, leaving the present road above and the little cottage below on the right, and escaping the ever-springy ever-boggy declivities beneath on the left. But, upon the turning of the foot-way to reach the moor, the Roman road must have left it, have ascended the little steep in front, and have ranged about two hundred yards from the present hedge of the moor. Then crossing the horseway to the moor, and soon afterwards leaving the parish of Manchester, the road must have pushed through Prestwich and Ratcliffe, appears upon Cockey-moor, and extends through Watling-street in Cffyside, over Bellthorn-moor above Darwent, and to the east of Blackburne [2], to the ford which is a little to the east of Ribchester.

From the epithet of Stony which the Roman road has affixed to the above-mentioned Knolls, it may very reasonably be inferred that the road was paved. And we have previously shewn the same name of Stany-street to have justly given the same intimation concerning the road to Blackrode. In the first and second inclosure of the Stony-Knolls are many large paving-stones, disjointed from each other, but still appearing in the surface of the road. In the lane leading up to the inclosures, are even several detached and broken appearances of a regular pavement. And in the second garden near Castle-field, and on the site of Mr. Philips's house, the pavement was actually dug up, consisting of the largest boulders, and having two layers of stones upon a bed of gravel.

This gravel appears from the road upon the Knolls to be light-coloured and full of stones. But from what quarter of the country could the Romans derive it? The only gravel near the track of the road lies upon Dole-field, St. Mary's Church-yard, and one or two other places, and is all invariably of a red-brown hue; and no large gravel-pits appear in any of them. Along the rest of the track, the soil is clay for a little way at first and light red sand continually afterwards. All the resources for

R gravel

gravel at present, along the whole track of the road, are placed merely in the attending channel of the river. And from the same resources must the Romans have furnished themselves with the gravel of their road within the parish. From those unexhausted and inexhaustible shoals of gravel in the Medlock and in the Irwell which were immediately at the ford of Knot-mill, and are now immediately below the bridge of Salford, at Bolton-weel near Strangeways, and at Scarweel above Broughton-Ford, were the materials undoubtedly collected. Thus constructed with water-gravel appears to have been the broad stem of the two roads to Kinderton and to Slack in Castle-field, as the fragments of rock which have been occasionally discovered in the gravel sufficiently demonstrate. And this construction of Roman roads with water-gravel refutes at once the wild prejudices that at present prevail against it; as the compactness of the gravel under Mr. Philips's house, and the firmness of the road in Castle-field, demonstrates it to be equally binding with the land-gravel. But, to give it this binding quality, something more is required than the present constructers of our northern roads take the trouble to practise. To give it this quality, the gravel should not be used in the naked state in which it is left by the river, deprived of its sand and loam by the filtering waters, and thereby rendered incapable of binding. Being laid upon the road in this condition, the stones and pebbles are violently ground against each other by the strong pressure upon the whole, and are soon powdered into dirt. But the Romans suggest to us a very different procedure, and advise prudence to add what the water has washed away. This we see exemplified in the road upon Stony-Knolls. And this was discovered to have been practised in the road along Castle-field and in the way under Mr. Philips's house.

Thus constructed, must the causeway have extended to the eager current of the Ribble and to the elegant site of Ribchester beyond it. This village the numerous remains of ruined magnificence, and the great multiplicity of Roman urns Roman coins and Roman monuments, have long demonstrated to have been

a considerable city of the Romans. And these relicks of antiquity have been carefully collected by Camden by Leigh by Gale and by Horseley.[2] But the greater antiquities of Ribchester have been entirely overlooked by these criticks, as they still continue unnoticed by the curious eye of observation, and now strongly invite the delineating hand of antiquarianism.

The Portus Sistuntiorum or the Σεταντιων λιμην is mentioned equally by Richard and by Ptolemy. But the actual site of it is yet unsettled. Baxter supposes it to be the mouth of the Mersey, Horseley the mouth of the Ribble, and Stukeley the mouth of the Lune [3]. To decide amid this variety of opinions, let us endeavour to ascertain what position is really given it by Ptolemy's Geography and by Richard's Itinerary. If they differ, we are not entirely without a guide. Remains may make that probable which both leave uncertain. But if the two first agree in one testimony, we can have little doubt. And if all the three agree, we are actually certain.

The absolute positions of the towns in Ptolemy are well known to be extremely erroneous. And his relative positions I have already shewn to be little better [*]. But in his coasting along the shores of the island this Geographer appears to be pretty accurate. And the progressive particularity of a description of the coast, and the striking permanent nature of the marks in such a description, as I have already observed, must necessarily give it a sufficient exactness [4]. This then must be our standard. And let us now make use of it.

Taking Ptolemy's account of the western shore but inverting his order, let us begin with the æstuary of Sabriana, certainly and confessedly the Severn-sea. From this point the coaster goes directly to the west for an hundred and eighty miles, to the promontory Octopitarum; plainly skirting all the southern coast of Glamorganshire and Caermarthenshire, and the southern and south-western shore of Pembrokeshire to St. David's Head. From that promontory, in advancing ninety miles to the north, he goes first sixty to the east and then twenty to the west, to the pro-

montory of the Cangani; plainly winding along the deep bay which is formed by St. David's Head on one ſide and by Brachypult Point on the other, and the whole extent of which is frequently denominated Cardigan Bay. So far we are abſolutely certain. The remarkable nature of the ſhore precludes all poſſibility of miſtake.

From Brachypult Point, in eighty miles more to the north, the Geographer goes an hundred and fifty to the eaſt, as in twenty-five more he turns and goes ten to the weſt. In the hundred and fifty miles to the eaſt, he clearly paſſes through the ſtrait of Menai to the bottom of the deep bay which is formed to the north and north-eaſt of Brachypult Point. And in the ten miles afterwards to the weſt he comes out of the bay. But here let us follow him gradually.

In the firſt twenty miles to the north of Brachypult Point he goes forty to the eaſt, to the river Toiſobius. This appears at firſt ſight to be the river Conway. And as both Richard's and Antonine's Itineraries place the town of Conovium hereabouts, and the former expreſsly calls the river by the two names of Toſibus and Conovius [5], it is undoubtedly that river.

From the Toiſobius, in forty miles to the north, Ptolemy proceeds eighty to the eaſt, to the æſtuary Seteia. This muſt certainly be the opening of the Dee, as that could not be miſſed by a perſon ranging up the coaſt, and, if not miſſed, muſt come next in ſucceſſion. And Ptolemy's diſtance of forty miles right north and ſouth from the Toiſobius to the Deva correſponds with great exactneſs to the more indirect diſtance upon the road, at which the Itineraries of Richard and Antonine concur to ſet the town of Deva from the town of Conovium; the former fixing the one at fifty miles from the other, and the latter at fifty-one [6]. Both arguments together form an irrefragable proof, that the Seteia of the Geography cannot poſſibly be any other æſtuary than the Deva of the Itineraries and the preſent Dee. And this is the more particularly inſiſted upon, as it is of importance in itſelf, and as it has been miſtaken even by our learned collector from the antients [7].

From

From the Seteia, advancing twenty miles to the north, Ptolemy goes thirty to the eaſt, to the æſtuary Beliſama. This is plainly the Merſey; becauſe Beliſama is at the diſtance of the Merſey from the Dee; and becauſe ſuch a conſiderable object as the Merſey could not be overlooked any more than the Dee. And thus far we are certain of our concluſions.

But the Geographer, ranging along the coaſt of Lancaſhire for twenty-five miles from the Merſey, turns with the turning ſhore, and goes ten miles to the weſt, to the harbour of the Siſtuntii. This ſufficiently argues the harbour not to be at the mouth of the Merſey. And this equally argues it not to be at the mouth of the Lune. The former is evidently too ſoutherly for it, and the latter is as evidently too northerly. Twenty-five miles to the north of the Merſey can carry us only to one place convenient for an harbour, the mouth of the Ribble. All our harbours at that period muſt have been the natural ports which are formed by the openings of rivers. And the opening of the Ribble muſt neceſſarily have been the next great particular after the Merſey which muſt have challenged the notice of the coaſting Geographer; as, like the Dee and the Merſey, it is clearly too conſiderable an object to be either miſſed by inattention or omitted by deſign. Here Ptolemy has undoubtedly fixed the harbour. And here the courſe of Richard's Itinerary and the preſent remains of antiquity concur to fix the ſtation *.

Upon Fullwood-moor near Preſton appear the evident remains of a Roman road, which is popularly denominated the Watling-ſtreet, which ranges from eaſt to weſt, and which tradition aſſerts and traces demonſtrate to have extended acroſs the iſland. Along this therefore, the only Roman road that ſo ranges and

* And thus the immediately ſucceeding æſtuary of Moricambe in Ptolemy, which means The Great Bend or Haven, muſt certainly be the large opening into the land of Lancaſhire which is formed by the ſhores of Lancaſter, Cartmel, Ulverſton, and Walney Iſland, and into which the rivers Ken and Lune diſcharge their waters, as this is the only Great Bend before we come to the æſtuary of Ituna, which is next mentioned by Ptolemy, and which is confeſſedly and clearly the mouth of the Eden.

is so extended, must the seventh Iter of Richard have undoubtedly proceeded. That Iter is thus given us:

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM
Eboracum usque sic;

RERIGONIO m. p.			23
Ad Alpes Peninos		—	8
Alicana	—	—	10
Isurio	—	—	18
Eboraco	—	—	16.

From the Roman name of the Ribble-mouth, Portus Sistuntiorum, that æstuary appears to have been employed by the Romans as an harbour for their vessels. But it was then a much more considerable æstuary than it is at present. This appears sufficiently from the preference which the Romans gave it before the æstuaries of the Mersey and the Lune, though it now affords a much worser harbour than either of them, admits ships only at the tide of flood, and even then has only a navigable channel of an hundred yards in breadth. And with this observation, as decisive as it is obvious, agree the present appearances of the channel, the popular tradition concerning it, and the more recent discoveries about this particular partof it.

From Ribchester to the sea the singular margin of the river is formed by a level of sand, and is bordered by a steep bank of earth; the latter of which is evidently the original boundary, and the former as evidently the original strand, of the flowing tide. Thus banked with high lands upon both sides, the natural channel of the river gradually widens, till at the mouth it even opens into the ample extent of eight or nine miles in breadth. At such an opening, unobstructed by the present sands, the tide must have entered with a vast body of water, and must have flowed up even to Ribchester. It now reaches within six or seven miles from this antient village. And that it once actually flowed up to it, is intimated by the popular tradition which asserts the river to have been formerly navigated, and is evident from the many anchors

anchors rings and nails of small vessels that have been discovered near the extensive area of the church *. These indeed may be supposed to have been wrought at a Roman foundery there, and to have been afterwards transported by land to the vessels at the Ribble-mouth. But such a supposition would be as absurd in itself as it would be unsupported by evidence. The site of Ribchester has no mines of iron in its neighbourhood. Every site had then a sufficiency of fuel around it. And the trouble of the conveyance and the expence of the carriage would be equally great and superfluous. These anchors rings and nails must have belonged to the vessels of the garrison; and the large still-remaining cut upon the western side of the church-yard does plainly confirm it. That cut extends for two hundred yards from the river to the north, and is for part of its extent three or four yards in depth and eight or nine in breadth. It could never have been designed for a military fosse, because it has no fosses or vestiges of fosses at all corresponding with it. It could have been designed only for the dock of the garrison, as the channel of it falls with a gradual descent to the river. It was clearly a slip by which at high water a new boat was launched into the river, or an old boat brought up from it for reparation. The ground adjoining to it on the east must have been originally the dock-yard of the town. The vessels must have ordinarily lain in the river moored to the banks by rings. And these must have been the many flats and barges in which the Romans made voyages upon the river, warping up the channel with the tide, and laden with the contents of the ships that lay at anchor in the harbour *.

Thus plainly does the Ribble appear to have been navigated by the Romans from the mouth of its current to the town of Ribchester. Thus plainly does the tide appear to have flowed up the channel of the river to the site of the town, covering all the rocks in its channel and all the sandy meadows and soft marshes on its margin, and being bounded only by the natural limits of its lofty banks. And the great difference which now appears in the flow of the tide could never have been occasioned

by

by the pressure of the interior ocean, as the Romans denominated St. George's Channel [10], and by the gradual settlement of the sands at the mouth of the river. Had the difference been thus occasioned, the Mersey upon one side and the Lune upon the other must have partaken of the same fate, and have been blocked up with the same sands. It must have been produced by a cause as partial as the effects appear to be, and confined, like them, to the stream of the Ribble. And tradition, the faithful preserver of many a fact which history has overlooked or forgotten, speaks confidently of such a cause, ascribing the final ruin of Ribchester to the overwhelming violence of an earthquake. Such a cause without doubt must have originally changed the nature of this once the most remarkable æstuary within the county, and have thrown up that large and broad barrier of sand which crosses the opening of it, almost choaks up the inlet of the tide into it, and contracts the original breadth of the navigable channel from its majestic extent of eight or nine miles to the narrow span of an hundred yards.

Such was the æstuary of the Ribble when it was employed as an harbour by the Romans. And from the great singularity of the name which the Romans conferred upon it, THE HARBOUR OF LANCASHIRE, it appears to have been the only river in the county which was employed as an harbour by them. Passing through the center of the Sistuntian country, and opening with the largest mouth into the sea, the Romans naturally preferred it to the Mersey or the Lune, and made it the one port for the county of Lancaster. And here they shipped off the commodities of Lancashire, its cattle and its hides, its neat baskets and its large hunting-dogs, as the Romans of Italy were particularly fond of both the latter, and imported the commodities of Gaul and the dresses of Italy [11].

The station which was called by the same appellation of the Sistuntian Harbour was certainly erected upon the margin of it, and consequently within the mouth of the present Ribble. And we shall not wander long in the search of its site. It must have been at the termination of the above-mentioned road, as the

the line of that road is directed across Fullwood-Moor to the west. But the line can never be carried to the actual mouth of the Ribble. This line must abut somewhere upon the channel at the distance of several miles from the mouth. And in fact it points fully towards the famous Neb of the Nese, the extremity of the nose or high promontory of land which projects into the course of the channel. Near the conclusion of that part of the way which is denominated Watling-street, looking along the track of the proceeding road to the west, in a clear day one sees the Neb of the Nese directly in a line beyond it.

And the specified distances in the Itinerary concur exactly with the direction of the road. Thus, as Rerigonium is obviously Ribchester, the specified distance from the harbour of the Sistuntians to the station of Ribchester is 23 Roman or about 21 ½ English miles. This distance necessarily carries us from the mouth of the river, and leads us up the winding channel of it. Thus advancing, about ten miles from the mouth we come to the above-mentioned Neb of the Nese on the left. This is about nine miles from Preston by the level track of the Marshes, and about eleven by the circuit of the higher grounds; as Preston is about twelve miles from Ribchester. This, in the line which the Roman road must have taken, keeping the higher ground, but not curving on the right to reach Preston and not making a return on the left to recover the line, must have been about twenty-one from Ribchester, and is therefore exactly at the requisite distance from it.

Thus do these two arguments concur to fix the Roman station about a mile to the west of Freckleton and at the well-known Neb of the Nese. And here is even now a pretty commodious harbour. Here the Ribble forms a large half-moon facing the south, and receiving a small back-water into it from the north. Here the Ribble is secured from the violence of the winds by the high lands which skirt it, is screened from the violence of the tide by the projection of the Nese, and has even now a breadth of a quarter of a mile and a depth of fifteen feet

upon the ebb. And here is even now the little harbour of Preſton, a large warehouſe being erected upon a mole in the channel, and ſeveral veſſels coming to it from London from Wales and from Ireland.

On the high lands of the Neſs then muſt have been the Roman ſtation which guarded the harbour of the Ribble. And on the very Neb, the ſharp extremity of theſe high lands, muſt the ſtation have actually ſtood, as there the lofty banks of the Neſs would form a ſufficient barrier upon three ſides. But though the name is retained, the Neb has been long waſhed away. This appears at once upon an attentive ſurvey of the land which is the weſtern horn, as the high ground at the mouth of the Savok is the eaſtern, of the large ſemicircle of riſing grounds that curves along the channel of the river. The weſtern horn has certainly no Neb exiſting at preſent, the land at the Neſs running nearly in a right line from eaſt to weſt. And this equally appears from the ravages which the water has here made upon the banks. That conſpicuous point which is ſtill denominated the Neb of the Neſe has loſt nearly two ſtatute-acres of ground within theſe forty years, and from the broken mouldering condition of the banks both on the eaſt and ſouth appears to be loſing every day. As the Roman ſtation therefore muſt have been upon the extremity of this promontory, the ſite of it and all its remains muſt have long melted away into the channel below. Upon that ſite, ſecured by its natural banks of fifteen or twenty yards in height upon three ſides, and defended by a ditch upon the fourth, it muſt have fully commanded the courſe of the Ribble, which then perhaps did not at low water ſpread out a long beach of gravel on the north-weſt, which certainly as now winded round the weſt and the ſouth, and which extended into a ſafe and ample harbour on the eaſt.

From this ſtation a road goes away directly along the high grounds, and is viſible (as I have mentioned before) upon Fullwood-Moor, leaving the town of Preſton about a mile on the right. It croſſes the preſent road to Lancaſter juſt before the latter makes an angle to leave the Moor. And going viſibly along

along the Moor for a quarter of a mile, it then assumes the name of Watling-street, and retains it for a whole mile, appearing at first merely a sharp broken ridge, afterwards widening, and at last rising two or three feet above the natural soil and spreading fourteen and twenty yards in breadth. And it terminates with the Moor in a large blunted ridge at the hedge of the closes, pointing fully to the village of Ribchester, and ending at Anchor-Hill near the town [14].

The name of this station and of the previous British town is compounded of the British words RE RIGON, denoting the peculiar site of both, and signifying to the north of the current. Re in its primary import signifies the particular position Before; and Is, Below, is the regular term of opposition to it. Thus Yorkshire as well as Lancashire having been first inhabited from the south, the two towns which were raised upon the sites of Ribchester and Aldborough assumed the names of Rerigonium and Isurium. The former received its appellation, not merely, as Mr. Baxter supposes of other towns that are similarly denominated, because it was upon the banks of the Ribble, but because it was Before or to the north of that river. The latter received its appellation, not, as Dr. Gale fancies, because the Ure descends at Aldborough into the lower grounds, but because Aldborough was situated Below or to the south of the Ure [15]. And Rigon is the plural of Rig a flow, and, like Avon the plural of Av Water, signifies a stream or current.

The channel of the Ribble appears to have always formed a curve at this place, which did not as now face the southern bank, but opened directly upon the northern. This is evident from the nature and circumstances of the northern bank. Great have been the encroachments which the Ribble has made upon the bank of the town within these sixty years only. One whole street of houses and a range of orchards and gardens have been carried away by the stream. The earth daily crumbles and falls into the channel. And the church itself, raised as it is upon a lofty bank and placed at a little distance from the margin of it, is likely to be swept away in sixty years more. But while this

has been the cafe with the bolder bank of the town, the ground immediately to the eaft of it, too low to have been ever ravaged by the floods, muft now extend as far as it ever extended into the channel, and the lively brook betwixt both muft have always fallen into the Ribble at the point of its prefent conjunction with it. The Ribble, paffing over the Roman ford at the bridge and running directly under the fouthern bank, is thrown by a fhelve of it directly againft the fite of the town, and joins the lively brook exactly at the point where the lofty bank of the town commences. In this the original difpofition of the current, every projection of the northern bank beyond the immediate line of the conjunction muft have formed a curve in the channel, and the Ribble muft even within thefe hundred years have curved facing to the northern bank. The large cut that is carried from Anchor-Hill to the river, by its continuance even at prefent no lefs than thirty or forty yards more foutherly than the above-mentioned line of conjunction, abfolutely demonftrates the bank to have extended as many yards at leaft to the fouth of the line. And the great devaftation which the current has made upon the bank of the town within thefe fixty years fufficiently proves the projection to have been much more confiderable originally. The bold bank of Ribchefter muft have actually come forward fo far into the valley, as to range in a ftraight line with the headland immediately below the town, which now pufhes itfelf a confiderable way into the valley, and remains a ftriking fignature of the original projection of the whole. A projection, which till thefe fixty years had withftood the wafteful fury of a rapid current directly beating upon it for a long fucceffion of ages, muft have been originally continued with the continuing headland more than half way over the valley. And the Ribble, pufhing its ftream immediately againft the bafe of the large projection, was conftrained to carry its broken waters all along the eaftern and all along the fouthern fides of it, in order to reach the channel in which it now moves immediately below the town.

Upon this great angular curve in the current of the Ribble

and

and at the ſouth-eaſterly point of the whole projection, upon the extremity of a bank that ſlopes gently in one regular decline from the neighbouring hills to the channel of the river, muſt the Siſtuntian Britons have placed the town of Rerigonium. The river was a natural barrier upon two ſides. A foſſe undoubtedly ran acroſs the iſthmus. And a great foreſt ſwept extenſively round it upon all [14].

Such was the ſite of Rerigonium in the time of the Britons. And ſuch was it in the time of the Romans alſo. What originally changed the nature of the ſite, tore away the angular projection of the ground, and opened a way for the river to gain as much upon the bank as the bank had before uſurped upon the river, it may ſeem impoſſible to aſcertain at this diſtant period of time. But, as I have mentioned above, the popular tradition refers the deſtruction of the town to the ravages of an earthquake. And ſuch an awful convulſion muſt have certainly been the original cauſe, have at once perhaps choaked up the former channel of the river on the eaſt and ſouth by the falling in of the banks, and, looſening the ſoil of the remainder, have rendered it leſs able to bear the whole collected weight of waters that now ruſhed upon it. The more pointed part of the projection perhaps was ſwept away immediately, and the right line of the original bank was left to be gradually preyed upon by the current. And ſince theſe depredations have continued from age to age, the river has acquired new force as it obtained more advantages, all the arts of preventive induſtry have been hitherto ineffectual, and the ſtream bears every day more forcibly upon the ſite of the town.

By this remarkable cataſtrophe in the ſite of Rerigonium the Caer of the Britons and the Caſtrum of the Romans muſt have been totally carried away, and the viſible and inviſible remains of both have been equally buried, where ſome have been actually diſcovered, under the level bed of ſands which forms the meadows on the ſouthern ſhore of the Ribble. And, in conſequence of this remarkable cataſtrophe, the river, having formed a deep curving indent into the northern bank, now

winds

winds along the sunken streets of the Roman-British town, and now rolls over the levelled remains of the Roman-British houses. And, near the foot of the little street that leads down to the river, has been formerly seen in a dry summer a long extent of a thick wall, composed of regularly squared stones, and forming evidently the basis of a great building; as about this part of the river in general whole pillars, broken capitals and bases, and Roman coins and Roman inscriptions have been frequently discovered within the channel.

From this station, besides the continued road of this seventh Iter, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and among the vicinal roads to Lancaster to Overborough and to Manchester, one passes through Whalley and points to Colne [15]. This the British appellation of the town, this the concurrence of a Roman road from Cambodunum at it, this the voice of tradition and the appellation of Caster, evince to have been the site of a station. The road from Cambodunum stretches visibly over Stainland-Moor, passes through the townships of Barkisland and Rishworth, crosses the Devil's Causeway and the Roman road from Manchester to Ilkley [16], and must therefore have assuredly terminated at Colne. A considerable quantity of Roman coins has been discovered near Colne, at Wheatley-lane, and by Emmet [17]. And the station must have been fixed where tradition fixes it, upon the tall eminence of Caster-Cliff, and about a mile from the present town. There appears the evident skeleton of a Roman station at present, a regular vallum encircled by a regular fosse. And, standing on the summit of a lofty cliff, it commands a very extensive view of the country around it [18].

This station appears plainly from the present name of the town to have been distinguished by the British appellation of Colania among the Romans. The British name of the town could have resulted only from the British name of the station. And accordingly we find the anonymous Chorography placing such a station among these hills; mentioning it next to one which was certainly among them, the Cambodunum of Antoninus, and giving it in different MSS. the different names of Calunium and

Cola-

Colanea [9]. This name of the station must have been derived from the same name of the river upon which it was erected, and which is now denominated Colne Water. And the river must have enjoyed the name in common with many others in the island, particularly the Colne of Colchester, and the Colne of St. Albans Uxbridge and Colnebrooke. Nor were the names of these latter rivers derived, as has been frequently supposed [10], from the Roman colony of Camulodunum on the one and of Verulamium upon the other. The names were given, not only to these rivers which once had colonies upon them, but also to several others which never had any at all, as to our own in Lancashire, to the Colne of Gloucestershire, and to the Calne of Wiltshire. And the names of all are derived from the British language, Col-aun in that language signifying the narrow river. Thus we have the river Cole at Coleshill in Warwickshere, Calder Cal-dur or Narrow Water in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the river Colamon near the isthmus of Scotland, the river Collan within the county of Kilkenny in Ireland, and the river Colun or Clun within the county of Shrewsbury in England; Amon or Avon being changed into Aun An or Un, as A-Lug-Amon is softened into Alauna into Lan and into Lun, the varying appellation of the same river within our own county. And thus the Colaun of Gloucestershire Wiltshire and Lancashire was gradually abbreviated into Colne, just as the same Alauna has been abbreviated into Alne in the Warwickshire Alnecester or Alcester [11].

[1] See the same in another Roman road, Horseley p. 451.— [2] Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII. p. 228.— [3] Dr. Stukeley upon Richard p. 50, 68, and 88.— [4] B. I. ch. iv. s. 3.— [5] P. 23.— [6] Richard's Iter 1. and Antonine's Iter 11.— [7] P. 27. Richard calls the Mersey, and not the Dee, Seteia. And so likewise in his Map. The etymology of this name is nothing more than Se and Teia or Deia, The Dee (see b. I. ch. vii. s. 4. a Note), as the Britons of Anandale are called equally Elgovæ and Selgovæ by

1 the

the same Ptolemy, &c. —[8] Leigh's N. H. of Lancashire b. iii. p. 2. and 6. —[9] Leigh b. iii. p. 2. and 7. unwittingly argues against the former navigableness of the river by barges, because it could not be navigated by ships. And see a draught of one of the rings in Tab. I. No. 21. and of one of the nails in No. 24. —[10] Richard p. 21 and 43.—[11] See b. I. ch. ix. s. 5. and ch. xi. s. 2. —[12] See Leigh b. iii. p. 6. —[13] Baxter in Regulbium and Robogdium, and Gale in Isurium. Thus Cæsar speaks of the *Southern* or *Inferiour* point of Britain (p. 89.), and Ptolemy constantly uses the preposition ὑπο or under to signify the south and ὑπερ or above to indicate the north. —[14] This forest is described in an old boundary-record as two in name and one in effect, beginning at the bridge of the Ribble, going to Steop-clough, betwixt Ribchester and Hadersal,—betwixt Chippin and Gosnaig, —to the water of Lond or Laund—by the demesne of Hornby —to the water of the Lone or Lune—and the current of the Ken or Kent, down the Kent to the sea, along the coast of the sea to the foot of the Wire—and of the Ribble, and up the Ribble to Ribble-bridge.—A verdict of 9 Hen. III. p. 237. of Kuerden, folio, a MS. in the library at Manchester Arch. A. 18, 5, and a rude ill-arranged half-illegible Common-place-book for the Antiquities of Lancashire. —[15] Mr. Percival in Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. and see next section. —[16] See b. I. ch. iv. s. 1. —[17] Leigh b. iii. p. 10. —[18] This account I received in a letter from the reverend Mr. Wilson of Colne. —The late bishop of Carlisle and myself were both at Colne very nearly at the same time, and both failed of success in our searches, though the name, the remains, the tradition are all so striking. —[19] Gallunium the immediately succeeding name in Ravennas has been fondly supposed to be Whalley (Gale in Ravennas and Percival in Phil. Trans.). But none of Ravennas's names can with any propriety be applied to a place till it has been previously proved to be a station. Whalley has never been proved, and certainly was not, a station. It has not either of the two only determinate signatures of a station, the Roman appellation of Caster or the concurrence of Roman roads at it. And Gallunium indeed

is nothing else (I apprehend) than a repetition of the same name, Calunium and Gallunium being evidently the same word. And such repetitions are not uncommon in this inaccurate Chorography. — [10] Particularly by Leigh by Gibson and by Baxter. — [11] Ossian's Poems vol. II. p. 219, Camden's Ireland c. 1354 and Shropshire c. 646, and Richard Iter 14. One of the two rivers at Alcester is still called the Alne, and the town which now stands upon the Arrow formerly stood upon the Alne: See Leland vol. IV. p. 54. Hearne.

In the volume published this winter by the Antiquarian Society of London we have the two Lancashire antiquarians, Mr. Watson and Mr. Percival, very busily employed, as Mr. Percival had been employed before in the Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII, in fixing a Roman station at the town of Bury and about nine statute-miles from Manchester. But the one great reason adduced by both is surely very incompetent to the occasion. The name of Bury, says Mr. Watson p. 69, denotes it to have been Roman; and Mr. Percival had asserted the same before (Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII). Mr. Percival may stand excused for the assertion. He knew too little of the Saxon language to be capable of judging. But what shall I say for my learned friend, a critic in the language? Bury certainly carries no Roman signature at all with it. Bury merely signifies in the Saxon either a castle or a market-town. And "the visible marks of a station" which Mr. Watson and Mr. Percival imagine themselves to have discovered at Bury (Archæologia p. 69. and Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII) are merely the relicks of a more modern castle. This is actually mentioned in our Mancunian records; and tradition derives all the stones of the present church from it. And this actually lies more than a mile to the right of the road to Ribchester. The not attending to the one only determinate character of a station, the Roman appellation of Caster at the place or the coincidence of Roman roads at the point, has strangely seduced the generality of our antiquarians into a wilderness of error. And upon the application of this useful test we see Bury, Blackburne (Archæ-

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ologia, Mr. Percival's Eſſay, p. 64), and a thouſand other ſtations, all inſtantly vaniſh,

And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of a viſion,
Leave not a wreck behind.

II.

ANOTHER road of the Romans appears to have been laid from the ſtation of Mancunium, and to have proceeded into Yorkſhire. Branching probably from the road to Cambodunum about Ancoates-lane, and traverſing the townſhip of Mancheſter obliquely, it muſt have paſſed through Street-fold in Moſton, by Street-bridge in Chatherton, and by Street-yate in Ryton, and pointed evidently for Littleborough Blackſtone-Edge and Ilkley. Theſe three appellations of Street very clearly aſcertain the general direction of its courſe, and ſufficiently ſupply the abſolute want of any actual remains, or even of any traditional notices concerning it.

Leaving Street-fold and the pariſh, the road muſt have proceeded by Street-bridge and Street-yate, and was lately dug up near Rochdale. About a quarter of a mile to the right of the town and near the road from Oldham to it, the way was cut through in making a marle-pit, and appeared ſeveral yards in breadth and deeply gravelled. And upon Blackſtone-Edge it is interſected, as I have mentioned before [1], by the road from Cambodunum to Colania. Having croſſed the edge, it ranges nearly from north to ſouth, being diſcovered in this direction along the eaſtern ſide of theſe mountains. Leaving Halifax conſiderably on the right, and Ellinworth only a little on the left, the line paſſes through Dinham Park, running a good way to the weſt of Bradford and a little to the weſt of Cullingworth. Betwixt Hainworth and Cullingworth the road is viſible, a paved way more than twelve feet broad and neatly ſet with the ſtones of the country. It appears in ſeveral places upon Harding or Hacden Moor, croſſing the height of the moor, and pointing upon the

Moor-

Moor-house above Morton, and is again visible upon Rumbles-Moor[2]. Upon the broad extent of this waste wilderness, it appears (as I am informed) a raised paved road overgrown with turf, keeping upon the shelve of the hills to avoid the cliffs upon one side and the morasses on the other, and pointing directly beyond the high steep rocky mound of the moor to the gay valley of the Wherf and the little town of Ilkley within it.

The town of Olicana or Alicana is utterly unnoticed by Antoninus, but is mentioned equally by Ptolemy and by Richard. The present remains at Ilkley evince it to have been a stationary town. And the seventh Iter of Richard argues it to have been denominated Alicana. It lies at the distance of more than forty miles from Manchester, but had probably, as I shall shew hereafter, a lesser station about the mid-way betwixt both[3].

The town of Ilkley is placed upon the great post-road that runs from Kendal to York, but is almost barred up by trackless wastes and impracticable roads upon every other quarter. The town of Ilkley lies snug in the hollow of a valley, mean dirty and insignificant, known only to the antiquarian for some curious inscriptions that have been discovered at it, and to the invalid for a fine spring of mineral water that has been found about a mile from it. It was more remarkable formerly, but seems not to have been ever considerable. It stands upon an agreeable site, having a gentle descent to the north, and the Wherf flowing briskly in the front of it. This river, one of the three great streams by which the West-Riding of Yorkshire is so usefully watered for cultivation and so beneficially divided for commerce, rises among the hills a little to the west of the town, and washes the gentle eminence upon which it is erected. This river, very different from the Air, and remarkably swift in its course, received from the Britons an appellation directly the reverse of the Air's, and was denominated Ger-ab Ger-av or the eager water, a name in popular pronunciation contracted into Gerb Verb Guerf or Wherf[4]. And this river, remarkably beautiful in its appearance, was particularly formed into a divinity by the Britons, and a large handsome altar has been found near the bank of it

consecrated by a Roman officer to Verb-eia the Goddess-Nymph of the current [5].

In this village center several roads of the Romans. The road which comes from Mancunium and appears upon Rumbles Moor is found again upon Middleton and Blueburgh-house Moors beyond the town, paved, like that, with stones uncommonly large, and edged, like that, with still larger, and points, I suppose, to Catarick. Another road stretches over the hills from the west, and is evidently the same which is traversed by the seventh Iter of Richard. This road is traceable for three miles together from Ilkley, and then appears very conspicuous for a whole mile, lying upon a large moor in the township of Old Addingham, parallel with and a few yards to the south of the present road to Skipton, and crossed nearly at right angles by the turning road to Colne, which falls afterwards into another road nearly parallel with both though a good deal more southerly than either. And from all this line of the road it appears demonstrably not to have been directed to Colne at all. It plainly points some miles to the north of Colne and some to the south of Skipton, and bears undoubtedly upon Broughton, a small village in Yorkshire about six statute-miles to the north of Colne and four or five to the south-west of Skipton, and lyes upon the bank of a small current in a valley. And Broughton must certainly have been the station which is here denominated in Richard Ad Alpes Peninos. The whole range of hills which runs from Derbyshire into Scotland was naturally denominated by the Britons, as a part of the mountains of Switserland is denominated to the present day, Alp Penin, the Penine or Apennine Alps, the high heads or the lofty hills [6]. And this part of the range in some measure retains the general appellation to the present period, an high abrupt peak to the south-west being still denominated Pen-hull Pendle or the head-height, a large lofty moor still nearer to Broughton being called Pen-how Pennow, or the head-hill, and a great high mountain a little to the north of Broughton being still named Peni-guent Penigent or the principal head [7]. And the road from Broughton, like the seventh Iter of Richard, is carried

ried through Alicana to Burium. Stealing across the fields near Ilkley, it traverses Banks's Croft, crosses the lane leading to the church from Bradford and Halifax and denominated the Town-gate, enters the Scafe-Croft, and has been found among the inclosures for nearly a mile, pointing evidently to the town of Aldborough [a].'

Thus decisively is Ilkley evinced to have been a station of the Romans. And the stationary area may be ascertained with equal decisiveness. It is pointed out by the appellation of Castle-hill, by the nature of the site, and by the remains of the Roman vallum. The site is admirably defended by the Wherf in front and by two brooks at the sides. The Wherf glides along the northern front of it, a very narrow level of boggy ground ranges betwixt the river and that, and the area looks down upon both from a steep brow of twenty-five or thirty yards in height. The western brook has had half its waters diverted into another channel, must before have flowed a very lively current, and gave additional strength to a brow naturally steep and rising about twelve or fifteen yards above it. The eastern brook is remarkably brisk, and runs about twenty yards below the crest of the brow. And both of them discharge their waters into the Wherf a few yards below the station. The whole area was about a hundred yards by a hundred and sixty, the northern barrier (I suppose) ranging along the line of the present lane, and parallel with and about twenty yards to the north of the Roman road from Broughton to Aldborough. The whole extent of the area contained about four acres of ground, encompassing a building called The Castle, and including the church and its area. And the vallum of the station presents itself to the eye at the north-western angle, and is easily discovered under the turf along the whole compass of the brows, being the rough sable flag-stones of the country cemented together with indissoluble mortar. The nature of the ground must originally have given denomination to the fortress. Being seated upon the level of an eminence, it naturally received the appellation of Alicana Al-i-can or the fortress upon the height [b].

The

The town was constructed very near to the station and along the course of the road from Broughton, in Banks's Croft, Scafe-Croft, and some adjoining closes. There fragments of bricks remarkably red have been frequently dug up, and there the foundations of houses remain very visible at present. No new inscriptions have been lately discovered. But many old inscriptions have in all probability been buried within the walls of the present church. A stone appears actually built up in the south-eastern corner of the building, and exhibits an inscription once copied by Camden and by Horseley, but now absolutely illegible, upon the outer plane of it[10]. And on the northern side of the belfrey within is a couple of stones, one of which was certainly a Roman altar, a patera appearing embossed upon the edge of the stone, and the other is charged with a woman wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head, and grasping a snake in either hand, which rise erect over each shoulder, and lift their head considerably above it[11].

[1] B. I. ch. iv. sect. 1. and ch. v. sect. 1.—[2] Dr. Richardson in Leland's Itin. Hearne Vol. IX. p. 146. and Mr. Angier in Horseley p. 413. Mr. Horseley p. 373 has mistakenly carried this road south as far as the Roman road from Tadcaster to Manchester. —[3] Richard's seventh Iter, Rerigonium, Ad Alpes Peninos, Alicana, Isurium. And see B. I. ch. vi. sect. 2.—[4] See Camden p. 567.—[5] Camden p. 568.—[6] Richard p. 27. And in Montfaucon's Antiquite Expliquee tom. II. p. 419. is an Alpine Inscription to Jupiter by the title of Deo Pennino Optimo Maximo.—[7] So Pendleton and Pendlebury near Manchester are written in all our old records Pen-hull-ton and Pen-hull-bury. So Pendleton near Clitherow is called Penhulton in an antient record of Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 789. And another eminence not far from Penigent and in Wensley-dale is also called Pen-hill.—[8] See also Gale p. 17. Horseley p. 373. and Richard's seventh Iter for this road.—[9] Al. for Ar. Upon; See Baxter in Ibelnium and Lhuyd in p. 31. Hence Alicana and Ariconium are the same in import. The specified distances in the seventh Iter from Rerigonium to

Ad

Ad Alpes Peninos and to Alicana are certainly corrupted. Only eighteen horizontal Roman miles or about twenty-one English road miles are given us betwixt Ribchester and Ilkley, when the real distance by Colne or by Broughton must measure nearly forty.—[10] See Camden p. 568, and Horseley in Yorkshire Inscriptions, Ilkley. — [11] It is surprizing that these monuments escaped the notice of Camden, who particularly examined the inside of the church for Roman remains (p. 569). And at Brough in Derbyshire (see Appendix N°. I. Iter 18) I saw a stone exhibiting a somewhat similar figure, a large rough stone having been discovered in a field a little distant from the Grit-stone-water, and then lying in one of the hedges, which in the bending hollow of one side exhibited the half-length of a woman crossing her hands upon her breast and wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head. But there were no snakes.

III

IT has never been supposed by the antiquarians that the Romans had a station at Buxton. That they had a bath is confessed by the criticks and demonstrated by the remains[1]. And assuredly they could not have had the one without the other. The one must assuredly have been erected by the garrison of the other. In these the wildest parts of the wildest region in England, covered as they must all have been by the impenetrable frith or forest that gave denomination to Chapel-a-Frith on one side of Buxton, the neighbourhood of a garrison only could have caused the medicinal virtues of these little springs to be even known to the Romans. In these the wildest parts of the wildest region in England, peopled as they must then have been by the beasts that gave denomination to the Wolf-hunters at Wormhill on another side of Buxton[2], the neighbourhood of a station only could have caused these waters, after they were known, to be collected into a reservoir and to be covered with a building.

The

The Romans therefore had certainly a station at Buxton. And this is equally demonstrated by the concurrence of Roman roads at it. One proceeds to it from Manchester; another courses to it over the Moors from Brough; a third advances to it by Street in the vicinity of Goithead; and a fourth stretches towards it by Middle-street and Over-street in the road to Brassington. And the station must certainly have been contiguous to the Bath. The latter, as I shall soon evince, was close to St. Anne's Well and at the bottom of the hill. The former must therefore have been immediately above it and along the plane of the hill. And this site is naturally defended by a high steep slope upon two sides and the little Wye clamouring at the foot of it.

The Roman road from Brough is popularly denominated the Batham-Gate, appears a long straight streak of green upon the heath about four miles from Brough, and pushes by Smalldale-Fold to Buxton [s]. The Roman road from Brassington runs long and broad over Brassington-Moor for several miles together, giving denomination to Over-street a little on this side of Hurdlow and to Middle-street a little beyond it. And the road from our own to this station commenced at the eastern extremity of the Castle-field and betwixt the roads of Kinderton and of Slack. Crossing the present highway, it entered the opposite fields, and slanted along them, not in a direct line for Stockport, but at first in a direction for Garret-lane, then in another for the Medlock, and afterwards in another for the Cornebrook. This was plainly the original course of the road, as the nature of the ground and the direction of the road in Longsight sufficiently shew.

Passing along the left hand of Gathernes-Field, and crossing the brook beyond it, the Roman road must have mounted the little eminence of Calley-Banks, and have continued upon the edge of it into Garret-lane. This was the course of a public road even within the present century; and therefore no appearances of the Roman construction can be expected along it. In Garret-lane, having obtained a proper line for the ford over the Medlock, the Roman road must have made a considerable angle, have winded along the gentle descent to Garret-Hall, have left Garret-

Garret-Bridge immediately on the right, and have passed along the margin of the Medlock. But the curved channel of the river intersecting the course of the road, the latter must have crossed the former at the Old Ford, as this passage over the river is still denominated. And all this line of the road continues in some measure and for part of its course a public way to the present moment.

The Roman road must now have deserted the lane, have entered the left-hand fields, have reached the narrow channel of the Cornebrook and the course of the present road at the bridge, and have fallen into the commencing line of Longsight. The whole range of the present road to Stockport from the second mile-stone to the bank of the Mersey is popularly denominated High-street, and thereby sufficiently evinces itself to be Roman. And the first half-mile of it, being remarkably direct, has obtained the particular and significative appellation of Longsight. Thus, passing along the present highway, must the Roman road have crossed the ford over the Mersey at Stockport. This from the sharp steap, stop, or steep upon either side of it received the appellation of Stopford from the Saxons [4], and was about two hundred yards above the present bridge and about sixty below the conjunction of the Mersey and the Tame. And the road must have then mounted the brow of the Castle-hill to the level of the market-place, and have traversed the site of the town to Buxton.

The medicinal waters of this village must certainly have first occasioned the Romans to form a settlement at Buxton in general. The medicinal waters of the Hill must as certainly have first occasioned the Romans to fix their stationary residence upon this part of Buxton in particular. Thus the springs that bubbled hot at the foot of the Downs, and trickled in smoaky currents along the level of the vale at Bath, attracted the Romans to the one, and settled a colony on the other. And had not such a reason influenced the Romans, they would neither have fixed a station upon a sloping hill and a single shallow brook at Buxton, nor have planted a colony within the morassy hollow of a close

dale and upon the margin of a muddy lethargic current at Bath.

The Romans of Britain carefully marked and collected for use the mineral-tinctured springs of the island, which had rilled on for ages, either utterly unnoticed by the Britons around them, or wasting their liquid treasures upon the solitary wastes of the country. And the Britons soon adopted the custom of their conquerors. They saw the Romans among them, in an habitual conformity to their native manners, often laving their bodies in baths: and they soon copied the idle refinement. They saw the Romans among them, in the injudicious luxury of their native climes, still more injudicious as it was beneath the chilling atmosphere of Britain, often laving their bodies in Thermæ or hot baths: and they imitated the enervating softness. The springs that steamed as they gushed from the mixing minerals of our British hills were collected together into basons, and the Roman and the Briton stewed equally amid the relaxing waters[6]. Hence we find the hot baths of Britain mentioned particularly by Boadicea, by Richard, by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus[7]. Hence we see ὕδατα θερμα in Ptolemy, Thermæ in Richard, and Aquæ Solis both in Richard and Antoninus, to be all the characteristick appellations of our Bath in Somersetshire[8]. And hence we meet with Aquæ in Richard as the designation equally of Bath and of Wells[9], and Aquæ in Ravennas as the title of a town which lies somewhere between Lindum or Lincoln upon the one side and Camulodulum or Slack upon the other, and which for the expressive particularity of the name is in all probability Buxton[10].

These towns the Britons must have probably distinguished by the denomination of Batham-Chesters or the cities of washing. And these towns the Saxons certainly distinguished afterwards by their own kindred appellation of Baths. Thus the Aquæ Solis of the Romans, and our present Bath in Somersetshire is denominated Bathan-cester as early even as the sixth century[11]. And hence the Roman road which traverses the Moors from the neighbouring Brough to Buxton[12] is popularly stiled Batham-Gate

among

among the Peakrills; and even the village of Buxton is as popularly denominated the Bath among all the inferior orders of people in the adjoining counties.

The Roman Bath at Buxton was plainly discernible by its ruins a few years ago, and was contiguous to the stone-alcove that is now erected over St. Anne's Well. The dimensions of it were then traceable by the eyes, and the wall of it was covered with a red coat of Roman cement hard as brick and exactly resembling tile [11]. This must have been fed by the springs which now feed the great bagnio immediately above, and the overflowings of which supply the lesser bagnio for the poor below. And this, like the former, must have been of a blood-warm heat; and must therefore have been more congenial to the warmth and more friendly to the health of the human frame, in the general and constant use of it among the Romans, than the boiling waters of the sun at Bath.

There appear to have been two nations in Britain distinguished by the one denomination of Uiccii, Uices, or Vices. The name of Ic, Uic, or Vic signifies a brave people [15]. This therefore was naturally a popular name among the military nations of the Celtæ. Thus we find the Aulerci Eburo-Vices, the Aulerci Branno-Vices, and the Lemo-Vices, in Gaul. And thus we find the Huiccii or Vices and the Ord-Uices or Ordo-Vices in Britain [16].

The Huiccii of Bede are undoubtedly the Jugantes of Tacitus, the appellation of the tribe being Huicc-ii, Guicc-ii, or Jugant-es [17]. These certainly inhabited the whole extent of Worcestershire [18], and most probably possessed the whole of Warwickshire and the north of Gloucestershire. And Brannogenium or Worcester appears from its name to have been their capital. The name is compounded of the two words, Bran or Bren and Genion or Cenion; the latter of which, as I have already shewn in our own Mancenion, signifies simply a fortress or town; and the former of which, as must necessarily be the case with a town that is constructed in a valley like Worcester, can import only the principal city [19].

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The Ordovices were undoubtedly distinct from the Jugantes, and are actually distinguished from them by Tacitus [20]. The Ordovices were settled at first perhaps immediately to the north of the Jugantes, inhabited only the county of Shrewsbury, and acknowledged Uriconium, Y Ricon Caer, the City of Kings, for their capital. The Ordovices certainly possessed the county of Shrewsbury, the town of Mediolanum, Med Lan, or Fair Fortress in the North of it being particularly ascribed to that nation by Ptolemy and by Richard [21]. And the Ordovices certainly extended their dominions afterwards over all the mountains of North-Wales upon one side, and assuredly carried them over all the woods of Staffordshire on the other, and over all the plains of East-Cheshire to the north of the latter. These plains were certainly not inhabited at first by the Carnabii, that tribe, as I have already evinced, being originally planted upon the banks of the Dee and along the western side of the county. And all these extended regions of North-Wales Staffordshire and East-Cheshire were in all probability first peopled at this period; the spreading numbers of the Ordovices ranging gradually into these solitary countries, and edging closely to the south and east upon the Carnabii of West-Cheshire.

Having thus enlarged their possessions over all the uninhabited districts around them, and their numbers perhaps increasing, the irruptions of war would commence as the range of population was confined. The Ordovices appear accordingly to have attacked the neighbouring Huiccii on the south, to have seized their capital, and to have subdued their country [22]. And being thus masters of North-Wales Shropshire Staffordshire and East-Cheshire, and becoming afterwards the conquerors of Worcestershire Warwickshire and North-Gloucestershire, probably at the former period, more probably at the latter, they assumed or received the distinguishing appellation of Ord-uices or Ordovices, the Great Huiccii or the Honourable Vices.

Such was the wide-extended empire of the Ordovices. But such it did not long remain. The Dobuni assailed it on the south, and cut off from it the north of Gloucestershire the south-

south-west of Warwickshire and the whole of Worcestershire [23]. The Carnabii attacked it on the north and west, and reduced all Shropshire, all Staffordshire, nearly all Warwickshire, the little detached district of Flintshire, and the east of Cheshire [24]. And the Silures marched into the center of their dominions, subdued their remaining possessions in North-Wales, and put a final period to their empire [25].

These were the British inhabitants of East-Cheshire. But the British inhabitants of Derbyshire were the Iceni, who under the conduct of their injured princess cut seventy thousand of the Romans and Romanized Britons to pieces, and destroyed their three towns of Verulam Colchester and London [26]. These consisted of two distinct tribes [27]. One of them was the Proper Iceni, and is denominated Iceni by Antoninus, Cenimagni by Cæsar, Cenomes by Ravennas, and both Cenomanni and Cenimanni by Richard [28]. The genuine and proper name therefore must have been Cen-i, Y-cen-i, or Cen-om-es; and the appellations of Cenimagni, Cenimanni, or Cenomanni must have been merely accidental and relative [29]. But both denominations were undoubtedly coæval with the first settlements of the tribe in Britain. And both were undoubtedly derived together with the first settlers of it from the Cenomanni of Gaul [30].

Several nations of the primitive Britons appear to have retained the names of the states of which they were originally members, and from which they originally migrated in colonies to Britain. Such were the Hædui of Somersetshire, descended from the Hædui of Gaul, and subdued by the Belgæ of Hampshire. Such were the Bibroces or Rhemi, who were evidently a tribe of the native inhabitants, because they attacked and subdued (as I have shewed before [31]) the Belgic Regni of the south. Such were the Attrebates, who were as evidently a nation of the genuine Britons, because they actually lay to the north of the Bibroces [32]. Such also were the Ancalites, descended from the Caletes of Gaul, and clearly the antient natives of the island, having both the Attrebates and the Bibroces to the south of them [33]. And such were undoubtedly the Iceni or Cenomanni,

being

being certainly the aborigines of the country, as the Belgæ had certainly never penetrated so far into the island, as the Cassii, the great enemies of the Belgæ and the conquerors of the Belgic Trinovantes, lay immediately to the south of them, and as they themselves had under Boadicea destroyed the town of London, though it was no colony or municipium like Verulam or Colchester, and consequently was not, like them, inhabited by the Romans, inhabited as it certainly was by the Belgic Trinovantes in particular, and frequented as it certainly was by many of the Belgic traders in general [13].

The other nation of the Iceni is called Coritani by Ptolemy, Corii by Ravennas, and Corii and Coitanni by Richard [14]. The Itineraries of Richard and Ptolemy mention a city belonging to this people and call it Ratis-Corion, exhibiting the name Corii in the possessive case plural, and writing it with the Greek termination Κοριων. And some other similar terminations occur in Antoninus and in both; Ptorotone and Cantiopolis in Richard, Catarractoni and Glebon in Richard and Antoninus, and an infinite variety in Ravennas [15]. The name of this nation therefore appears plainly to have been Corii, Coritani, and Coitanni. The last appellation of them, which literally signifies The Woodlanders, is evidently derived from the Coit-en or woods which more particularly covered the surface of their country [16]. And the two others are clearly derived from that one remarkable circumstance in their condition of which the extreme woodiness of their country is a sufficient argument, the fewness of their numbers and the insignificancy of their kingdom. The Corii mean the Little People [17], and Cori-tan imports the country of the Corii. Their large dominions being very nearly one extensive forest, the people must have been certainly few and the state must have been certainly insignificant.

Thus denominated, they were originally distinct from the Iceni and independent of them [18]. They were subject only to their own metropolis and were governed only by their own monarch. Their metropolis is denominated Ratæ in the Itinera of Richard Antoninus and Ravennas, Ragæ in all the copies

nearly

nearly of Ptolemy's Geography, and absolutely and only Ragæ in Richard's Roman description of Roman Britain [39]. The real name therefore must be equally Ratæ and Ragæ, the former implying the town to be fixed upon the currents [40], and the latter importing it to be the capital of the kingdom. But, in the great weakness of the Coritanian state, the wide-dispersed inhabitants of the country must have been greatly exposed to the dangers of invasion, and have lain an easy prey to any enterprizing nation about them. Such very particularly were the Iceni upon their southern border. And these had accordingly invaded their kingdom and subdued it before the coming of the Romans, and had given the mixed expressive appellation of Iceni Coritani to the conquered inhabitants of it [41].

[1] Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42.— [2] Camden p. 420.— [3] This road I travelled in the autumn of 1767.— [4] So Lean, Loan — Beald, Bold — Neaght, Nought — Eald, Old — and Sheaw, Show.— [5] See b. I. ch. vi. s. 2.— [6] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xxi. Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum— Balnea —: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur.— [7] As early therefore as the year 61 the Romans used hot baths in Britain (Dio p. 1007).— [8] Iter 10th of Richard and 14th of Antoninus, and Richard p. 51.— [9] Iter 10th, 11th, and 12th.— [10] So the Roman town which was constructed at the hot wells of Provence in France was denominated Aquæ (Aquæ Sextiæ) by the Romans, and is now denominated Aix. And there were certainly some medicinal springs at Wells as well as at Aix, however those are unnoticed at present, as these actually were to the present century.— [11] Sax. Chron. p. 22.— [12] See Iter 18 in Appendix.— [13] Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42.— [14] The Nat. Hist. of Lancashire &c. very gravely informs us b. iii. p. 42, That Buxton is mentioned by Lucan. And this wild assertion has been carefully copied from him by almost all the topographers since.— [15] Baxter in Iceni.— [16] Cæsar p. 172, Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2, Ptolemy, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xviii.— [17] Ann. lib. xii. c. 40.— [18] Bede p. 765, 766, 767, and 769.— [19] Branogena

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in Richard p. 24. is the same with Brannogenion, one having the Roman and the other the British plural. —[20] Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. and Agric. Vit. c. xviii. —[21] Richard p. 22. —[22] Ptolemy and Rchard p. 22. in Brannogenium. —[23] Richard p. 24, Salinæ, Branogena, and Alauna. —[24] Richard p. 24, Etocetum, Banchorium, Uriconium, and Benonæ—and p. 26, Carnabiis vicini Coitanni. —[25] Richard p. 22. —[26] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32 and 33. —[27] Richard p. 26. —[28] Antonine's Iter 9, Cæsar p. 92, and Richard p. 26. and 3d Iter. —[29] So Marco-manni in Cæsar &c. —[30] Cæsar p. 172. —[31] B. I. ch. iii. f. 2. —[32] Cæsar p. 172 &c. [33] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32 and 33. —See also b. I. ch. viii. f. 1. —[34] Richard Iter 14. and p. 26. —Coritavi ftands for Coritani, as Bovium for Banchorium, Calleva for Wallen (or Walling-ford), and Cornoninorum in Ravennas for Cornaviorum. —[35] Richard Iter 4, 9, 10, 14, and 15, and Antoninus Iter 1 and 2. And Ravennas has a number of fuch words, Ravennatone, Melarnoni, Termonin, Omire, Ardaoneon, Cimetzone, Metambala, Macatonion, Utriconion, &c. See a miftake therefore in Mr. Pegge's Differtation on the Coritani annexed to his Coins of Cunobeline p. 119. —[36] Richard p. 26. —[37] Baxter. —[38] Ptolemy. —[39] Richard Iter 14. and Antoninus Iter 6 and 8, and Richard p. 26 and 36. —[40] A little above the Weft-Bridge at Leicefter, fays Leland, the Sore cafteth out an arm, and foon after it cometh in again and maketh one ftream of Sore. Within this ifle ftandeth Black Friars. And afterwards at the North-Bridge the Sore breaketh into two arms again, and infulateth a large meadow. And a little land-brook falleth into one of thefe latter arms. p. 14. vol. I. —[41] Richard p. 26.

IV.

THERE is one more ftation which was immediately connected with Manchefter. That is the prefent Warrington. The title of Warrington to the character of a Roman ftation is proved by the concurrence of three Roman roads at it, one from Condate, ano-

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ther from Coccium, and a third from Mancunium. The approach of the the first to Warrington is clearly marked by the name of Stretton and Stretton-chapel betwixt the third and fourth measured mile from the town. The Mancunian road must have issued out of the road from Manchester to Blackrode about the termination of Hodge-lane, have passed by Eccles, and have ranged through Barton to Warrington. Within the compass even of the present century, Hodge-lane remained the one great road to Old Trafford and to Manchester from this quarter of the country. And near the bridge of Barton the Roman highway has consigned the appellation of the Streets or the Street-fields to four meadows that range successively along the northern margin of the Irwell, at once the memorial of its existence and the indication of its course. The last must have certainly commenced from the station at Blackrode, as the Romans had certainly a station at it, and as it was about the stationary distance of eighteen Roman miles from Warrington, and must have coursed, I suppose, by Strangeways in the township of Hindley [1]. And just beyond the village of Ashton and close to the hall of Haydock, on a slight deviation of the present road to the right, it very plainly appears. Entering the paddock at a large ash, it continues along it about six hundred yards, and then regains the rectified line of the present road. Running about three hundred yards along the edge of the paddock, it crosses the back-avenue to the house, and is levelled to admit the plane of it. About three hundred yards of the road are very perfect, and an hundred and fifty in the middle almost as perfect as they were originally. For these hundred and fifty yards the road is still very fairly rounded, and has a sharp slope of nine or ten yards on either side from the crown to the borders.

All these roads must have met at the old ford over the Mersey. There the northern and southern road always met, and there was always the way into the town from Cheshire, even to the days of our Seventh Henry and the erection of the present bridge. And the above-mentioned Stretton, which points out the course of the southern road near Warrington, lies di-

rectly in the line betwixt the old ford and the angle that the road now forms in order to reach the bridge. Here therefore, just upon the ford of the Mersey, was a Roman station, though equally overlooked by antiquarians and forgotten by tradition.

The ford was at the extremity of some flat pastures, and led directly into a village which from it is denominated Latchford. It was formed by a shoal of gravel upon a bed of marle, was about thirty yards in width, and had frequently in a dry summer not more than two feet of water upon it. And the road of access to it was by the lane at the angle of Church-street, across the level fields which are called the Broad-howley or Low-grounds, and along the margin of the river. Just at this ford the wildly varying hand of nature had planted one of the most remarkable sites for a fortress that imagination can conceive. Immediately below the present dam of the river, the current proceeding hastily to the south-west was suddenly diverted to the east, but, soon afterwards turning to the south, was soon compelled to flow directly over the old ford to the west; thus concluding the beautiful curve within a few yards from its commencement. And within the compass of this curve, I apprehend, must have been the station of the Romans. This its vicinity to the river, this its position upon the ford, this the remarkable defensibility of its site, all concur to evince. And this the nature of the ground contiguous sufficiently demonstrates of itself, as the curve is absolutely the only defensible ground that is at all in the neighbourhood of the river and the ford.

Upon a stream whose largeness has made it frequently the boundary of kingdoms, and whose rapidity and deepness must ever have made it formidable to passing armies, this ford, the only certain passage over the river from the mouth of its channel to the shallow at Thelwall, must necessarily have been a post of considerable importance in war. And upon a bank which from the lowness of its level surface could afford no convenient position at all for a fortress, such a site, marked out by the plainest characters for the area of a fortress and placed directly upon one end of the ford, must as necessarily have been of equal importance

in war. So muſt the Siſtuntii have thought, when, on the irruption of the Cangabii into the provinces of their ſouthern neighbours, they reſolved to provide for their own ſecurity by the fortification of their ſouthern border. In this prudent reſolution ſurveying the banks of their limitary ſtream, and the ford at Warrington neceſſarily attracting their immediate attention, they muſt have eagerly ſeized this remarkable peninſula, and have inſtantly ſettled a ſufficient garriſon within it. The extent of it was ſuch as the Siſtuntii fortified at Mancheſter, being, like that, about twelve ſtatute-acres in compaſs. The iſthmus in its narroweſt point was only about ten yards in width at the height of the tide and about twenty at its receſs, and would be eaſily ſecured by a rampart and a ditch. And a rampart of ſeven or eight feet in height, entered as the ſtation at Mancheſter appears to have been entered, not by openings in the line of the vallum, but by ſloping aſcents to the creſt of it, would prevent all thoſe accidental overflowings of the land-floods to which the ground muſt have been previouſly ſubject, and by which it is now generally covered once or twice in a winter.

When the Romans began to ſecure their new conqueſts in Lancaſhire by the conſtruction of ſeveral ſtations, the ſame reaſons which had previouſly induced the Britons to ſelect would equally induce the Romans to retain this little peninſula of ſand for the area of a regular fortreſs. The extent of it indeed was larger than what they generally choſe for the compaſs of a ſtation. But ſuch a choice was merely founded upon a principle of military œconomy, and was merely calculated to prevent a greater detail of expences by precluding the neceſſity of more numerous defendants. And the neceſſary number of defendants could never have been larger for this ſtation than for the Caſtrum at Mancheſter, as in this the ſoldiers needed to defend only the breadth of thirty yards at the ford and the width of twenty at the iſthmus. The river was a ſufficient defence on every other ſide, carrying in all parts a depth of three or four yards, and having probably thoſe deep holes in ſome which have long given to the whole ſite the popular denomination of Hell-

 holes.

holes. And the Roman road from Coccium to Condate, paſſing along the narrow iſthmus and approaching the weſtern rampart, muſt have gently curved on the right by the ſouth-weſtern angle of the latter, and have edged along the ſouthern ſide of the ſtation and juſt beneath the ſouthern vallum. The paſſage of the river could never have been attempted but during the abſence of the tide; and during that abſence this road muſt have been ſafely travelled, extending along the lower bank of the river, and leading over the ford to the high grounds of Latchford.

Such was the ſite on which the antient Caſtrum of the Romans and the more antient town of the Britons were conſtructed. But ſo it is not now. The greateſt ſtrength of the iſthmus, and the point moſt directly oppoſed to the current, was about thirty yards in breadth. So broad it was, after it had been for ages ſilently corroded and violently plundered by the waſting waters. And about thirty-five years ago the river bringing down an extraordinary body of waters from its native hills, and diſcharging the fury of it directly againſt the oppoſing iſthmus, the whole ſtrong ſubſtance of the mound began to ſhake, ſoon opened, and inſtantly diſappeared. The Merſey, having now obtained a direct way, immediately deſerted the rounding courſe of its current, and transferred the ſite of the fortreſs from the northern to the ſouthern bank; leaving its old important ford to become merely a ſludgy way into a paſture, and giving up its old important channel to be partitioned by an hedge and to be grazed upon by cattle.

This ſtation is undoubtedly the ſame which Ravennas fixes ſomewhere near Cheſter, and to which he gives the name of Veratinum Vara-tin or the Ford-town *. The certainty of a ſtation at Warrington, and the great ſimilarity in the name of Veratinum to it, form together a ſufficient evidence that the former is meant by the latter. And in the popular pronunciation of the former name the ſimilarity is ſtill greater, Warrington being popularly pronounced Warratin to the preſent moment. And though in the records of Domeſday it is written Wallingtun, it

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is ſo written from the ſame cuſtomary ſubſtitution of an L for an R in the language of our Saxon anceſtors, from which the name of the Wiltſhire Ambreſbury is changed in the ſame records into Ambleſbury, and from which the appellation of Sarum, the Searobyrig of the Saxon chronicle, has been long altered into Saliſbury [3].

At the diſtance of a few miles from this ſtation, but on the ſouthern bank of the Merſey, were formerly diſcovered more than twenty oblong pieces of lead, ſome of which were ſaid to be inſcribed IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. and others IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE. CEANG. COSS. The diſcovery is ſufficiently authenticated, and the inſcriptions are intereſtingly curious. Theſe pieces of lead the venerable father of our Britiſh antiquarians has conſidered as the memorial of ſome victory which the Romans obtained over the Ceangi or the inhabitants of the north-weſtern region of Cheſhire [4]. And this is certainly the light in which the firſt obvious reflection preſents them to the mind. But the late antiquarian of Greſham College has queſtioned the juſtneſs of Mr. Camden's opinion, and has advanced a very different one of his own. He conſiders them merely as common pieces of lead, licenſed only for the market by an inſcription of the name of the reigning emperor, and ſecured to the proprietor by another inſcription of the name of his nation, and thrown by an accidental wreck upon the ſhore of Cheſhire. And to this his account of them Dr. Stukeley has given the ſanction of his own commendation [5]. But the account is aſſuredly wrong, and will appear to be ſo from this one argument only.

The Cheſhire are not the only pieces of lead which have been diſcovered of a ſimilar form and with a ſimilar inſcription. In the reign of our eighth Henry an oblong plate of the ſame metal was thrown up by the plough near Ochyhole in Somerſetſhire, bearing this inſcription, TI. CLAVDIVS CÆSAR. AVG. P. M. TRIB. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN [a]. In

[a] Leland in his Aſſertio Arthurii, p. 23. edit. 1544, gives it us thus, TI. CLAUD. CÆSAR AUG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITANNIS. But ſee Camden p. 168.

the present century another was discovered at Bruton within the same county, having this inscription, IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI ET VERI ARMENIACORVM[7]. And a third was dug up about thirty-six years ago in Yorkshire, exhibiting these words, IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. COS. VII[8]. Of BRIG.

these the first was certainly a trophy. This the words DE BRITANNIS would sufficiently assure us of themselves. This the remarkable impression upon a particular coin undeniably evinces. The words are too general for the purposes of Dr. Ward's supposition. And the coin exhibits exactly the same inscription, together with a triumphal arch, the figure of an horseman at full speed, and two trophies[9]. This piece of lead therefore was erected as a military trophy, and the inscription upon it DE BRITANNIS as the memorial of a victory which the Romans gained over the Hædui, the Britons of these parts of Somersetshire. And such the Gresham Professor with an ingenuous inconsistency acknowledges them to be[10]. Such therefore must also be the Cheshire pieces of lead, and such the inscription DE CEANGIS upon them. This every principle of analogy proclaims them to be. Molded exactly in the same sort of figure, and presenting exactly the same sort of inscription, they must both have been formed with the same design and inscribed for the same end.

The equally oblong piece of lead which was discovered in the more southerly region of Somersetshire must have been equally erected as the record of a victory over the inhabitants of it. This the same principles of analogy assert. And this the Professor again inconsistently acknowledges[11]. In the joint reign of Aurelius Antoninus and L. Verus an insurrection of the Hædui had been suppressed by the Romans. And this monument was erected in memory of the suppression. Such therefore must have been also the case with the Brigantes. Subdued by Cerealis in the year 72 or 73, they must have attempted to throw off the yoke in the seventh consulate of Domitian or the year 81,[12] but attempted in vain. The Romans reduced the insurgents, and erected the usual monument of their victories, the leaden plate

and the triumphal inſcription [15]. The inſcription naturally varied in its manner, and the plate in its weight; the name of the conquered nation being ſometimes expreſsly inſcribed upon the plate, as in the two firſt and in the laſt; and being ſometimes explained only by the place of its erection, as in the third; and the weight being ſometimes one hundred pounds, as in the laſt; ſometimes only fifty, as in the third; and ſometimes much leſs, as in both the firſt probably [15].

The Cheſhire pieces of lead then were originally deſigned by the Romans as a monument of triumph and the record of a victory over the Ceangi. And this deſign of them aſcertains at once the poſition of theſe Ceangi. Being the ſervants of the Carnabii and the attendants upon their cattle, they lived in the northern borders of their country, and in the marſhy grounds particularly which ſtill extend for many miles by Norton Runchorne and Frodſham along the ſhore of the Merſey. In theſe grounds were the pieces dug up, and in them muſt the victory have been obtained. And the Ceangi over whom it was gained were very diſtinct from the three tribes with whom they have been often confounded; from the Cangi, who bordered immediately upon the country of the Icehi, and who muſt therefore have inhabited the wild extent of Cannock Foreſt in Staffordſhire; from the Gangani, whoſe habitations ſtretched along the weſtern ſhore of Caernarvonſhire; and from the Cangii, who dwelt amid the ſouthern hills of Weſtmoreland [16]. Separated from the firſt by the interpoſing Carnabii, and from the ſecond by the intervening Carnabii and Ordovices together, they were equally ſeparated from the laſt by the whole intermediate region of the Siſtuntii.

But the dates of theſe inſcriptions are obviouſly different; the one referring to a victory in the reign of Veſpaſian and in the year 76 particularly, and the other to a victory in the reign of Domitian. The former inſcription, like the inſcriptions of North-Somerſetſhire, refers without queſtion to the original conqueſt of the country; and the latter, like the inſcriptions of South-Somerſetſhire and Yorkſhire, to the ſuppreſſion of a ſubſequent

sequent insurrection. But the former has been so negligently copied by the persons who transmitted it to Camden, that it cannot be depended upon at all with regard to the year of its date. This appears at once from the glaring absurdity of it in giving the appellation of Emperor to Vespasian and to Titus in the same inscription[17]. And this equally appears from the consideration of this certain fact, That in the year 76 the Ceangi of Cheshire had not yet been attacked by the Romans at all. In the summer of 78, when Agricola assumed the command of the troops within the island, the whole range of our north-western coast, including North-Wales and extending to Scotland, was yet unsubdued by the Roman arms. The most southerly of these Britons, the Ordovices of North-Wales, had been previously attacked by Suetonius Paulinus; but all the more northerly Britons were first attacked by Agricola. Having totally reduced the former in the autumn of 78, Agricola equally reduced the latter in the summer of 79. This therefore is the highest date to which any Cheshire inscription can possibly refer, as the county was first attacked and first conquered in this year. And this is also the lowest to which any inscription concerning Vespasian can be possibly reduced, as he died upon the twenty-fourth of June in this year. And to this the original inscription must have actually referred, and must have been thus written, IMP. VESP. VIIII. T. VESP. VII. COSS.

Early then in the campaign of 79, when Agricola led his troops to the conquest of Lancashire, the main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington[18]. The inhabitants of the north-western region of Cheshire, the hardy Ceangi or herdsmen of the Carnabii, were secure in the protection of their marshes, and had not yet submitted to the Roman arms. But Agricola pursued them to the last retreat of their marshes and the banks of the Mersey, there attacked and defeated them near Norton, and subdued the whole country.

This being successfully performed, the army must have naturally forded the Mersey at the shallow near Warrington, have entered the country of the Sistuntii, and have taken the British fortress

fortress of Veratinum. This was intended to guard the ford, and must have been then skirted on every side by the great wood that was afterwards denominated the Forest of Derbyshire [19]. And the detachment which had been probably sent over the Mersey at Stretford, and had taken the fortress of Mancunium, must as probably have continued its route directly to Ribchester and Overborough, have seized the fortresses of Rerigonium and Bremetonacæ, and have re-united with the army in the county of Cumberland.

In each of these fortresses the detachments, acting undoubtedly upon the same principles with the main body, must have successively left a competent garrison. On each of these fortresses must Agricola at the end of the campaign have constructed a regular station and have fixed a regular garrison. This must have been the case of Bremetonacæ and Veratinum in particular, though the one is first mentioned by the late Itinerary of Antoninus and the other by the later Chorography of Ravennas. Both of them appear from their British names to have been originally British fortresses, and neither of them could have retained those names if they had not immediately been converted into Roman stations. Veratinum was not upon the course of the great road from Carlisle to the south, and is therefore unnoticed in the earlier Itineraries. The road, passing from Carlisle to Blackrode, did not proceed from Blackrode to Kinderton in a straight direction and the line of the present road, but, turning to the left, rounded by Manchester to it. And such appears to have been its direction for two centuries afterwards from the Itinerary of Antoninus.

But in the fourth century, some time after the date of Antonine's and before the period of Ravennas's Itinerary, the course of the road was changed. As it circled by Manchester, the distance betwixt Blackrode and Kinderton was about forty measured miles. But if the one was laid directly through Warrington, the other could be only about thirty. The course of the great road was therefore diverted from Manchester to Warrington.

 And

And we have several instances of the like diversions among the Romans, new roads constructed by the Romans of the later ages because the old took a considerable round [20]. In consequence of our own particularly, the station of Veratinum, which before perhaps had only two vicinal ways to it, and had a connection by them with Mancunium and Deva only, was placed upon the course of a great road, was necessarily inserted in the later Itineraries, and necessarily engaged the notice of the transcribing Chorographer. And the present appearance of the Roman road at Haydock confirms the opinion. Constructed entirely with the red earth and the red rock which form the natural soil, it still retains all the great convexity which was originally given it, and must therefore have been constructed by the Romans of the later ages, and have been speedily deserted in this particular part of it by the Britons or Saxons after them. And the direction of our great north-western road was now first diverted from Manchester, by which it had hitherto gone, and was now first carried through Warrington, through which it continues to go to the present moment. At the same period undoubtedly the other part of the road, which had previously curved from Condate by Mediolanum and by Uriconium to Wall near Litchfield [21], was laid directly as it now tends over the hills of Talk and Newcastle and by the stations of Chesterton and Berry-Bank. Chesterton is about two miles to the north of Newcastle, and Berry-Bank is about one mile to the south of Stone. The former is sufficiently characterized as a station by its common name, and the latter by the name of Wulfere-cester which it bears in a very antient record. And the latter is additionally marked by a camp upon a lofty hill, extending about two hundred yards in diameter, secured by a double vallum, and fortified with deep entrenchments [22].

[20] So our own Strangeways was named from the Roman road that went by it.— [21] See Gale's Antoninus p. 123, where he justly affirms the British Vara to be the present Ferry; and Llhuyd's

Lhuyd's Etymol. Dict. p. 5. Bamborough in Northumberland was called *Din-Guayrh* or the War-town by the Britons of the sixth century (Nennius c. 64).—[3] Thus we have Loch or Roch water, and Bullium or Burrium for the same town, among the Britons (see Dictionaire Celtique in Roch, and Richard and Antoninus for the town); Cælia and Ceria for the same liquor among the Spaniards (see b. I. ch. vii. s. 3.); Λειριον Lilium, and Αστηρ Stella, and Cerebrum Cerebellum, Liber Libellus, and many others, among the Romans; and Marmor Marble, Purpura Purple, Tempora Temples, and Harry Mary Sarah and Dorothy popularly softened into Hal Molly Sally and Dolly, among ourselves.—[4] P. 463.—[5] Phil. Transf. A. D. 1755 and 1756. p. 696 and 697.—[6] Carausius vol. I. p. 177.—[7] Itin. Curios. p. 143.—[8] Phil. Transf. p. 687.—[9] Camden ibid.—[10] P. 699.—[11] P. 698.—[12] See Phil. Transf. p. 695.—[13] And this insurrection is obviously alluded to in Juv. 14 Sat.

Dirue Maurorum attegias & castra Brigantum.

—[14] That the Romans frequently made inscriptions upon leaden plates, appears from Dion. p. 475 and 867.—[15] Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 32.—[16] See the mistakes in Brit. Romana p. 34, Carausius p. 177. vol. I, and Reinesius p. 302.—[17] Mr. Horseley p. 316. has proposed this objection, but has mistated it. His argument supposes both sets of inscriptions to be upon plates of the same date. And Dr. Ward has endeavoured to remove the objection, but has mistaken it (p. 697 and 698). The title of Emperor is neither given to Vespasian Titus and Domitian on the same pieces of lead, nor given to Vespasian upon one piece and to Titus upon another. It is given to Vespasian and to Titus upon the same, and to Domitian upon different pieces.—[18] Loca castris *ipse* [Agricola] capere, *æstuaria* ac sylvas *ipse* prætentare: nihil *interim* apud hostes quietum pati quò minùs subitis *excursibus* popularetur; Tacitus Vit. Agric.—[19] A record of perambulation says thus of it — It begins where Sonkey Water falls into the Mersey—ascends the water through the middle of the townships of Par Windlue and Rainford—passes through

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the middle of Bickerstath to Crowshagh Brook—goes to Rómesbrook in Aghton, to Cockbeck, to Alt—goes beyond the Moss of Downholland to Barton Pull—ranges beyond the Moss in Hanglowe to the sea—follows the line of the sea to Liverpool—and pursues the line of the Mersey to Sankey Water—9 H. III. Kuerden folio p. 238.—[20] Galen l. ix. c. 8. Methodi for Italy, and Horseley p. 144, for Britain.—[21] Richard's 1st and 2d and Antonine's 2d Iter.—[22] Plot's Staffordshire p. 407 and Leland's Collectanea vol. I. p. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THESE are the Roman roads that coursed from Mancunium to the neighbouring stations. And such as they are, they must share in the great admiration and the high praise which the antiquarians have bestowed upon the roads of the Romans in general. But surely those criticks have been too lavish in their eulogiums upon them. Antiquarianism is the younger sister of History, less sedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of Time by looking so frequently upon it. But let not this be the conduct of her soberer disciples. Let not the sensible antiquarian disgrace himself and his profession by admiring greatly what is merely antient, and by applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of Age may justly be allowed to throw a shade of respectableness, and to diffuse even an air of venerableness, over the productions of very antient Art. And we may appeal to the native feelings of every sensible beholder for the truth of the observation. But this is all that can be allowed to the mere influence of Time. And the antiquarian that once oversteps this reasonable limit sacrifices the dignity of sentiment to the dreams of antiquarianism, and gives up the realities of History for the fables of Imagination.

The great excellence of the Roman roads is the particular directness of their course. Being constructed at a period when the laws of property were superseded by the rights of conquest, they were naturally laid in the straightest lines from place to place. From this line of direction they could not be diverted, like many of our modern roads, and thrown into obliquities and angles, by the bias of private interest. From this line nothing could divert them but the interposition of an hill which could not be directly ascended,

ascended, the interruption of a river which could not be directly forded, or the intervention of a moss which could not be crossed at all. Thus, to adduce only a single instance, the Roman road to Slack courses in one uninterrupted right line from the Castle-field to the Hollinwood, while the modern and nearly parallel way to Huthersfield, one of the directest roads that we have in the vicinity of the town, runs curving all the way at a little distance from it, and has no less than twelve or thirteen consi-siderable angles betwixt the end of Newton-lane and the extremity of Hollinwood.

But the Roman roads appear not to have been constructed upon the most sensible principles in general. The road over Newton Heath is a mere coat of sand and gravel, the sand being very copious and the gravel very weak, and not compacted together with any incorporated cement. And the road at Haydock is merely an heap of loose earth and loose rock laid together in a beautiful convexity, but ready to yield and open upon any sharp compression from the surface. Such roads could never have been designed for the passage of the cart and the waggon. Had they been so designed, they must soon have been furrowed to the bottom by the cutting of the wheels or crushed into the ground by the pressure of the load, and have been rendered absolutely impassable by either. But for such rough services they were not intended at all. This the sharp convexity of the road at Haydock most clearly demonstrates, which scarcely leaves the level of a yard at the crown, and throws all the rest of the surface into a brisk descent. And this the breadth of the more flattened road over Failsworth Moss concurs to demonstrate, the surface, even now when it has naturally spread out into a broader extent, being not more than three yards and a half in width. Both these roads, though the one was intended for the great western way into the north and the other was the way of communication betwixt Chester and York, must plainly have been confined to the mere walker, the mere rider, and the mere beast of burden *.

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The only roads that seem to have been constructed for the cart and the waggon are such as were regularly paved with large boulders. Such appears to have been the road from Manchester to Blackrode; such appears to have been the road from Manchester to Ribchester; and such evidently was the road from Ribchester to Overborough [2]. But as this alleviates not at all the censure upon the narrowness of the ways, so the paving of a road is obviously a very awkward expedient at the best. This may sufficiently appear from those boasted remains of the Roman roads, the Appian and the Flaminian ways in Italy, which are so intolerably rough and so inexpressibly hard, that the travellers, as often as they can, turn off from them, and journey along the tracks at their borders [3].

Many of the Roman roads indeed have continued under all the injuries of time and all the inclemencies of climate to the present period, and some few in excellent conservation. The Romans, having the whole power of the country at their command and nations of subjects to be their labourers in the work, were not frugal of toil in the discovery of the materials and in the conveyance of them to a considerable distance. Thus, since little or no gravel was to be found along the course of the Roman road from the common of Hollinwood to the end of Street-lane, they dug up a very great quantity of it along the sides of the present Millbrook upon the former, as the long broad and winding hollow which still remains doth manifestly evince, and constructed all the road from the one to the other with it, as the peculiar redness of the gravel along the road does evidently prove. Thus, what is much more remarkable, the Stane-street in Sussex, ten and seven yards in breadth and one yard and a half in depth, is composed entirely of flints and of pebbles, though no flints are to be found even within seven miles of the road [4]. And they laid their roads, not sunk, like ours, many feet below the level of the ground about them, but rising with a rounded ridge considerably above the surface, unless they were obliged to climb obliquely up the side of a steep hill or to descend obliquely down it. By this means the water never settled upon

their roads, silently sapped the foundations, and effectually demolished the works. But the continuance of many roads to the present moment, and the peculiar conservation of some, result very little from these general circumstances, and are principally the effect of particular accidents. That these circumstances have not given the roads such a lasting duration, is evident from the above-mentioned structure of all of them within, and more evident from the particular roundness of some of them without. The fact arises chiefly from the early desertion of particular roads by the Britons and Saxons, new roads being laid for new reasons to the same towns, or the towns being destroyed and the roads unfrequented. Such must assuredly have been the case with the smartly rounded road at Haydock. And such will hereafter appear to have been the case with the still-remaining road upon Stony Knolls [5].

But had the Roman roads been always laid in right lines, always constructed with a sufficient breadth, and been never paved with stone; had the materials been bound together by some incorporated cement; and had they been all calculated to receive carts and to bear waggons; they must still have been acknowledged to have one essential defect in them. The roads almost constantly crossed the rivers of the island, not at bridges, but at shallows or fords, some of which Nature had planted and others Art supplied [6]. By this means the travelling on the roads must have been infinitely precarious, have been regulated by the rains, and have been controuled by the floods. Such must have certainly been the consequence at the fords of Ribchester and Penwortham over the Ribble, such more particularly at the fords of Warrington, Stretford and Stockport over the Mersey, and such even at the fords of Knotmill and Garret over the Medlock, at the way of Trafford over the Irwell, and at the passages of Huntsbank over the Irke and of Throstleneit-lane over the Cornebrooke. One of those very rainy nights which are so common in our Lancashire winters would raise a considerable depth of water upon the fords, and would fix an absolute bar to the progress of travelling. Thus, for want of a few bridges,

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the Roman roads must have been often rendered impassable during the winter, and often for a considerable part of the winter together. And thus, for want of a few bridges, must the Roman roads have been rendered frequently useless, the military communication between the several parts of the island have been frequently suspended, and the Roman empire within it have been frequently exposed to danger [7].

[1] From some Tumuli in the roads Dr. Stukeley infers both the Herman and the Watling Streets to have been never travelled even by horses. Itin. Curios. p. 82, 104, and 106.—[2] Rothmell's Account of Overborough.—[3] Horace lib. i. sat. 5. shews the Appian way to have been as rough in the Augustan age as it is in the present:

Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altiùs ac nos
Præcinctis unum; minùs est gravis Appia tardis.

—[4] Camden c. 199.—[5] See b. II. ch. ii. s. 2.—[6] The Romans had very few stations in the island at which they had constructed bridges. Only two are mentioned by Antoninus, Ad Pontem and Pontibus. And a third is mentioned by the Notitia, Pons Ælii.—[7] Dr. Stukeley, in the genuine spirit of an antiquarian, commends the wisdom of the Romans for preferring durable fords to perishing bridges. Itin. Cur. p. 72. See also a similarly awkward expedient for crossing the rills of vallies mentioned p. 82.

II.

TO the seven stations with which Mancunium was immediately connected we may add several others, not as the great and terminating stages of other roads, but as intermediate castra upon these or minute stations at a distance from them. And the station of Mancunium appears to have had nine of them, three of them constructed with one view, two with another, and four with another.

The fortress of Mancunium appears to have had three castra in its neighbourhood, and all upon the three roads from it to Ilkley to Buxton and to Slack. One of these was at Littleborough, the second at Castleshaw, and the third at Hanford. The little station at Castleshaw is very evident on the present track of the road to Slack; a second station was certainly planted at Hanford; and these necessarily lead us to expect another upon the other road, a fortress constructed upon a similar site and calculated for a similar purpose. Fact convinces us of the one, and analogy requires the other. The castrum at Castleshaw is seated directly at the foot of Stanedge, and within a couple of furlongs from the track of the Roman road. This I have evinced before to have been in all probability a previous fortress of the Sistuntii, but to have extended along all the large area which rises eminent over the rest of the ground, and which is all equally denominated The Hus-steads and is all equally defined by the Castle-hills. The later fortress seems to have been contracted into a much narrower compass, and to have been inclosed within the fosse that still plainly appears encircling a rounded eminence near the center and encompassing about three-fourths of a statute-acre. The castrum at Littleborough must have given denomination to the village, and seems to have been fixed upon the ground which is about half a mile to the east of it, which is immediately on the left of the new road, and which is popularly denominated Castle. This is directly under the steep of Blackstone-Edge, nearly adjoining to the course of the Roman road, and upon the margin of a brisk stream. And the fortification which gave name to the ground is of so antient a date, that both the remains of it have vanished from the eye and tradition has forgotten its existence. But we have better evidences of a little station at Hanford. The Roman road from Manchester to Buxton runs considerably to the west of its general direction from Stockport, in order to touch at some intermediate station. It proceeds by Pepper-street Fold in Bramhall and it passes over Streetfields beyond it, pointing plainly towards Hanford-mill on the Bollen. And Hanford appears clearly to have had three or four roads of the Romans diverging

diverging from it. A Roman road must have crossed the present road to Macclesfield about half a mile to the north of Adlington-Hall, a long lane on the left still bearing its appellation of Street-lane, and in two or three miles must necessarily have coincided with the other about Hanford-mill. This is the continuation of the road from Manchester to Buxton, leaving the little station at Hanford, and bearing directly for Buxton. And two other roads must have reached it from two other quarters, having bequeathed their names of Street to a lane in Alderley for three quarters of a mile and to a lane in Cheadle for more than a mile together. But situated as all these three stations were in a line directly under the ridge of our eastern hills, they could never be constructed for the purposes of exploration. They could be constructed merely for two purposes, the subordinate one of securing the roads just entering the wild region of the hills, and the important one of being the necessary baiting-places for the soldiers just mounting the cliffs of the British Alps.

Six other stations were fixed in the more immediate precincts of Mancunium, and were constructed for the more immediate purposes of the garrison in it. They were designed to protect their cattle in the pastures, and to secure their convoys upon the roads. Such the Romans appear to have generally had in the neighbourhood of their stationary camps[a]. Such therefore must be equally obvious in the precincts of other stations within the kingdom, though they have never been noticed by any of our antiquarians. One of these has been previously mentioned by a Mancunian antiquarian, and without hesitation pronounced to be merely a camp for the summer[b]. But constructed as all of them are in the same manner, they can as little be all of them camps for the summer as any of them can be forts for exploration. They are all of them sufficiently distinguished from the latter by the height of their sites, too low to be the sites of exploratory forts. They are all of them sufficiently distinguished from the former by the extent of their areas, too small to be the areas of summer-camps. Evinced to be stations by the express mention of one of them in the Itinerary of Richard, by the appellation

pellation of Caſter which is given to another of them in an antient record, by the concurrence of ſeveral Roman roads at a third, and by the great uniformity in the aſpect of all of them; they appear to have been ſix of thoſe tumultuary forts, as Vegetius calls them, which the Romans generally made at a little diſtance from their ſtations and for the greater ſecurity of their cattle and their convoys [3]. And the Romans fixed them, as theſe are fixed, in the moſt advantageous ſites that the places afforded, fortified them, as theſe are fortified, not with a rampart of ſtone or even of earth, but only with large ditches, and lodged a ſmall garriſon in them [4].

One of theſe Cheſters is mentioned by Richard in his ſixth Iter, and is called from its poſition Fines Maximæ & Flaviæ. It was placed on the ſoutherly ſide of the Merſey, on the right hand of the road, and about muſquet-ſhot from the bridge. This the nature of the ground along the banks of the Merſey ſufficiently evinces of itſelf, that being the only ground in the neighbourhood of the road and upon the margin of the river which the Romans could ever have ſelected for the ſite of a ſtation. And this the voice of Tradition very remarkaly confirms, aſſerting in its own wild way of detailing the circumſtances of a fact, that the ſtones of the caſtle at Mancheſter were once tranſported to that part of the ground which is now denominated Scholes's Field in order to conſtruct a church with them, and that they were afterwards removed away in a ſupernatural manner and within the period of a ſingle night. The ſite is a riſing ground of gravel and marl, now divided into two fields, and muſt have been once denominated, as the nearer of them is ſtill called, the Rie or River Field [4]. This is ſtill bounded by a long deep broad ditch upon one ſide, the natural hollow having been greatly widened by the Romans, and now ranging in a regular even line more than twenty yards in breadth and three in depth. And this was formerly bounded by the Red or Read brook, which flowed directly under the bank and along the hollow, but is now intercepted by the courſe of the new canal; by the river Merſey, which received

ceived the current of the Read at the angle, and which rolled directly under the second side; by a large ditch, I suppose, crossing along the middle of Scholes's Field, on the third; and by a narrow hollow, which is now formed into a lane, on the fourth. But, in one of those wild floods to which the Mersey is peculiarly subject, the river opened the soft bank of Lancashire, and now flows many yards within the county; having deserted its antient bridge of three arches, and having left its antient channel under the Roman castrum. Such must have been the site of the little station Fines Maximæ & Flaviæ, being about four Roman miles and a half from the site of the principal station, and containing about two statute-acres and a half within its limits. Placed near to the ford of the Mersey and nearer to the course of the road, amid the large expanse of these level meadows it was well calculated to guard them both, to secure the convoys of provisions that passed along the one and over the other from the neighbouring parts of Cheshire, and to receive them into its area when the frequent floods prevented a passage across the channel[6]. And a Roman road appears advancing towards it from the south-eastern limits of the parish, traversing the whole breadth of the parish on the south, and still carrying a considerable ridge in several parts of its course. It is particularly conspicuous at Birch, is popularly represented as a breast-work thrown up against the Danes, and is popularly denominated Nico (or Devil's) Ditch. The wasteful ravages of the Danes in their plundering expeditions through the island were so strongly impressed upon the feelings and fancies of our fathers, that the memory of them has generally superseded all the other traditions of the island, and the chronicles of the vulgar generally refer every remarkable monument to the Danes. And this road is noticed in a record of 1422 as actually travelled to that late period, some land being described as abutting upon a certain gate (or antient highway) which led from Gorton-green to Reddish, quandam portam quâ itur a Gorton-grene usque Redich ex parte australi[7].

Another

Another ſtation was ſeated equally upon the courſe of a Roman road and upon the margin of the Merſey. It was ſettled at Stockport. This town appears evidently the one common center to three or four very variouſly directed roads of the Romans. The High-ſtreet advances to it from Mancheſter, and the Pepper-ſtreet haſtens to it from Hanford [8]. And in the pariſh of Aſheton and near the foot of Staley-bridge is a third road, commonly denominated Staley-ſtreet for a mile together. A branch of this muſt have been the above-mentioned road to Stretford. And the main line lies pointing clearly from Caſtleſhaw to Stockport. Theſe are ſure ſignatures of a Roman ſtation at Stockport. And the general ſameneſs in the poſition of this and the former fort, this being placed, like that, upon the limits of the two provinces and the banks of the limitary ſtream, and this being planted, like that, in the road betwixt two conſiderable ſtations, demonſtrates a ſameneſs in the deſign and requires a ſimilarity in the nature of both. This muſt have been fixed upon the ſite of the caſtle and the area of the caſtle-hill at Stockport. That is exactly ſuch a ſite as the Romans muſt have inſtantly ſelected for ſuch a ſtation. That is a ſmall area detached from the level ground of the market-place, and connected with it only by an iſthmus. And that is a ſmall ſquare knoll which projects from the ſouthern ſide of the river, looks down upon the long ſteep ſlope of the rocky bank, and has the young Merſey frequently rolling its rumbling torrents at the foot of it. The area muſt have been the actual ſite of a caſtle in the earlieſt period of the Saxon reſidence among us, as the caſtle muſt have originally communicated its name to the town, and as both were denominated Stock-port becauſe the former was a port or caſtle in a wood [9]. The area is about half a ſtatute-acre in extent, the ſite is ſtill incomparably ſtrong in itſelf, and the poſition is happily fitted for the ford. The ſtation muſt have had a ſteep of an hundred or an hundred and twenty yards in deſcent upon three ſides of it, and muſt have been guarded by a foſſe acroſs the iſthmus. And the Roman road into Eaſt-Cheſhire muſt have been effectually commanded by it, that road being obliged by the circling current

current of the Merfey to approach very near to the Caftle, and being evinced by the remaining fteepnefs in the other parts of the neighbouring banks to have actually advanced up to it, and to have actually afcended the brow in an hollow immediately beneath the eaftern fide of it.

Such was the pofition of the two ftations on the borders of the two provinces. But the pofition of the four other Agrarian ftations is very different from thefe. One of the four was on the right hand of the prefent road to Bury, immediately beyond Singleton Brook, and upon the firft field in the parifh of Preftwich. The fite was formerly denominated Low-cafter[10], and is now denominated fometimes How-caftle Field, but more popularly, though to the fame purport, Caftle-Hill. It is a rifing hillock of fand, having a plane of half an acre and a fine fpring of water under an aged oak. On the one fide the ground falls away from it brifkly near the road and gently at a diftance from it, and had probably a fmall ditch at the foot of the fall. On the fecond fide was certainly another ditch, the remains of it ftill plainly appearing, and the hedge of the field being now placed along the channel of it. The remaining fides form a very fteep flope of twenty thirty-five or forty yards; and the ditch is ftill very evident below, now extending along the whole of one of them, and lately curving round the angle and proceeding for feveral yards along the other. At the termination of this ditch was the entrance into the Caftrum, which ftill appears afcending the bank obliquely, and diftinguifhed to the eye by the remaining hollow of it. And fixed as this tumultuary fort was at the diftance nearly of a mile from the courfe of the road to Ribchefter, it could never be intended to have any particular relation to it. The garrifon in the one could not poffibly, as fuch, be any fecurity to the convoys upon the other. The fort muft therefore have been conftructed with a different view. It muft have been defigned only for the protection of the cattle which paftured along the adjoining fields on the weft. And for fuch a protection the Romans commonly eftablifhed a tumultuary fort[11]. The one whole townfhip of Broughton and Kerfall muft in

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the time of the Romans have been all covered with an extensive wood, as so covered it remained even to the period of the Norman conquest. And the cattle which the Romans must have kept within it were their hogs. For such cattle the yearly-falling acorns of the oaks would afford a luxurious food. For such cattle the wood appears through many ages to have shed the annual produce of its trees, and two or three fields that are near to Kersall-moor and close to the present bowling-green are still denominated the Hog-heys. And for such cattle a right of pasnage even along the unwooded extent of the present moor was recently contested in a court of Justice, the township of Salford asserting a claim and the lords of Kersall refelling it. The soil being still friendly to the growth of oaks, the many acorns which the provident crows reposite in tufts of grass along every extended waste, and which, being in winter forgotten and lost, shoot up into little plants, are skilfully rooted up and eagerly devoured by the observant hogs. Thus was Lowcaster designed to protect the cattle of the Romans that fed in the wood of Broughton. And thus the moor of Kersall, which now annually receives at the races the gathering thousands of the town and its populous precincts, was in the time of the Romans, perhaps in the time of the Britons before them, and certainly for many ages after both, a wood of oaks and a pasture for hogs; and the little knolls which so remarkably diversify the plain, and are annually covered at the races with mingled crouds rising in ranks over ranks to the top, were once the occasional sleeping-places of Roman porkers and the occasional seats of Roman herdsmen [12].

But settled as the fort of Lowcaster was at one extremity of the long wood, it pretty plainly required a correspondent fort at the other. And such was the high mount of gravel and sand which rises tapering from its ample base, overlooks the whole extent of the original wood, and is now denominated Raineshow. Tradition asserts it to be the site of an antient camp: and, as it has only an irregular plane of an acre and an half at the top, it cannot be the site of any but an Agrarian camp. And it carries exactly the same appearances with Lowcaster, having a steep de-

scent

ſcent on every ſide, ditches encircling the hill, and a brook flowing at the bottom. The banks are much ſteeper and higher than the banks of Lowcaſter, having a ſharp deſcent of an hundred yards upon one ſide, a ſharper of eighty on another, and a ſteep fall of fifty and a gentle one of an hundred in the boggy grounds beyond on the reſt. The ditches, which are very viſible on one ſide, which may be eaſily traced along two others, and which form the preſent ditch of the field on the fourth, are not at the bottom of the ſlope, but conſiderably above the middle of it, and are twenty-five twenty and fifteen yards in depth. And the entrance is the preſent road of acceſs from the Moor, the road coming up the lane from the brook, and aſcending directly the ſteep of the hill [11].

Another little ſtation was placed within the Vale of Broughton, in the preſent townſhip of Pendleton, and near the extremity of the lane that paſſes through New-hall Fold to the river. It is an oblong hillock of ſand, and is popularly denominated Hyle or Hill Wood. It has an irregular plane of half an acre in extent, had its entrance, as it ſtill has, on the ſouth-weſt, and another opening behind to the river, and is ſurrounded in every part by deep ditches or ſteep aſcents or both that ſink fifteen twenty thirty or forty yards below the ſurface of the Hill. And amid the beautiful valley in which the fort was placed, the valley that is formed by the high grounds of Salford Pendleton Kerſal and Broughton, ſurrounded as it was by the pleaſing circle of theſe ſloping hills, and remote from every ſtationary road, it could have only one military object in view. That muſt have been the protection of the cattle which grazed along the ample level of the valley. For ſuch grazings the valley muſt have been particularly ſuited, as the brown hazel-coloured mold of it is remarkably rich, as the ſite of it was ſufficiently near to the great ſtation, and as the ſtream of the Irwell courſes thrice through the whole extent of it. The Irwell, entering the vale by a large opening on the north-weſt, and flowing directly beneath the weſtern hills to the ſouth, is turned to the north-caſt by the heights of Pendleton, is warped towards the eaſt by the heights

 of

of Kerſal, is returned towards the ſouth by the hills of Broughton, and is again diverted to the eaſt and again beaten back towards the north by the high grounds of Salford. But theſe ſpeedily ſubſiding into a valley, the waters purſue the direction of the ground, and eſcape round Salford to the town of Mancheſter. Some ſite therefore was abſolutely neceſſary that ſhould riſe over the reſt of the ground, and naturally command the valley around it. But as none ſuch preſented its uſeful elevation within the whole circuit of the vale, art ſupplied the omiſſion of nature, raiſing the preſent mount, and fetching the materials for it from the ſandy bed of the river. This the particular nature of its ſituation evinces, placed as it is in the narrow point betwixt two reaches of the river, and ſecuring the avenue into the ample and beautiful horſe-ſhoe which is deſcribed by them. And this the particular nature of the ſoil demonſtrates, ſo different as it is from the native ſoil of the fields around it, and ſo plainly a mixed collection of water-ſand chequered with little fragments of reddiſh rock.

Cloſely connected with it was a ſimilar fortreſs in its neighbourhood. This is a rounded knoll, which is denominated Caſtle-hill, and which appears at a little diſtance from it upon the curving ſide of the Kerſal-heights. The ſoil is a collection of gravel and ſand, having an area of half an acre above, ſteep banks of twenty fifteen and ten yards in height on every ſide, and boggy grounds on three ſides around it. Upon the fourth, which had not the advantage of a deſcent from it, and had even the diſadvantage of a ſmall gentle deſcent to it, are two large ditches, an outer one and an inner, and are about twelve eight and ſix yards in depth, and twenty fifteen and twelve in breadth. And where theſe terminate was the road of entrance into the fort. Such is the little fortreſs upon the ſide of the hill, very near to Bents-houſe upon Kerſal-moor but nearer to the Grand Stand; and it has a ſtrong ſpring of water breaking out a little above and deſcending along the ſide of it. And ſuch is the fortreſs which the Romans muſt have formed with the ſame views with which they planned the ſtation upon Hillwood; and for the

the ſame protection of their cattle. The mount of Hillwood being fixed in the narrow opening into the curve which is deſcribed on the eaſtern ſide of the vale, and being ſeparated by an arm of the river from the large extent of the meadows on the weſtern northern and north-weſtern ſides, it could be deſigned to guard the cattle only that ranged within the compaſs of the curve. But the cattle in thoſe divided paſtures muſt have wanted a protection as well as the others. And the garriſon upon the mount could not afford it. The intervention of the river muſt have rendered the communication with theſe paſtures uncertain and the aſſiſtance of the garriſon precarious. Obſerving this, the Romans were obliged to form another Agrarian fortreſs. But they were not obliged to raiſe another artificial mount. They were obliged only to plant a fortreſs upon the northern ſide of the vale, as this great curve of the meadows opened only to the north. And they planted it upon a convenient projection from the ſide of the north-weſtern hills. For a connection with the fort at Hillwood and a defence of their cattle in the valley, the ſite was as properly calculated as it was almoſt neceſſarily choſen. For ſuch a connection and ſuch a defence only was the ſite properly calculated at all, being a good way upon the deſcent from the height and much below the level of the moor. And ſuch a connection is ſtill aſſerted by tradition, which fixes an army in both the caſtles, and ſets the one in oppoſition to the other [14].

This then was manifeſtly the deſign of the ſix little fortreſſes that we find in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancheſter. Three of them demonſtratively Roman, and all of them equally Romanized in their general aſpect, they were undoubtedly the Agrarian fortreſſes appendant to the ſtation on the Medlock. Two of them being calculated merely for the protection of the convoys on the roads, the other four were conſtructed for the ſecurity of the cattle in the paſtures. Theſe therefore were all planted in one particular quarter of our Mancunian precincts. Planted by pairs, each of the two evidently carries a ſtriking and particular relation to its fellow. And each of the pairs as evidently chal-

lenges a ſtriking but general affinity to the other. The high dry grounds of the hills, and the low moiſt meadows of the vale, muſt have been ſucceſſively and alternately the paſtures of the Roman cattle. The Romans appear to have regularly kept a ſimilar change and relay of paſtures for their ſhepherds in Italy, confining their cattle to the marſhes during the ſummer, and driving them up into the hills at the return of the winter[15]. And the Roman Britons are equally atteſted, though they are not equally known, to have adopted the ſame practice. Britain, ſays Gildas, abounds in hills that are very convenient for the alternate paſtures of our flocks and our herds, montibus alternandis animalium paſtibus magné convenientibus[16]. Theſe low meadows are generally overflowed every winter from the many arms of the Irwell that indent and interſect the face of them, and preſent a ſtrongly impreſſive ſcenery to the eye, an ocean of water in wild agitation tumbling round the valley. In winter therefore theſe meadows muſt have been totally deſerted by the Roman garriſon, and the Roman cattle muſt have beheld the growing deluge ſecurely from the hills above. And both together muſt have regularly formed the one great nurſery of the Roman cattle, and both together muſt have regularly ſupplied the little ſubordinate nurſery at the confluence of the Medlock and the Irwell.

Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—[2] Mr. Percival in Phil. Tranſ.—[3] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—[4] See B. I. c. iv. ſ. 3. for another ſtation upon a field called Rie-Hey.—[5] The name of the brook Read is actually Britiſh. See b. I. ch. i. ſ. 3. note[11].—[6] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8: Subvectio frumenti cæterarumque ſpecierum.—[7] A deed in the cheſt of the collegiate chapter at Mancheſter, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntingdon Warden. [8] See B. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[9] And the neighbouring peninſula of Portwood muſt have been ſo denominated, becauſe it was more recently the ſite of the remaining wood of the caſtle.—[10] In a record of 1322, entitled Perquiſitæ Curiæ [de Mancheſter], and mentioning viam regiam inter Mancheſter et Burghton uſque le

Low-caster (Kuerden fol. p. 279.)—[11] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. Animalium Pascua.—[12] A full account of this wood will be given in B. III.—[13] More concerning this in B. III.—[14] It makes the army on Raineshow to be Danes, and therefore sometimes vainly fancies the name to be Daineshow.—[15] Justin lib. viii. c. 5.—[16] Hist. c. i.

III.

THE Castra Æstiva or summer-camps of the Romans are an addition to the regular stations which has been long noticed and is very common. As the latter were generally fixed upon the southerly slope of an hill or bank, they were well calculated for the keenness of our winters, and as ill for the warmth of our summers. The Romans therefore naturally constructed an additional camp for their station in the summer. For this they necessarily selected some advantageous site, which was in the neighbourhood of the regular station, and which was fully open to the north. Such was apparently the general reason for which the Romans constructed their summer-camps. Such was consequently the general principle upon which they selected the proper positions for them. And every station in the kingdom that has a southerly aspect in itself, and any advantageous ground near it with a northerly one, must have regularly claimed the pleasing appendage of a summer-camp.

The station of Mancunium, having both the former, must certainly have had the latter. A summer-camp was absolutely necessary at Mancunium, as the warm beams of summer are uncommonly fervid and scorching upon the slope of the Castle-field. But where would the Romans most probably settle the station? The high grounds of Mr. Reynolds's park or the higher grounds which are immediately to the north of them, the heights of the Stony Knolls or the hills of Broughton, would each of them afford a sufficient elevation and a defensible site. These also

alſo would be near or upon the road to Ribcheſter. But theſe would be ſome of them too remote from the winter-ſtation, ſome of them too remote from a ſupply of water, and have none of them any veſtiges of a camp upon them. Shall we then pitch upon Howcaſtle-field or Hill-wood for the ſite of this additional caſtrum? One of the very few antiquarians that Mancheſter or its environs have hitherto produced did fondly ſuppoſe the former to be the actual ſite [1]. But as the latter is much too low and both are much too ſmall, ſo is the former as much too remote from the bank of the Medlock, being more than three meaſured miles and a half from it.

The real ſite appears to have been pretty near to the regular ſtation, and about a mile to the north of it, and is now the ſite of the Collegiate Church, the Collegiate Houſe or the Hoſpital, and many other buildings. This is infinitely the propereſt ſite in the vicinity of the town that can pretend to attract the notice of the enquiring antiquarians. This is abſolutely the only ſite in the vicinity of the ſtation that could pretend to attract the notice of the examining Romans. In the earlieſt period of the Saxon hiſtory of Mancheſter ſelected for the ſeat of its lord, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [2], and accordingly denominated Baron's Hull and Baron's Yard, and a part of it ſtill retaining the appellation of Huntſbank, it, and it alone, is exactly ſuch a ſite as the exigencies of the Romans required. It is banked on two ſides by ribs of rocks either very ſteep or abſolutely perpendicular, and looks down from a very lofty ſummit upon the waters of the Irke ſtealing directly along it on the one ſide, and upon the ſtream of the Irwell breaking directly againſt it on the other. It ſpreads its area of dry compacted ſand gently leaning to the north and weſt, and from the lowneſs of the ground about it on the ſouth-weſt the weſt north-weſt and north-eaſt, and from the conſtant ventilations of the air by the briſkneſs of the currents below, peculiarly feels in the ſummer a ſucceſſion of refreſhing breezes. And thus admirably fitted for a camp by its formidable barriers upon two ſides, and incomparably adapted for a ſummer-camp by its poſition upon two concurrent ſtreams,

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its overlooking all the low grounds of Salford and Strangeways, and commanding a distant view of the country even as far as Horwich Moor; it had the Roman road to Ribchester stretching along the western side of it, it still shews the striking remains of an antient ditch along the southern and eastern sides, and it just contains within its limits the requisite number of acres for a summer-camp. The area comprized within the ditch and the rivers is exactly twelve statute-acres and a half in compass.

The fosse, commencing from the lofty margin of the Irke and from that point of it where the common sewer now discharges its waters into the river, was not carried in a right line through the high ridge that directly opposed its course, but curved along the ground which must then have been somewhat lower than the rest, and which now forms the streets of Toad-lane and of Hanging-ditch. The names of the streets evince the general direction, and the aspect of the streets demonstrates the particular nature, of the fosse. The line of both still curves as the channel curved. And the level of both still exhibits the hollow of a channel bounded upon each side by a steepy ridge. In the narrow street of Toad-lane the breadth of the channel, commensurate nearly with the width of the street, appears to have been only four or five yards at the margin. In the larger street of Hanging-ditch the width of the channel, commensurate equally with the breadth of the street, appears to have opened into eight or ten yards at the margin. And at the western termination of the Hanging-ditch, making a considerable curve on the right in order undoubtedly to avoid the knoll at the end of Cateaton-street and to sweep along the lower ground to the right of it, it runs very deep and very broad to the Irwell. The northern line of the houses in Cateaton-street and all the buildings of the Hanging-bridge are seated within the channel of it. And the road to the church is carried over it upon two lofty arches of stone. For the greater security of a station which had in all probability no vallum either of stone or of earth about it, the Romans naturally trenched through the whole width of the ground from the Irke to the Irwell. For the greater coolness

of a castrum which was certainly designed only for the heats of summer, the Romans as naturally diverted the waters of the Irke into the channel of the trench.[o] An opening was made in the rocky margin of the Irke, which remains very visible to the present period, the angles of the rock appearing rounded away, the chasm extending four or five yards in width, and a sewer of the town being now laid into the cavity. And three or four yards lower in the channel of the Irke the marks of the diverting dam remain equally visible in the bank. The rock appears cut away for five or six yards in breadth and three quarters of a yard in depth, in order to receive one end of the dam into it, and to fix the whole frame secure against the violence of the obstructed current. And the channel of the fosse was sunk considerably below the present level of it even in its deepest part about the western termination, the ground a little to the west of the Hanging-bridge having been recently found to be merely adventitious for the depth of nine or ten yards, and the plane of the rock below appearing strongly furrowed with the wheels of the carts that in some later ages have passed by this duct from Salford towards the Hanging-ditch.

This was the pleasing impregnable site of the summer-camp of the Romans, lined with tall impracticable precipices behind, covered with a fosse enormously deep and broad before, and insulated by the three lively currents of water around it. Where for more than eight successive centuries the public devotions of the town have been regularly preferred to Heaven, where for more than twenty successive generations the plain forefathers of the town have been regularly reposited in peace, the Romans once kept their summer-residence, and enjoyed the fanning breezes of the west and north: Where the bold barons of Manchester spread out the hospitable board in a rude magnificence of luxury, or displayed the instructive mimicry of war in a train of military exercises; where the fellows of the college studied silently in their respective apartments, or walked conversing in their common gallery; and where young indigence now daily receives the judicious dole of charity, and folds his little hands in gratitude

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to God for it; there previously rose the spreading pavilions of the Romans, and there previously glittered the military ensigns of the Frisians.

The great entrance into the camp must have been along the road from Castle-field to Ribchester and across the deepest part of the fosse, as another must have been where the same road deserted the area and at the foot of the Huntsbank. At these points must have been the two great gateways of the camp. And the road must have entered the summer-station as it communicated before with the winter, by the useful intervention of a bridge.. But just at the north-westerly extremity of the area, and taking in a good compass of ground about it, appears to have been the citadel of the station, the fortified site of the Prætorium.[2] This is the part which has been more recently denominated the Baron's Yard and the Baron's Hull. This is necessarily from its situation, overhanging the point of the two uniting streams, by much the coolest part of the area. This is necessarily from its nature, being at the angle of the two concurrent precipices, by much the most defensible part of the station [3]. And this has been undoubtedly secured by an interior fosse. On opening the ground of the new burying-place, and of the adjoining land upon the east, in the months of August 1766 and of July and August 1767, appeared evidently the hollow of a broad deep ditch filled up with rubbish, the northern border of the black earth ranging nearly in a line with the southern wall of the burying-ground, and the southern undoubtedly extending along the northern wall of the church-yard. The dry unctuous mass reached above three yards in depth below the level of the street, and lay upon a bed of the native sand. Commencing at the edge of the Roman road to Ribchester and near the beginning descent of the Huntsbank, it ranged along the Half-street to the end, and it descended the Long-Millgate to the School. There, under the second house to the east of the School, was it likewise discovered in the year 1765 on sinking the cellar of the house, and appeared a channel cut through the solid rock, two yards in depth, about three in breadth, and four

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or five in length, terminating at one end upon the edge of the rocky precipice, and pointing at the other up the line of the Millgate. And there is it expresly mentioned as a channel even in a late record of 1422, and thence is it expresly pointed up the line of the Millgate to the top [4].

Such was the summer-camp for the Frisian garrison of Mancunium! Thither the garrison removed in the beginning of our summer, and there they resided during the continuance of it. Not that the whole body of the garrison ever removed. Some undoubtedly remained in the winter-station, as many as were sufficient to secure it; and these were the more commodiously lodged in the absence of the rest. The number of these however must necessarily have been the smaller, as the station of the summer was so near to the castrum of the winter. And the area of the former must have been covered, not with structures of timber and stone, as the latter was, but with the cooler habitations of tents. These must have been reared at the beginning of the summer and previous to the removal of the Frisians to the former. These must have been taken down at the conclusion of the summer and posterior to the return of the Frisians to the latter, and have been laid up during their residence at it in the little arsenal of the garrison. And the aspect of this castrum must have been nearly the same as that of the other, the tents of the soldiers being ranged in the same lines, the standards of the centuries and the vexilla of the contubernia rising over them, and the pavilion of the commandant the standard of the cohort and the temple of the garrison rising equally together, and towering gracefully over the whole.

[1] Mr. Percival in Phil. Transf.—[2] B. II. ch. iii. f. 2.—[3] So at the station of Brough in Derbyshire. There, as here, the Prætorium was upon one side and along the lofty margin of the river-bank.—[4] In a record kept at the collegiate church of Manchester, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntingdon warden.

IV.

IT is ſuppoſed by the ſenſible and accurate Horſeley, that the Roman garriſon in Britain during the ſecond third and fourth centuries amounted only to three legions, the ſixth Victorious, the twentieth Valerian and Victorious, and the ſecond Auguſtan, and the auxiliaries regularly attendant upon them [1]. And with this ſuppoſition the Hiſtory of Dio the Geography of Ptolemy and the Itinerary of Antonine ſeem all to concur, as they all mention theſe three and only theſe three legions to be reſident in the iſland [2]. This number of legions, as appears from the complement of a ſingle legion during the ſecond third and fourth centuries, which was ſix thouſand one hundred foot and ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix horſe [3], and from the ſtated proportion of the auxiliary to the legionary troops, which was equal in the infantry and double in the cavalry [4], muſt have contained about thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred foot and ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty-four horſe. Such muſt have been the greateſt amount of them, even if every corps had its full complement of men. And we can have little doubt, but among a nation which was extremely numerous [5], and in a country which was only in part ſubdued, the legions and their auxiliaries were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh recruits and maintained in their full force.

But, thus conſidered, three legions and their auxiliaries are plainly inſufficient for the purpoſes of garriſoning the iſland. The long liſt which the two Itineraries give us of the Roman ſtations in Britain abſolutely demonſtrates them to be inſufficient. That liſt preſents us with one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty ſtations, even after the Romans had retired to the vallum of Antoninus, and had abandoned all the ſtations that extended from Inverneſs to the Friths. Thoſe muſt certainly have been all of them conſtantly garriſoned by the Romans, as otherwiſe they would neither have been conſtructed at firſt nor have

been recited in the Itineraries afterwards. And I have ſhewn each ſtation to have been attended with various little cheſters, which muſt have required garriſons nearly equal in their amount to the complement of the principal ſtation. But it would be evidently ridiculous to diſtribute a body of forty-three thouſand men into one hundred and forty principal ſtations, as ſuch a diſtribution could allot only about three hundred and ſeven for a ſtation and its attendant caſtellets.

The garriſon of every ſtation in the Itinerary with its caſtellets, except five or ſix that were merely conſtructed Ad Fines, could not poſſibly have been leſs than four hundred effective men. A greater number muſt have been requiſite for moſt, and a ſmaller would not be ſufficient for any. And, even upon this diſpoſition, the total amount of troops requiſite for one hundred and forty garriſons would be fifty-ſix thouſand men. This is apparently the ſmalleſt number of troops that we can ſuppoſe to have reſided in the kingdom. But a much greater muſt certainly have reſided in it, as, during the diſperſion of the reſt, ſome more conſiderable bodies muſt have been kept together, the more effectually to overawe the conquered Britons within the walls and the unconquered Britons without. And ſuch bodies actually appear to have been kept together, one large corps being quartered at York, another at Cheſter, and a third at Caerleon in Monmouthſhire.

This being the caſe, there muſt neceſſarily have been more than three legions within the iſland. The poſitive teſtimony of Joſephus aſſures us, that there were no leſs than four in the iſland during the reign of Veſpaſian [e]. And the accounts of Richard, and the diſcovered inſcriptions of the Romans, evince that there were more afterwards. Several inſcriptions have been found at Caer Rhun or the antient Conovium in Wales, which clearly exhibited the name of the tenth legion. The fact is very particularly authenticated, having the united atteſtation of the reverend Mr. Brickdale and of Dr. Gale, each unknown to the other, and both concurring in the ſame teſtimony [f]. Hence the tenth legion appears undeniably to have been quartered among the

Ordovices

Ordovices in general and at the station of Conovium in particular. And it must have long remained at the latter, because the still-remaining name of a neighbouring mountain, Mynydh Caer Lheion or the Mountain of the City of the Legion [7], shews the town to have obtained the same name among the neighbouring Britons, that Deva the seat of the sixth legion for three centuries acquired on one side, and that Isca Silurum the seat of the second for as long a period still retains on the other [8]. And to this we may add the Claudian legion, as the seventh was peculiarly called, having obtained that particular honour from the senate because of its particular attachment to Claudius during the short-lived but alarming rebellion of 42 [9]. This legion was settled at Gloucester in the reign of Claudius [10]. And at Gloucester it must have remained for a considerable period, as in the historical monuments of the Romans which Richard of Cirencester inspected the town was denominated from it Legio Claudia, and as in our own monuments it still retains the similar appellation of Claudiocestria [11].

Thus have we discovered five legions resident for a long time within the island, two additional to the number supposed by Mr. Horseley, and seemingly fixed by the Geography of Ptolemy the History of Dio and the Itinerary of Antoninus. But the general lists of the Roman legions in these authors are very defective. That of Dio, which is the fullest, mentions only thirty-one in the whole, that of Antoninus only twenty-six, and that of Ptolemy only seventeen. Such are their lists of the Roman legions. And as the two last of them appear particularly defective upon a collation merely with the first, so is this expressly declared to be the list of those legions only which consisted entirely of Roman citizens [12]. And the many legions that were composed of private volunteers from the subject nations, and which were very distinct from the bodies of auxiliaries supplied by the national authority of each, as the fifth legion of the Gauls, the tenth of the Batavians [13], and the twelve others that are recited in the following list, all these are absolutely and professedly omitted in this [14]. The authentic records of inscriptions demonstrate

demonstrate the number of both to have been fifty or sixty at least [15]. And the suggestions of common sense, still more authentic than records, evince the absolute necessity of as many (independently of the national auxiliaries) to secure the wide-extended dominions of the Roman empire. The express number of the Roman legions appears indeed from Dio to have been only about twenty-three or twenty-five from the reign of Augustus to the reign of Alexander Severus [16], and appears from inscriptions to have never exceeded thirty-six afterwards. And this has been generally supposed by our antiquarians to be absolutely the whole number of the Roman legions. But as several of these were certainly legions of foreign volunteers, so each of the others, except perhaps the eighth the eleventh the fourteenth and the thirtieth, had several extraordinary brigades of citizens or of foreigners belonging to them, every one of which had equally the complement and the denomination of a legion, and was distinguished from each other and from the original brigade of the legion by some additional title. This title was generally assumed by these and by the original brigades from the kingdoms of their first or longest residence. Hence in Dio's catalogue of purely Roman legions we find so many of them distinguished by the denominations of Gallic, Cyrenean, Scythian, Macedonian, Egyptian, Germanic, and Parthic [17]. And hence the tenth Twin legion, being long stationed in Germany, and the second Augustan, being longer settled in Britain, appear under the particular appellation of the tenth Germanic and the second Britanic legions in Ptolemy and the Notitia. The titles of the original and of the additional brigades were frequently derived from the name of the emperor under whom the legion or its brigades had been originally raised, or by whom the one or the other had been particularly favoured. And as the original and the additional battalions can seldom be distinguished by the nature of their names, so may they constantly be distinguished by the catalogue of Dio. Thus the seventh legion had the several legionary brigades which were called the seventh Claudian and the seventh Galban, two brigades

consisting

consisting of Romans and therefore specified by Dio, and the seventh Twin, the seventh Twin Claudian, and the seventh Twin Antonian, three brigades consisting of foreigners, and therefore omitted by him [18]. And thus the tenth had the tenth Fretan and the tenth Twin, two enumerated brigades of Romans, and the tenth Antonian Augustan and the tenth Batavian, two unnoticed brigades of foreigners [19].

The tenth legion is mentioned by Dio, and is placed by him in Judea; and Josephus had previously placed it at Jerusalem [20]. And the brigade intended by both appears undeniably from the Notitia to have been equally denominated the tenth Fretan [21]. That brigade was settled in Judea by Titus: and in Judea it continued to the period of the Notitia. But the legion which was stationed in Wales, and which appears from the above-mentioned inscriptions to have been certainly a brigade of the tenth, appears pretty clearly from a coin which was discovered in that country and which was inscribed with the following name, to have been the tenth Antonian Augustan [22]. This from its appellation appears to have been a single legion; but the seventh was a double one. Many of the legionary brigades were denominated Gemellæ, Geminæ, or Twins, because they were compounded of two brigades and had a double complement of men [23]. Such was a brigade of the tenth of the thirteenth and of the fourteenth legions [24]. Such also, as appears above, were three of the five brigades in the seventh. One of these, the Twin Claudian legion, was that which was stationed at Gloucester. It could not have been, as Dr. Stukeley supposes it to be, the brigade which was denominated more simply the seventh Claudian legion, which accompanied Cæsar in his first expedition into Britain, and which from the days of Dio to the period of the Notitia was stationed constantly in the Higher Mœsia [25]. Our Claudian legion appears to have been continued in the island after the days of Dio, and even to the days of Carausius [26]. Our Claudian legion must therefore have been the only other brigade of the seventh which bore the title of Clau-

dian,

dian, and which obtained the discriminative title of the Twin Claudian [27].

The troops then which the Romans maintained in the island were five legions, one of which was a double legion, and all of which had their attendant auxiliaries, or about seventy-three thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse. The head-quarters of one of these legions, the twentieth, were in all probability fixed at Chester by the direction of Agricola and at the termination of his war. The twentieth legion certainly resided at Chester within seventy years after that period [28]. And we have the positive testimony of Malmesbury, perhaps the vehicle of tradition, but probably the copier of history, that one or more of the Julian legions, the legions commanded by Julius Agricola, were actually settled at Chester [29]. We have also the determinate the decisive testimony of Richard, that Chester was originally constructed by the soldiers of the twentieth legion [30]. And the Frisian cohort which resided at Mancunium must in all probability have been a part of its auxiliaries, one of the eight cohorts which were annexed to the ten of the legion, and which must ordinarily have accompanied the legion upon expeditions in war, and ordinarily have been disposed within the stations that were nearest to it in peace.

But the whole of the Frisian cohort, as I have previously mentioned, was not lodged in the station upon the Medlock. Six detachments from it were constantly kept in the six stations of Stretford and of Stockport, of Lowcaster and of Raineshow, and of Castle-Hill and Hillwood. The first station must have required about nine Contubernia or an hundred men for a garrison; the third and fourth about an hundred and thirty men; and the fifth sixth and second about an hundred and twenty [31]. Thus three hundred and fifty of the Mancunian Frisians were constantly detached upon duty to these six subordinate castra. Each corps must have been under the regulation of the same discipline as the main body. And each must have been soon recalled to

the

the duties of the principal station, and have been soon succeeded by a new draught from the principal garrison [32].

[1] B. I. ch. vi.—[2] Dion p. 794. and 795.—[3] Vegetius l. ii. c. 6. and 7. where he speaks expressly of Ordinatio legionis antiquæ.—[4] See Horseley p. 87.—[5] Cæsar p. 88. Hominum est infinita multitudo.—[6] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16, Camden col. 801. Gibson, and Gale p. 122. See therefore a mistake in Horseley concerning this legion.—[7] Camden col. 802.—[8] See a mistake therefore in Dr. Gale p. 123.—[9] Dion p. 795. and Ursatus.—[10] Richard p. 24. 36. and 51.—[11] Richard p. 36. and Higden p. 198. Gale, &c. &c.—[12] Dio p. 794. στρατοπεδα Πολιτικα. and p. 797. των εκ του Καταλογου στρατευομενων.—[13] Suetonius in Cæsare cap. 24. and Gruter p. 514.—[14] Dio p. 797.—[15] See Sertorius Ursatus.—[16] Dio p. 794. and Sertorius.—[17] P. 794 and 797.—[18] Dio p. 795 and 796, the two legionary pillars in Gruter p. 513, and Sertorius.—[19] Dio p. 795, Notitia in Judæa, Gruter p. 514, and Gale p. 122. And see the annexed list.—[20] Josephus p. 1297. Hudson.—[21] P. 91. Pancirollus.—[22] Gale p. 122.—[23] Dio p. 796. and Sertorius, and Cæsar p. 284.—[24] Dio p. 795 and 796.—[25] Dio p. 795. and Notitia p. 104.—[26] Stukeley's Carausius v. I. p. 175.—[27] And the additional title of Gemina to this legion is omitted in Stukeley's coins, as the appellation of Fretensis to the tenth is omitted in Dio and Josephus; as the epithet of Gemina to the fourteenth is never mentioned by Tacitus, though the legion appears from Richard to have had the epithet while it remained in Britain; and as the titles of V. V. or Valerian Victorious to the twentieth legion are dropt in the inscription upon an altar at Wroxeter (Phil. Transf. 1755. p. 196). See also the annexed list.—[28] Horseley's Cheshire N° 3.—[29] So the Appian Way in Italy from Appius Claudius. So Cohors Ælia, Pons Ælii, &c. in Britain from Ælius Hadrianus. And so the Julian Way in Wales from Julius Frontinus.—Malmesbury De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum lib. iv. Sir H. Saville p. 164. has altered Julianarum into Militarium without assigning a single reason.

The only reaſon, I ſuppoſe, was the remark of Leland p. 53. vol. ix. Oxford edit. 2d. And Mr. Selden has juſtly blamed Sir Henry for the alteration. The MSS. in Leland's time read Julianarum. And Mr. Selden's MS., one very near in date to Malmeſbury's time and formerly belonging to the priory of St. Auſtin at Canterbury, read the ſame (Poly-Olbion p. 182.)—[30] Romanorum Colonia Deva, opus viceſimæ legionis, Richard p. 24.—[31] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 13.—[32] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 19.

A LIST

A LIST

OF THE

ROMAN LEGIONS,

Collected from the Geography of Ptolemy the History of Dio and the Itinerary of Antoninus. Such Legions as were composed of Roman Citizens I have noted accordingly. Such as were embodied in or before the reign of Augustus I have noticed by subjoining the name of Augustus to them. And such as were embodied afterwards I have referred to their proper Emperors by a similar note.

Ptolemy. Bertius.	Dio. P. 794—796.	Antoninus. Bertius.	
P. 53. Legio 1. L. Germany	Leg. 1. Minervia L. Germ. raised by Domitian.	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 1 Adjut. H. Pannonia	Leg. 1. Adj. L. Pannonia raised by Galba	P. 15. Leg. 1. Adj. Pannonia	Citizens.
P. 88. Leg. 1. Ital. L. Mæsia	Leg. 1 Ital. L. Mæsia raised by Nero	P. 14. Leg. 1. Ital. Lower Mæsia	Citizens.
P. 159. Leg. .... on the Euphrates	Leg. 1. Parthic. Mesopotamia raised by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	— — — —	P. 14. Leg. 1. Jovia L. Mæsia	Foreigners.
P. 37. Leg. 2. Aug. Britain.	Leg. 2. Aug. Britain Augustus	P. 31. Leg. 2. Aug. Britain	Citizens.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — — —	Leg. 2. Adj. L. Pannonia raised by Vespasian	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	— — — —	P. 14. Leg. 2. Herculea—Scythia	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. Trajan. L. Germany	Leg. 2. Egypt. Traj. L. Germany raised by Trajan	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 2. Italica Noricum—raised by M. Antoninus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 2. Media Italy raised by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 111. Leg. 3 Aug. Numidia	Leg. 3 Aug. Numidia Augustus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 163. Leg. . . . . Arabia	Leg. 3 Cyren. Arabia Augustus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Gallica Phœnicia Augustus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Ital. Rhætia—raised by M. Antoninus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Parthica Mesopotamia raised by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 4 Scyth. Syria Augustus	— — — —	Citizens.

Leg.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — — —	Leg. 4 Flavia Syria raised by Vespasian	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 64. Leg. .... L. Pannonia	Leg. 5 Maced. Dacia Augustus	P. 14. Leg. Maced. L. Mæsia	Citizens.
P. 37. Leg. 6 Vict. Britain	Leg. 6 Vict. Britain Augustus	P. 14. Leg. 6 Vict. Britain	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 6 Ferrea Judæa Augustus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 44. Leg. 7 German.—Spain	Leg. 7. ... Spain raised by Galba	P. 25. Leg. 7 Gemina—Spain	Citizens.
P. 86. Legio . : . H. Mæsia	Leg. 7 Claud. H. Mæsia Augustus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
—— —— —	—— ——	P. 11. Leg. 7. Mesopotamia	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. 8 Aug. H. Germany	Leg. 8 Aug. H. Germany Augustus	P. 23. Leg. 8. Germany	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 10. Ger. H. Pannonia	Leg. 10 Gemina Pannonia	P. 15. Leg. 10 Gemina—Pannonia	Citizens.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
—— ——	Leg. 10. —— Judæa Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 22 and 23. Leg. 10. Germ. and Gaul.	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	Leg. 11 Claud. L. Mæſia Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. 11 Claud. L. Mæſia	Citizens.
—— —— ——	Leg. 12 Fulminans Cappadocia Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 23. Leg. 12. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 15 and 22. Leg. 13. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	Leg. 13 Gemina Dacia Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 14 Germ. H. Pannonia	Leg. 14 Gemina H. Pannonia Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. 14 Gemina—H. Mæſia	Citizens.
	Leg. 15 Apollin. Cappadocia Auguſtus		Citizens.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 15. Germany	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 22 & 23. Leg. 16. Gaul and Germ.	Foreigners.
P. 14. Legio .... Gaul	— — —	P. 22. Leg. 18. Gaul	Foreigners.
P. 37. Leg. 20 Vict. Britain	Leg. 20 Val. Vict. Britain Augustus	P. 29. Leg. 20 Vict. Britain	Citizens.
— — —	Leg. 20 Val. H. Germ. Augustus	P. 23 and 14. Leg. 20 or Leg. Valer. Germ. & L. Mæs.	Citizens.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 22. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 23. Germany	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 24. Germany	Foreigners.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
——— ——— ———	——— ——— ———	P. 23. Leg. 25. Germany	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. 30 Ulpia L. Germany	Leg. 30 Ger. Ulpia ——— raised by Trajan	P. 15. Leg. 30 Ulpia Germany	Citizens.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

I.

REGULARLY as the Romans extended their conquefts in the ifland, they appear equally to have erected ftations for themfelves and to have constructed cities for the Britons. Thus the towns of Gloucefter Colchefter London and Verulam were certainly erected by Claudius, and immediately after the firft permanent conqueft which the Romans effected amongft us [1]. And as many inferior towns muft have been equally conftructed at the fame period, fo remains demonftrate Chichefter and tradition afferts Cirencefter in particular to have been both conftructed at it [2]. Such was the practice of the Romans in their firft, and fuch muft have been equally their practice in their fubfequent, conquefts of the Britons. By this means the progrefs of their arms was diftinctly marked by the progrefs of cultivation, and the face of the ifland was gradually brightened up as the line of their conquefts was advanced. By this means, when Agricola invaded the county of Lancafter, the country upon one fide of the line, beneath the refining government of the Romans, exhibited a pleafing picture of populous cities and fpreading corn-fields in the bofoms of extenfive woods, and the country upon the other prefented one uniformly dreary fcene of moffes, woods, and marfhes, embrowned heaths, and folitary manfions.

But this was not long the general afpect of Lancafhire. The Romans advanced into the county, and imported all the ufeful refinements of civil life. Thefe they introduced, not with the godlike defign of foftening the rough genius of Lancafhire and of diffufing the fweets of focial happinefs among its inhabitants,

 but

but merely to promote the little purposes of their own selfish policy. That eternal wisdom however which gave all the central regions of the globe to the Romans, and gave them for reasons worthy the great Father of Humanity, directed the low cunning of man to his own exalted ends, the higher cultivation of the rational powers, and the better propagation of the system of redeeming benevolence, among the Britons of Mancunium and of Lancashire.

Agricola subdued the county in his remarkable campaign of 79. In the autumn of that year he ordered the stationary forts to be erected. This was necessarily the first object of his attention. His second had a deeper reach and more permanent consequences. Actuated by the same principles of policy as had actuated the conduct of the preceding legates, he adopted the same political expedients. If the Britons of Lancashire adhered to their original mode of living, and dwelt dispersed amid their extensive forests or roved uncivilized among their extensive marshes, they would keep alive in their breasts their original spirit of independency, and be ever prompt for insurrections. Agricola therefore exerted all his address by private encouragements and public assistances, by praises to the willing chieftains and by rebukes to the unwilling, to invite the Sistuntii from their habitations in the one or the other to a common residence in towns. And his address prevailed. Many of the Sistuntii deserted their woods and swamps, and formed themselves into the little communities of cities[7].

Such was the first and original commencement of the present towns of Lancashire in general. Such was the first and original commencement of the town of Manchester in particular. In the autumn of 79 arose the eight towns of Lancaster, Overborough, Freckleton, Blackrode, and Ribchester, Colne, Warrington, and Manchester. The erection of the towns in general is expressly asserted by Tacitus. The erection of these in particular is sufficiently attested by that Itinerary which was composed about sixty years only after the conquest of Lancashire. Six of these are particularly mentioned in it, and mentioned not merely

as ſtations but as cities, as cities adjoining to the ſtations, and as included in the ſame names and forming the ſame towns with them. Hence, and hence only, are ſome of the ſtations in that Itinerary mentioned as enjoying the honourable title of Colonies, more of them as poſſeſſing the Freedom of Italy, and ſtill more as being only Stipendiary.

Thus was the autumn of 79 the very remarkable epoch of the firſt erection of our preſent towns in Lancaſhire. And theſe were all placed in the neighbourhood of the Roman ſtations. So placed were all the towns that had been previouſly conſtructed in the ſouth, ſuch only excepted as were formed into colonies from the beginning and had therefore no ſtations attendant upon them. The town of Londinium in particular, which even in the reign of Nero was famous for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce, but which was not then converted into a colony, was erected near to the ſtation on St. Paul's Church-yard, and was carried along the line of the preſent Watling-ſtreet and Cheapſide[s]. And all the towns of Lancaſhire muſt have been erected upon ſimilar ſites. So ſituated, they beſt anſwered the policy of the legate and the accommodation of the garriſon. And ſo ſituated all the Roman accounts of the iſland plainly ſhew them to have been, almoſt every ſtation in thoſe accounts being cloſely connected with one or other of our preſent towns, and antiquarian criticiſm being conſiderably employed in aſcertaining the particular connection.

The town of Rerigonium was erected immediately to the north of the caſtrum, ſpreading from the influx of a brook into the Ribble up to the foſſe of the ſtation. At that point which now forms the bank of the town, the channel of the Ribble, and ſome meadow-ground to the ſouth of both, have been diſcovered the moſt conſiderable remains. The Ribble has been almoſt the only diſcoverer of antiquities. And as he yearly bears down the bank of the town, and transfers a part of its ſite to the ſouthern margin of his current, the floorings and foundations of houſes have been viſible in the face of the bank and about two or three feet only beneath the ſurface of it. The town of Coccium,

as the regular tradition of the present Blackrode asserts, was erected along the slope of the present hill, and was continued within a few yards from the station, from the barrow called Hasty-knoll, and from the river Douglas. And the town of Veratinum was built upon the humble elevation of the ground which terminates the marshy level of the Broad Howley on the north-east, and which is the boundary of the flooding Mersey. This was the nearest site to the station that was raised above the reach of the floods. There the antient church and the attendant parsonage continue to the present period. There was originally the mote or court of the town, a small rounded knoll a little to the east of the church being formerly denominated the Mote-hill. And there the town of Warrington continued to the conclusion of the fifteenth century, even till the passage over the antient ford was deserted, a bridge was thrown across the Mersey below it, and the road was diverted from the one to the other. And as the town of Lancaster was constructed in the vicinity of the stationary hill, and upon the later site of the friery; the town of Overborough close to the station, and, like it, betwixt the two currents of the Lac and the Lune[6]; and the town of Colne assuredly in the immediate vicinity of Caster-cliff; so the town of the Sistuntian Harbour was raised upon the nearest convenient site, where the high grounds of the Ness began to slope gently towards the Ribble, and where the little village of Freckleton stands pleasantly at present. The town of Manchester was originally constructed, not as the old central parts of it are now planted, at the distance nearly of a mile from the Castle-field, but in the nearer the more immediate neighbourhood of the station. No tradition however ascertains the particular site. In the vicinity of a great town and in a multiplicity of commercial avocations, little attention is generally paid to the remains of antiquity or to the whispers of tradition concerning them. But there is a small district which encompasses the Castle-field upon three sides, which is very frequently mentioned in our records, and which is all denominated ALDPORT or Old Borough. Somewhere

where therefore within the compaſs of this diſtrict muſt the town have originally ſtood. And a little fold of houſes remains in this diſtrict to the preſent period, which carries in all the records of the place the actual appellation of ALDPORT-TON or Old Borough Town [r]. On the ground therefore immediately contiguous to theſe houſes muſt the town have been originally planted. And betwixt the Caſtle-field and the fold is an area of ſixteen or ſeventeen acres, which is now converted chiefly into gardens, and which was certainly the original area of the antient Mancheſter. This lies immediately without the northern barriers of the ſtation, and this extends up to the new houſes and the new church in the Camp-field. In the immediate ſkirts of a great town the plough muſt have long and frequently ranſacked the ground. And the many antiquities which it called into light would either be never attended to at all or be ſeen admired and forgotten. But the ſoil of the ſouthern part of this area is abſolutely one great body of adventitious earth, fragments of bricks, pieces of hewn ſtones, and remnants of urns. Huge blocks of a millſtone-grit, ſuch as appeared in the rude foundation of the Britons within the Caſtle-field, and what had undoubtedly been brought down by the torrents of the Medlock, have been recently dug up within the circuit of the area with their mortar firmly adhering to them. And the whole level of the ground appears to have been traverſed with ſtreets of regular pavement in a variety of directions acroſs it.

Upon that particular ground then which is terminated by an high ſteep bank and a moraſs below it on the weſt, by the great foſſe of the ſtation on the ſouth, by the preſent highway or Aldport-lane on the eaſt, and by Ticklepitcher-lane or Camp-field on the north, was the TOWN OF MANCHESTER originally erected. Upon this plat, then in the depth of the extenſive wood of Arden, were the Siſtuntii of this region induced by Agricola to erect a town. Thus induced, they felled the trees which from the firſt poſſeſſion of the iſland had been the only tenants of the ſoil. They laid open the area, then firſt laid open,

to

to the influence of the ſun and winds. And they conſtructed their houſes with the timber. The town was undoubtedly erected along the courſe of the road to Ribcheſter, commencing at firſt near the foſſe of the ſtation, extending in one direct ſtreet along the road, and afterwards forking off from it into others. And the ways of our towns muſt have originally received the Roman appellation of ſtreets, becauſe the rows of our houſes were originally conſtructed along the line, and the paſſages between them were originally carried along the courſe, of the Roman highways or ſtreets.

Such was the ſpot which Agricola ſelected for the poſition of the town of Mancunium. And ſuch was the commencement of a town that was to become ſo conſpicuous afterwards, to lengthen out into fair ſtreets, and to open into graceful ſquares, to contain aſſembled thouſands within her ample circuit, and to extend her varied commerce beyond the barriers of the ocean. The TOWN OF MANCHESTER commenced very early in the ſhort reign of the amiable Titus, about the period of the firſt famous eruption from the flaming Veſuvius, the deſtruction of Herculaneum, and the death of the elder Pliny, and about the months of September and October in the ever-memorable year 79.

[1] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. and lib. xii. c. 30. and Richard p. 24.—[2] Richard p. 24. and Stukeley's Itin. Curioſ. p. 195.—[3] Ut Homines diſperſi ac rudes, eóque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates aſſueſcerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fôra, domus extruerent, laudando promptos et caſtigando ſegnes, &c. Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21. Theſe and the ſubſequent words have hitherto been ſtrangely applied to the conquered Britons at large. But, as I have here ſhewed, towns had been erected in the ſouth before.—[4] Richard p. 36, &c.—[5] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. and Wren's Parentalia p. 265.—[6] Camden p. 617. and Leland vol. v. p. 82.—[7] From ſome conſtructions made here about forty years ago by a gentleman of the name of Hooper the old appellation has been popularly al-

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tered into Hooper-ton. So Aldport itſelf, being once made a park, has the name of Aldparc in Camden.

II.

TO this period the Siſtuntii of the neighbouring diſtrict had lived as the unconquered Britons of the ſouthern countries had lived before, and as the unconquered Britons of the northern continued to live. They were divided into little clans or families, and each acknowledged the authority of its proper chief. The number of ambacton or clients in each was different in different families, and was naturally greater or leſſer according to the reſpective wealth of the chiefs. And theſe retainers always attended the car of their lord to war, and were always ſettled around his habitation in peace [1].

The lord's habitation was ſometimes fixed conſpicuouſly upon the ſummit of a hill, peeping over the tops of the ſurrounding trees, and commanding all the neighbouring country [2]. More commonly it was placed within the cavity of a valley, and either upon the margin of one ſtream or at the confluence of two, for the conveniency of water and the ſecurity from winds [3]. In both caſes the ambacton lived either more immediately about the perſon of their chief, or in little booths along the windings of the vale; the latter however being always within reach of the uſual ſignals from the manſion, the ſtriking the ſhield or the blowing the horn of the chief [4].

The manſion was all conſtructed of wood, was all one groundſtory, and all compoſed a large oblong and quadrangular court [5]. A conſiderable portion of this was taken up by the apartments of ſuch as were retained more immediately in the ſervice of the ſeignior, And as the reſt was more particularly his own habitation, ſo it conſiſted of one great and ſeveral little rooms [6]. In the great room was the armoury of the lord; the arms of his fathers, the gifts of friends and the ſpoils of enemies, being diſpoſed in order around the walls [7]. In the great room ſat the lord

lord with his family and his guests about him, all listening to the historical song and the five-stringed harp of his bards or to the songs and the harps of his daughters, and all drinking from cups of shell [8].

The venison of the Britons was prepared in a manner equally curious and artful. It was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and it was covered with a layer of smooth flat stones and another of fern above it [9]. And their ordinary liquors were only water, milk, or metheglin [10]. But upon all festival occasions they drank that well-known beverage which was then denominated Curmi and is now denominated Curwi by the Welch and Ale by the English [11]. This liquor, originally the substitute of wine in such countries as could not produce the grape, was originally made in Egypt, the first planted country in the dispersion from the east that was found unable to produce it [12]. And as the great Noachian colonies pierced further into the west, they found or thought they found the same defect, and supplied it in the same manner. Thus the natives of Spain the inhabitants of France and the aborigines of Britain all used an infusion of barley for their ordinary liquor, which was called by the various names of Cælia and Ceria in Spain of Cervisia in France and of Curmi in England, all literally importing only the strong water [13]. This was more particularly the drink of the Britons. And this alone was transmitted from hand to hand in their cups of shell, when they feasted with their chief, when the burning oak lighted up the circuit of his hall, and when the winds whistled through his open windows [14].

With this every chief must have been sufficiently provided, the barley being undoubtedly brought into Lancashire from the more southerly regions of the island, and being regularly exchanged with the Sistuntians for their cattle. For such or a similar commerce only could the Sistuntians have maintained half their numerous herds of cattle, as they appear to have lived equally upon venison as them [15]. And such a commerce appears to have been actually carried on, even after the arrival of the Romans, to the extremest boundaries of the north [16]. Each

chief

chief therefore must have been furnished with the implements of a brewery, and must have prepared his own liquor. But as the implements must have been very few and the preparation very simple, so the liquor appears to have been very strong, and both in colour and in flavour little inferior to wine [17].

In this state of rural magnificence did the chiefs of the Mancunians live, when Agricola first urged them to reside near the station. From this state of rural magnificence did Agricola induce one of them to depart, and to build the town of Mancunium. Attended by his train of followers, he relinquished his abode either upon the airy sandy heights of Pilkington, upon the brawlings of the sylvan Roche, or along the mountain ramblings of the pastoral Irwell, and settled with his clan upon the northern bank of the Medlock [18].

[1] Cæsar p. 120 and Diodorus p. 352 of the Gauls, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xii. and Ossian vol. I. p. 136 &c. of the Britons.—[2] Ossian vol. I. p. 157 &c.—[3] Ossian vol. I. p. 99, 129, &c. and vol. II. p. 183.—[4] Ossian vol. I. p. 136 and vol. II. p. 71.—[5] Ossian vol. II. p. 36, and Mona p. 89 and 246.—[6] Ossian vol. I. p. 110.—[7] Ossian vol. I. p. 99, 165, and vol. II. p. 222.—[8] Ossian vol. I. p. 72, 240, 16, and 27, and Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline class 4. N° 1. and 3.—[9] Ossian vol. I. p. 15 for Caledonia. The same mode of cookery was practised in Ireland, and is still in some measure retained by the present Highlanders on their hunting parties; see Critical Diss. p. 132.—[10] Cæsar p. 89, Diodorus p. 350 of the Gauls and 357 of the Spaniards, and Strabo p. 305.—[11] Vossius de Vitiis Serm. in Curmi, and Camden p. 419.—[12] Diodorus p. 24.—[13] Diodorus p. 350, Strabo p. 233, and Vossius and Camden ibid. See also a Note below.—[14] Ossian vol. I. p. 139 and 168.—[15] Dio p. 1280, εκ τε νομης και θηρας ζωντες.—[16] Ossian p. 116. vol. I. and Richard p. 32. Mr. Macpherson vol. I. p. 74 is inclined to think, that the Britons of Caledonia generally drank wine in the time of Fingal. But this is utterly incredible; and p. 116. vol. I. entirely refutes the notion.

notion. Speaking of cups studded with gems, the translation says thus, "*The* BLUE *Water* trembles on their stars and seems "to be sparkling *Wine*." This sufficiently proves the Caledonians to have been acquainted with wine, but to have generally drunk a different liquor. What idea however the ingenious translator annexed to the words *Blue Water*, it is not easy to conceive. Curmi, the British word for Ale, may signify also Blue Water, Curm meaning Blue and Ui Water. And Curme is now the Highland word for a Great Feast (Crit. Diss. p. 329). This therefore was undoubtedly the word in the original; and the translator, not adverting perhaps to the particular meaning of his author, or not acquainted with the explaining passages of the antients, has put down the one signification for the other. And this among other reasons induces one strongly to wish, that the truly spirited translator would either publish the originals or deposit them in some public library. See Preface to vol. I.— The true word however for Ale (as appears from the names Cæl-ia, Cær-ia, Cer-visia, and Cur-mi or Cur-wi) is compounded of Ui or Uis Water, and of Cæl, Cer, and Cur, all one and the same word, and importing Strong; Gar, Ger, or A-kar signifying literally Sharp or Rough: See Baxter in Garionenum, and Catalogue under Eager in B. II. ch. vi. s. 2.—[17] Diodorus p. 4, 41, 242, and 248, and Ossian vol. I. p. 74 and 116.—[18] B. II. ch. iii. s. 2.

III.

UPON the settlement of the neighbouring Sistuntii in the immediate vicinity of the Roman station, such parts of the wood of Arden as closely skirted the site of the town must have been instantly cleared away. This was an employ with which the Mancunian ambacton were sufficiently acquainted, and for which they were sufficiently provided with instruments. The Britons, as I shall shew hereafter, had large forges and many artists employed in them.[1] Furnished therefore with the requisite weapons from

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the storehouse of their chieftain, they proceeded to the necessary business of destroying the immediately surrounding woods and of opening a sufficiently ample area.

Loud sounds the axe, redoubling strokes on strokes;
On all sides round the forest hurls her oaks
Headlong; deep-echoing groan the thickets brown,
Then rustling, crackling, crashing, thunder down.

The actual site of the present Manchester must have been now first cleared of its venerable oaks. The region directly around the present Manchester must have now first felt the hand of cultivation. And both must have soon presented to the eye a gaily mingled scene of pastures meadows and corn-fields, finely contrasted by the gloomy majesty of the encircling woods.

The useful arts of agriculture had been successfully prosecuted among the Romans. This the variety of their writers upon the subject sufficiently attests. And the same arts had been as successfully pursued by all the tribes of the Gallic and by many of the British Celtæ. Of this the many particulars which the antients have mentioned concerning both are a sufficient evidence [2]. But as the Celtæ varied from the Italians in some particulars of their rural conduct, the two different modes of management composed two distinct systems of agriculture. Of these the Britons of Mancunium might be naturally expected to have adopted the Roman. But they actually adopted the Celtic. The latter had been long tried in these northern climates, had been long approved by their brethren of Gaul and South-Britain, and was therefore supposed to be best adapted to the northern latitude of Lancashire.

Among the various manures with which the Roman farmers enriched their lands, they were totally unacquainted with the use of marle. The Celtæ of Britain and of Gaul were the first that had marked this unctuous clay in the bosom of the earth, and the first that had drawn it out and applied it to the purposes of agriculture. This they had found the most forceable and lasting of all manures, and had given it the honourable appel-

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lation of Marrow, Marg, Margil, or Marl[3]. This they had even the credit of recommending to the Greeks, who had a communication with both through the colonists of Marseilles residing in the country of the one and trading to the natives of the other[4]. And this was distinguished into two sorts, the rough and the rich, both equally discriminated in the handling, and both greatly useful either for the corn-field or the grass-land[5]. And many other sorts were classed under both, the white tophaceous and the red or smoke marle under the former, and the white the pidgeon and the sandy marle under the latter[6]. The white tophaceous was reckoned infinitely fruitful upon corn-fields, if it was gathered from a springy soil, and was thought to burn the ground, if it was laid upon it in too great a quantity[7]. The red was mingled with gravel-stones, and was thought to be seasoned with salt, but was not half so heavy in the carriage as the others, and was spread in a thin coat upon the ground[8]. And both retained their fructifying influence for fifty years together upon corn-fields meadows or pastures[9]. The white was the principal of the rich marles, and was subdivided into several sorts, the very biting the silvery and the fat marle; the second being the favourite of the Britons, and the soft unctuous chalk of our Kentish farmers at present, and lasting eighty years upon the ground[10]; and the third being particularly used for grass-lands, often producing a good crop of grass upon corn-lands betwixt the end of the harvest and the commencement of the seed-time, and lasting thirty years[11]. The pidgeon marle was collected at first in hard stone-like glebes, but by the force of the sun and the power of the frost was dissolved into very thin and slender flakes, and was equally useful as the other[12]. The sandy marle was never used for any but the swampy ground, if any other could be got, and was preferred to every other for that[13]. And as the dry marle was laid upon the moist lands, the fat upon the dry, and either the silvery or the pidgeon upon lands of a proper temperature; so was every species ploughed into the ground, was mingled with a little dung, and produced no crop till the first year afterwards[14].

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This account of the Celtic manure clearly points out to us the industrious researches, the minute discriminations, and the accurate knowledge of the Celtic farmers. And of these the British appear to have been the best, as they chiefly had marked the superior excellence of the silvery marle [15]. Both the Gallic and the British farmers had made the discovery of several of these marles just a little before the conquest of Lancashire [16]. And the knowledge of this incomparable manure and its several kinds the Britons of the midland regions must have previously adopted from the southern, and have now communicated to the Britons of Mancunium. The Sistuntii now first opened their inexhaustible treasures of marle, and pursued the spreading veins of it in the ground, not following them, as the Britons of the southern countries were obliged to follow them, and as we now trace the veins of coal, not enlarging their quarries from a narrow mouth above to an ample cavity below [17]. In France, where the marle generally sinks eighty or ninety feet beneath the surface, and in South-Britain, where the unctuous chalk was denominated the silvery marle, such a mining process would be absolutely necessary and is still pursued in both. But the genuine marle of Britain lies much nearer the surface, seldom more than seven or eight feet below it, and commonly about three or four only. And in our own county particularly this beneficial manure is commonly found about two or three feet only beneath the level of the ground, and must therefore have been always pursued, as it is still dug, to the depth of as many yards only. And the marle-pits which the Mancunians now made, and which were for ages probably the common marle-pits of the Mancunian precincts, appear pretty certainly to have been those large cavities upon Shudehill and in Marketstreet-lane which are now called, and have been for centuries denominated, THE DAUBHOLES or the quarries of marle. The original quarries were certainly near to the town, because the precincts at that time extended only a little way from it. And these remained very lately in their original condition of marle-pits, and appear sufficiently from the

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emphaticalness of their name to have been always the most remarkable about the town.

This manure was peculiarly adapted to the strangely contrariant nature of the Mancunian soil, which is a compact clay, a light morass, a strong gravel, or a deep sand. This manure must have been now first introduced into the precincts of the town, where it is still the one principal manure of the lands and the one principal cause of their great fertility. This manure must have been now first introduced into the county, where and in the adjoining Cheshire the use of it is better understood than in any other part of the kingdom, and in both which it has changed the broad extent of our barren heaths and turfy mosses into some of the best lands within them.

There were two sorts of scythes that were used at this period in Europe, the one called the Italic or Roman, and the other denominated the Gallic or Celtic. The former of these was a short one, like our present sickle, and, like it, was managed by the right hand alone. The latter was a large one, like our present scythe, and, like it, was managed by both hands together [18]. The Britons of Mancunium preferred the Celtic to the Roman scythe, and first introduced it among us at this period. There, as all over the kingdom, it has continued to the present moment. There, as all over the kingdom, our present farmers still continue to act upon the model of the Celtic husbandmen, to cut the herbage at a distance from the ground, and to leave a considerable remainder behind [19].

These are two distinguishing particulars which the Mancunian Britons adopted from their brethren of the south. And from them they seem also to have derived the knowledge of the swinging flail and of the watery whetstone. The only expedients among the Romans for the separation of the grain from the straw, in the reign of Augustus, were either to trample the corn with cattle or to press it with the tribulum [20]. And the use of the flail was first introduced into Italy about the period of the first Roman conquest in the south of Britain [21]. The colonies of the Belgæ

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and the tribes of the neighbouring Britons must therefore have already adopted the Gallic instrument of threshing: and whatever they had adopted in general the more northerly Britons appear to have faithfully copied from them. This instrument however was pretty certainly the flail; and it was pretty certainly introduced into Italy from Gaul. The Romans had considerable connections with Gaul in the matters of agriculture[22]. Such an implement was the more likely to be invented in Gaul, as the Gallic farmers generally cropped only the ears of their corn, and as the tribulum or the cattle were found less effectual upon these than the flail[23]. And when the flail was first introduced among the Romans, it was used only as the Gauls would have used it, only upon such corn as had been reaped in the Gallic manner[24]. The Romans had formerly imported their whetstones at a considerable expence from the isle of Crete, from Laconia, and from other equally distant places. And as these were of no efficacy without the assistance of oil, the Italian haymaker was obliged to carry constantly an horn of oil by his side. But, some little time before the conquest of Lancashire, Italy was found to produce very excellent whetstones, which were equal to a file for the purposes of sharpening, and required only the assistance of water. Such however had been long used by the Gauls, and were denominated Passernices among them[25]. And such must have been equally used by both the ruder and the more civilized Britons, for the sharpening of their axes their daggers and their swords, and for giving a finer edge to their razors[26]. These might the Mancunians have easily procured in the vicinity of the town and in the vale of Saddleworth. And one of them was actually discovered about sixty years ago at Craven in Yorkshire, as another was found about seventy years ago in a moss within our own county. The latter was accompanied by an axe-head of copper, and the former by an axe-head of polished marble and one or two instruments of pointed bone; and both the one and the other were thereby evinced to be equally British with all. The British hone which was found in our own county was a stone of a very uncommon spe-

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cies. And the hone which was discovered in Yorkshire was a blue-grey stone three inches in length, nearly one in breadth, and an eighth of an inch in thickness[27].

Thus the Gallic system of husbandry, which must have been originally pursued by the Gallic Belgæ of the southern shores, which had been successively transmitted from them to all the successively civilized tribes of the natives, and which had therefore before the year 79 extended into Staffordshire Derbyshire and Yorkshire, was now brought from those counties into Lancashire. And the sorts of grain which were now introduced with it must have been only such as the farmers of Gaul and the southern and midland nations of Britain had previously known. Barley, long familiar to all the various tribes of the Celtæ, and previously imported for the use of the Sistuntian breweries, must have been now raised as the breweries were continued among us. And the wheat was not of the Italian sort, white and heavy, but of the Gallic, red and light. This was originally the peculiar produce of Gaul, but must have been long accustomed to the soil of Britain, and still continues to be the only wheat of Lancashire; being then called by the natives of both Breac Brac or red-coloured[28].

The flour of this wheat was first refined by the horse-hair sieves which the Gauls originally invented, and our Mancunians continued to use within these fifty years, and was then kneaded into bread[29]. That lightest and properest aliment for the human body had never hitherto been tasted in all probability by the Britons of Lancashire, and was now first introduced into the present parish of Manchester. And the Brac was remarkable for the neatness of its grain, and for yielding near a fourth more of flour from any common quantity than any other species of wheat[30].

The loaves of the Romans were very various, molded into different forms, and composed of different ingredients. And about the time of Agricola's entrance into Lancashire a new sort of loaf had been introduced at Rome, which was formed only of water and flour, and was much esteemed for its lightness.

ness. This was called the water-cake or the Parthian loaf, the former name being given it from its simple composition, and the latter from its original inventors. But even this was not comparable to the French or the Spanish bread for lightness. The use of Curmi and the knowledge of brewing had acquainted the Celtes with an ingredient for the composition of bread, which was much bettter calculated to render it light and pleasing than the leaven, the eggs the milk or the wine-mixed honey of other nations. This was the spume which concreted on the surface of their fermenting liquor, which they denominated Burm, and which we denominate Burm Barm or Yest. This the Celtes of Gaul, of Spain, and most probably therefore of South-Britain, had long used; and their bread was in consequence of it superior in lightness to that of any other nation in the world. And the use of this ingredient must have been now first introduced among the citizens of Mancunium, as it has continued uninterruptedly among them to the present moment [24].

[1] B. I. c. ix. s. 2.—[2] Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15. and lib. xviii. c. 30. and Palladius lib. vii. c. 2.—[3] Pliny lib. xvii. c. 6. But it is called Margil in Gallick (Baluzius tom. ii. C. 188.), Marla in Irish, and Marle in Welch.—[4] Pliny c. 6. Gallia et Britannia invenere, and c. 7.—[5] Pliny c. 7.—[6] Pliny c. 7. and c. 8.—[7] C. 7.—[8] Ibid. [9] Ibid.—[10] See some of these quarries of the silvery marle in Camden p. 236 (Kent) and in p. 318 (Essex).—[11] C. 8.—[12] Ibid.—[13] Ibid. [14] Ibid.—[15] Ibid. Hâc maximè Britannia utitur.—[16] C. 7. Duo genera fuerant, plura nuper exerceri cœpta proficientibus ingeniis.—[17] C. 8.—[18] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28.—[19] Ibid.—[20] Virgil's Georg. lib. i. 164. and Varro de Re Rusticâ lib. i. c. 52.—[21] Columella lib. ii. c. 21. Baculis excuti, and melius fustibus tunduntur, and Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30. Perticis flagellatur. This however had been long used in the East (Isaiah xxviii. 27. &c.) —[22] See Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15. lib. xviii. c. 30. &c.—[23] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30, Palladius lib. vii. c. 2, and Columella lib. ii. c. 21. *Ipsæ* autem *Spicæ* melius fustibus tunduntur.—[24] Columella lib. ii.

 c. 21.

c. 21.—[25] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. and lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—[26] Cæsar p. 89.—[27] Dissert. prefixed to Hearn's Leland vol. iv, Leigh's Lancashire b. i. p. 18. and b. iii. p. 181, and Montfaucon's L'Antiquité Expliqué tom. v. p. 195 for some weapons of sharpened bone discovered in a Gallic sepulchre and among Gallic weapons upon the continent. See also a draught of the Lancashire whetstone in Tab. iv. N° 2. of Leigh. It was found in a moss at Sawick, about nine miles from Marton Mere.—[28] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7. Galliæ quoque suum genus farris dedere, quod illic brace vocant, apud nos sandalum. The Romans called it by a Latin name exactly similar to the Gallic, Sandalum, being the same in import as Brac, and both calling the wheat from its similitude in colour to the brogues or red shoes of the Celtæ.—[29] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.—[30] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7.—[31] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7. and 11.

IV.

THE town of Mancunium being now erected in our extensive Arden, and the woody circuit of it being now laid open, the several parts of the latter necessarily began to assume their several denominations. What these were we know but imperfectly, few of the British names having descended to us. The appellations of our places have been all lost. But the appellations of our rivers have been generally preserved. The little names of places are confined to a small extent of region, and are known only to a few. But rivers flow through a length of country, and communicate their names and their waters to different districts and to various associations of men. While those therefore are easily lost, these are pretty faithfully retained. Hence most of our rivers in the kingdom retain to the present hour the names which were imposed upon them two thousand years ago, and still as they flow point out that remarkable æra in our history, when the large stag of the British forests took shelter

in

in their cooling ſtreams from the chace, or when the bold bands of the Britiſh warriors were muſtered upon their banks for fight. Such are the Avons the Cams the Tames the Tynes and the Edens of other counties; and ſuch are the Ribble the Douglas the Lan and the Calder of our own. And thus moſt of our Mancunian currents received at or before this period the very ſame denominations with which we diſtinguiſh them at preſent.

The rivulet which riſes in the hills of Oldham, leads its wildly-plaintive ſtream along the narrow bottom of the deep dale that divides Droylſden and Failſworth, Clayton and Newton, and at laſt winded in more ſilent dignity around the ſylvan fortreſs of the Britons in the Caſtle-field, received a particular denomination from them, and was called Medlock or the Fair Stream. Med Mad or Mat ſignifies fair, and Lug Log or Loc the water. The former conſtitutes half the name in the famous Medway or the Roman Madus, as the latter forms the whole of the name in the river Loxa of Scotland and in the river Logia of Ireland [1]. And both were formerly united together in the title of a current in Derbyſhire, which, as appears from the name of the gay mountain-village on its banks, was originally diſtinguiſhed by the ſame appellation of Matlock.

The little brook that ſkirts the gentle eminence of Calley-banks on the weſt obtained the appellation which it ſtill retains of the Tibia or Tib. This ſtreamlet, oozing from a ſmall collection of water which ſtagnates in Newton-lane and is fed by the drainings of the contiguous fields, lingers along the ſide of the lane, and has almoſt all its waters diverted into the great reſervoir of the town at the concluſion of it. Thus conſiderably reduced, it trickles unobſerved acroſs the road to Shude-hill and beneath a ſmall bridge of ſtone, and ſcarcely conducts its little rill along the borders of the growing town, athwart the upper end of Market-ſtreet-lane, and acroſs the opening into Tib-lane, but communicates its name to the latter, and a little below Calley-banks very feebly diſcharges its waters into the Medlock. The Britiſh denominations of our rivers have been

ſtrangely explained in general by all the interpreters of them. And the characteriſtic genius of the Britiſh language has been little conſulted in the explanations. I have previouſly ſhewn the Britiſh Avon to have been frequently contracted into Aun An or Un*. And as D-avon and T-avon are both the ſame with Avon, ſo are they contracted in the ſame manner. The former is contracted into Dane the popular name of the Daven at Middlewich, into Danus Don or Dun the antient and preſent name of the current at Doncaſter, into Done the name of a ſtream in the county of Mar, into Se-teia equally with Devana Ptolemy's name for the Dee of Cheſter, and into Deen equally with the Dee the popular appellation of the river at Aberdeen. And the latter is contracted into Tayne the name of a frith in Scotland, into Taune or Tone the name of a river in Somerſetſhire, and into Teyne the name of a current in Staffordſhire. But the latter is ſometimes lengthened by the præpoſitive article of the Britiſh language, and Y Tavona is formed into I-tuna the antient name of the Solway frith, and Tyne Tayne or Ten is formed into E-den the preſent ſimilar appellation for it. The name of Tibia or Tib actually occurs in the eleventh Iter of Richard, the antient denomination of the river at Cardiff in Wales. And the name of Tibia or Tib, like the Tavee the Daff and the Diff the preſent varying appellation for the Tibia of Richard, like the antient Tavus and Tobius, and like the Teivi the Towey the Dove or the Dee at preſent, is merely an appellative, and ſignifies merely the water†.

The ſtream which burſts in many ſprings from a wild heath at the foot of the greater ridge of the Yorkſhire hills, paſſes by the town of Aſhton, and frets and chafes againſt its own obſtructing bed of rock or its own encroaching ſhoals of gravel, till it iſſues into the Merſey below Portwood Bridge, was denominated by a name equally indiſcriminative and exactly the ſame. Various are the ſubſtitutions of one letter for another in the flexible language of the Britons: and Tib Tav or Tam are the ſame words with the ſubſtitution of a different letter. Thus

did the puny Tib receive from the Sistuntians the same appellation as the mighty Tay. And thus did a short mountain-torrent participate the denomination of the long and majestic Thames.

These all obtained general and undistinguishing names. But others received names particular and appropriate. The little current which rises in the township of Gorton, crosses the road to Stockport, and passes along the Moss-side, which often swells in a moment and assumes a momentary fierceness, furrowing a deeper channel for itself, and hastening in greater state to the neighbouring Irwell, was denominated Cor-aun, Corne, or Little Stream. And the same descriptive appellation was originally given to the rivulet that waters the antient Corinium, Durocornovium, or Cirencester, as it is still continued in the present half-softened denomination of the Ciren or Churn *. Such also was the brisk stream that springs at the foot of an hill in the chapelry of Shaw, pushes its hasty current by Ryton Chatherton and Blakeley, and formerly sallied into the Irwell at Huntsbank. But retarded by the variety of mills upon its current, and almost stagnated by the multiplicity of dams within its channel, near the conclusion of its course it now scarcely covers the level of its deep bed, and only murmurs round the stepping-stones that sometimes stretch across its channel. Its former briskness however is plainly evinced by its present utility, by the force which it communicates to so many mills at so little a distance from each other. And from the natural liveliness of its current it acquired the figurative appellation of Iwrck, Irke, or Roebuck; as some rivers in Wales have received their denomination from the leaping goat the rooting hog or the milkless ewe, and others in Wales and one in Shropshire, like this, from the swiftly-footed roe †.

But some of our rivers must have certainly received their denominations before or during the existence of the British fortress, and long previously to the construction of the Roman-British town. The large and important current of the Mersey, which ranges along the confines of the parish for many miles together,

must

must have received an appellation from the Britons as early as the period of the first population of Lancashire. Rambling a lively rill amid the wastes of Woodhead and the moors of Mottram, and successively receiving the Goit the Tame and the Irwell, it becomes equally rapid and deep, the mighty monarch of all the contiguous rivers, and the natural boundary of kingdoms and provinces in every period, and was aptly denominated by the Britons Beli-sama, the Head-stream, or the King of Currents [6]. In a later age, while the Sistuntii resided in Mancenion, they must necessarily have given an appellation to the river which led its waters directly against the rocky site of their woodland fortress, and which is made to sweep round the front of it in an ample curve. And as the adjoining Irwell must have equally received a denomination from the garrison, so it actually retains to this day an appellation expressive of its local relation to the fortress. Welling gently from a double fountain near the upper part of an hill betwixt Broad-Clough and Holme in Rossendale, wantoning in wild mæanders along the vale of Broughton, and wheeling nearly in one vast circle about the township of Salford, the torrent carries its waters along the western side of Mançenion, and was therefore denominated Ir Gueil, Ir-well, Ir-will, or the Western Torrent [7]. The Sistuntii must likewise have given names to most of the more remarkable objects around their town, to the current of the Cornebrooke and the eminence of Huntsbank, to the valley of Broughton, the Irke, and the High Knolls. This must necessarily have been the case with the precincts of the primæval Mancenion. And this happily serves to clear up a considerable difficulty to us with regard to the primæval fortresses of the Britons in the north.

As the rivers Eden and Irthing must have divided the Volantii from the Gadeni and the Selgovæ, and as the Tyne and the Tippal must have separated the Brigantes from the Ottadini, when encroachments were attempted and jealousies entertained by these northern powers, the four rivers were all naturally secured with a chain of fortresses. The Gadeni appear to have erected,

erected; among others, the fortress of Aballaba upon the river Irthing and against the Volantii, and the Ottadini to have constructed the more numerous fortresses of Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum along the stream of the Tyne and against their more dangerous enemies the Brigantes. The Volantii appear to have raised the forts of Axelodunum and Luguvallium upon the Eden against the Selgovæ and the Gadeni, and the Brigantes to have constructed the fort of Gallava upon East-Allon river and against the Ottadini. These appear decisively distinguished from the other fortresses about them that carry British appellations by their vicinity to the bounding currents and by the peculiar significancy of their names. These are almost all of them planted directly upon the margin of the bounding currents. And these are absolutely all of them evinced by their appellations to have been actually the original fortresses of the Britons. Vindo-lan-a and Vindo-bal-a signify merely the Forts upon the Vents or Heights, and Lugu-vall-ium. Gal-av-a and A-ball-ab-a signify merely the Forts upon the Water. Gual a Rampart is formed into Wall, Val, Bal, and Ual or Al. Hence Bala remains to the present period the Welch and Irish appellation of a town. Hence we meet with Bano-val-um or the fort on the River Bane in the Roman Chorography, and Al-teutha Bal-clutha and Alcluid the Towns on the Teutha and Clyde in Ossian and in Bede, the Al-cluid of Bede being the same town as the Bal-clutha of Ossian. And as Sege-dun-um and Axelo-dun-um carry exactly the same import, the High and the Dry Town, so Procolit-ia means merely the Fortress in the Woodlands *. Such in part must have been the state of the boundaries about a century before Agricola invaded the north. The boundaries of other tribes in the island were undoubtedly fortified for the same reason and lined with fortresses in the same manner. But the more numerous construction of Roman forts in these than in other parts of the kingdom, and the preservation of their names in the Imperial Notitia and the two Itineraries, have accidentally given us a more particular account of the primæval fortresses of the Britons in them. And, in the fortified state of these extensive

five frontiers, the precincts of the several fortresses must have had their particular objects all distinguished by particular names. Thus the Voluntian garrison of the previously denominated Axelodunum must have given the appellation of Goats-Head to a remarkable eminence which was in their neighbourhood, which was upon the edge of the previously denominated Tunnocelum or Solway Frith, and on which the Romans afterwards constructed the station of Gabrocentum. The Gadenian garrison of Aballaba or some nearer fortress must have given the name of Congavata or the Shelving and of Amboglanna or the Rounded Dale to two remarkable vallies in the vicinity of the fort. And the Ottadini of Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum must have conferred the names of Æsica or Water upon a neighbouring Rivulet and of Cilurnum or the Creek upon a recess in the bank of a neighbouring stream, and have given the appellations of Hunnum Cunnum or the Height and of Condercum Cond Ar Gui or the Height upon the Water to two neighbouring eminences [9]. Thus must the striking objects in the vicinity of these British forts have been all distinguished by particular names among the Britons. These names the Britons must have imposed upon the places before the Romans had invaded their country. These names the Britons must have continued to the places when they erected their towns in the vicinity of the Roman stations. And the Romans naturally retained the one when they constructed their little chesters on the other [10].

For want of the same notices as the Romans have accidentally transmitted to us concerning the British fortresses in one particular region of the north, the names of the principal objects in the vicinity of the original Mancenion are now most of them lost. And the Irwell the Medlock the Cornebrooke and the Irke are almost the only remainder of them. What the others were, however, we may pretty nearly conjecture in general from the above-mentioned names in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned fortresses. The valley of the Roman castle, being nearly encircled with a sweep of gently rising hills, might have received the

the peculiarly appofite denomination of Amboglanna. The little eminence of Calley-Banks might have received the name of Gun; the well-watered elevation of the Huntsbank might have adopted the appellation of Conderoui; and the High Knolls might have borne the denomination of Gabrocentom. And so conferred, would these and the other names be necessarily transmitted from the soldiers of the old town to the citizens of the new, would receive an addition of others from the latter, and would be all regularly continued among the Britons of Mancunium to the last sad period of the Sistuntian possessions and to the last sad æra of the Sistuntian name [1].

[1] Richard Iter 15, Ptolemy in Ireland and Scotland, and Richard in Scotland p. 32. See also Gale p. 75, who suffered himself to be puzzled with the name. So Loch still signifies Water in Erse, being applied equally to lakes and to rivers.—[2] B. I. ch. v. f. 1.—[3] So Dun-dee a town upon the Tay, Lan-daff and Caer-diff towns upon the Tavee, &c. And see a variety of errors in Baxter, Camden, and others, under Veratinum, Ituna, &c.—[4] See Baxter's strange etymology for Corn or Corinium; which makes it signify a great or principal river, in opposition at once to the true principles of etymology and to real fact. There are many rivers in England so called, but all mean and trifling, as the Corne near Ludlow &c.—[5] Lhuyd in Baxter p. 267 and 273.—[6] So the present Ribble, Rhi-bel, or King-river. So Conovius or Conway river, Con-av or Con-ui the Head or Principal Water. And see b. I. ch. v. f. 1, which proves the Mersey of the present times to be the Belisama of Ptolemy.—[7] The name is written oftener Irwil than Irwel in our antient records; and thus we have Er-in or Ireland for the same island, and Ir-won the name of a river in Brecknockshire. And as Gueil-Gui is a Torrent of Water in Welch (see Lhuyd in Torrens), so we find the word Guill-ey in the British name of a river within the county of Caermarthen,

 and

and Gueil-ui (Gueil-ou, as Asserius gives it us in Vitâ Alfredi p. 25, Wise) or Will-y in Wil-tonshire or Wiltshire. And Wyll was afterwards retained by the Saxons for a Torrent.—[8] See also Al-nechmact in b. I. ch. xii. f. 4, Baxter's various mistakes under these and similar names, and Horseley for the sites of these towns.—[9] Baxter has strangely interpreted some of these names. Gun is still the name of an hill near Leek in Staffordshire.—[10] Magnis, Borcovicus, Petriana, Corstopitum, and Pons Ælii have all merely Roman names. See Baxter for Borcovicus and Corstopitum.—[11] Of the rivers mentioned and not explained in this section it may not be improper to note, that the Cam signifies the Bending and the Dou-glas the Blue-Green Water and are merely the appellatives of rivers; that the Lan is the contraction of Lug Avon or Lugaun, and means a Stream of Waters; and that the Cal-der imports the Narrow River, as Col-aun Colne and Calne before. See Mr. Baxter's mistakes in Alauna, Bremetonacis, Durolanis, Lugandinum, for the river Lan; and in Cambodunum and Lagentium for the Calder.

V.

WHEN Agricola made his first application to the chiefs of Lancashire, and urged them to unite with their clans into the little communities of towns and to settle in the neighbourhood of the Roman stations, the prejudices which they had received from education, and the pride which they took in their solitary dignity, must have naturally prevailed upon all of them at first to resist his solicitations and to neglect his rebukes. But some of them did not long either resist or neglect. By the sensible management of the legate and by his happy application to their passions, the scheme of erecting towns became the mark of affected politeness, and the desire of immediately settling in them the subject of honourable emulation[1]. Thus was a spirit excited by Agricola, which of itself soon executed all his political designs.

ſigns. The new citizens quickly paſſed from the conveniences to the refinements, and as quickly deviated into the luxuries, of a town-life. When once the old revered aſſociations of ideas are broken, and the ſullen adherence to old revered cuſtoms is overcome, the natural impotence of the human mind tranſports it generally into the rage of innovations and the violences of exceſs.

The dreſs of the Siſtuntian chiefs to this period muſt have been the ſame with the dreſs of the Britiſh chiefs in general, of the Celtic in France, and of the Iberian in Spain. And this is the curious delineation of it.

Equally in the chief and in the client the hair, generally yellow and always long and buſhy, was turned back upon the crown of the head, and fell down in a long wreath behind [1]. And the beard of both was ſuffered to grow to a conſiderable length, but was entirely confined to the upper lip [2]. Both of them appeared naked in battle. And this rude cuſtom was attended with two others, the painting of their bodies for the fight, and the wearing of a ring round their middles. On all other occaſions the common people in general (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [3]) muſt have been cloathed in ſkins, and the chieftains in particular muſt have regularly appeared in the one fanciful uniform of the chiefs through all the weſtern regions of Europe [4].

The trunk of the chieftain's body was ſheathed in a tunic, which the Britons called a Cota and we ſtill denominate a Waiſtcoat, and which was plaided, was open before, had long ſleeves extending to the hands, and reached itſelf to the middle [5]. The lower part of the body was covered with a pair of trowſers, which the Britons called Brages or Breeches, which wrapped looſely round the thighs and legs, and which were terminated at the ancles [6]. Theſe alſo were plaided, as the Britiſh appellation of them ſufficiently evinces, Brac or Brag ſignifying merely a party-coloured object [7]. And theſe were equally worne by the Batavi of Holland and the Vangiones of Germany in the weſt, by the Perſians in the eaſt, and by the Sarmatians of Poland betwixt both [8].

Over

Over the waist-coat and the trowsers was a looser garment, denominated by the Celtæ a Sag or Sack, being equally plaided with both, being of a thick strong contexture, and being fastened round the body with buttons and bound under the breasts with a girdle[*].

Round the naked neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the naked breast; and on the middle or second finger of both hands was a ring. Both were made of gold among the chiefs, and both were made of iron among their followers[*]. They had shoes upon their feet which must have been equally party-coloured as the rest of their dress, as they were equally with the trowsers denominated Brac or Brag and are still denominated Brôg. And they wore round bonnets upon their heads[*].

This the remarkable dress of our British ancestors, which continued very nearly the same to the commencement of the last century among the natives of Ireland[*], and has actually descended to the present century among our northern mountaineers of Scotland, and which is therefore rendered very familiar to our ideas, carried in it an astonishing appearance to the Romans[*]. And this was equally the dress of the men and the women among the chiefs of Britain[*]. But in a few years after the erection of the Roman-British towns in the north, and in the progress of Roman-British refinements among them, this antient dress began to be disesteemed by the chiefs of the cities, and to be looked upon as the badge of antient barbarism. And the growing prejudices were soon so greatly improved, that, within twenty years after the construction of the towns, the British Sagum was actually resigned and the Roman Toga actually assumed by many of them[*].

The Roman Gwn or Gown however never became universal in Britain. It must have been adopted only by the chiefs of the cities and the officers of the crown, and has therefore been transmitted to us as the peculiar robe of reverence, the ensign of literature and the mantle of magistracy. The woollen plaided garments of the chiefs having naturally superseded the skinny vestures of the antHacton,

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the former were still worne by the generality of the Britons. The former must have been retained by the chiefs of the country and by the ambacton both of city and country. That this must have been really the case, appears evident from the conduct of the Gauls, who retained their Virgata Sagula and communicated them afterwards to the Franks [x]. That this was actually the case, appears more evident from the conduct of the Britons, who must have equally retained their Saga to the last as they equally communicated them to the Saxons afterwards [x]. And the plaided drapery of the Britons must have still displayed its sober variety of colours and its multiplicity of little dies in the streets of Mancunium, and have formed a pleasing contrast to the dress of the chief, the uniformly darksome mantle of the Italian climes [x].

The Romans therefore appear plainly not to have fostered any prejudices in the Britons against the habits of their fathers, or to have endeavoured, with the policy of the Tartar conquerors of China, to assimilate the natives to themselves in the distinguishing exteriors of dress. The general dress of the nation was actually British, improved only with some additions from the Roman wardrobe. The British chiefs, like the Gallic, certainly retained their antient ornament of chains [y]. The Britons in general must assuredly not have adopted the scanty protection of the Pileus or the spreading umbrella of the Petasus as a covering for their heads, but must have continued their own Kappan Hata or Boined in use, as they have transmitted the same coverings to us under the same appellations [z]. The Britons must have retained the tunic of their ancestors, the long-sleeved waistcoat having remained among us nearly to the present period the general dress of the nation, and still continuing the general ordinary dress of our Mancunian rustics at present [a]. The Britons, like the Gauls, must have preferred the structure of their own shoes to that of the Roman, still making them frequently of hides and nearly in the form of our present half-boots, still denominating them Botasen Butais or Botes, and leaving the name and the shoe to their brethren of Armorica and Wales and

to their conquerors the Saxons of England [22]. And the Britons must have kept their antient trowsers, as they afterwards communicated to the Saxons their own appellation of Brages or Brecches for them. But the Britons must have certainly borrowed some additions to their native dress from the fuller wardrobe of the Romans. They must now have worne that interior garment which the Romans called Subucula and the Britons denominated a Sguird Skirt or Shirt [23]. This at the beginning of the Roman residence among us was not composed of the soft smooth substance of linen, but was merely a white jacket of flannel [24]. And this must have been generally worne in the nation, as it remains to this day the shirt of some peasants in the more northerly parts of England. But as the Roman ladies always wore subuculæ of linen [25], their conduct would naturally be followed at last by the gentlemen; and a garment so promotive of bodily elegance, and so productive of bodily complacencies, would be common to both. The gentlemen at Rome had accordingly adopted it before the close of the third century, and at the commencement of the fourth it was become universal [26]. And familiar in Britain before the departure of the Romans, it was retained by the Britons of the tenth century and communicated to the Saxons and to us [27]. Stockens are also another article in the dress of the Britons which must have been derived from the Romans. The use of stockens was introduced among the Romans about the conclusion of the commonwealth, and Augustus is the first person that is mentioned to have worne them [28]. It was late before that useful and agreeable habit was originally contrived, and it was long before it was universally adopted. But it must have been adopted by the Romans in Britain, and it must have been copied by the Roman-Britons, as it was denominated by the latter both Stoka and Hosan, and as it was communicated to the Saxons under the British appellation of Stockens or Hosen [29]. And in consequence of this introduction of stockens the brages must have been greatly abridged of their customary length, and have been naturally reduced to the form of our present breeches [30]. But the stockens must not have

have been very commonly worne by the populace of the provinces, as may plainly be collected from the mode subsisting among the lower natives of Valentia and even occasionally followed by the peasants of Manchester at present. And with this miscellaneous dress, partly Roman and partly British, the provincials certainly retained the distinguishing custom of their ancestors, and still streaked all the naked parts of their bodies with paint. The whole united corps of historians and antiquarians have indeed supposed and asserted the direct contrary: but they have supposed it without authority, and they have asserted it against proof. We shall hereafter find the Saxons retaining this extraordinary custom in the highest advances of their civil refinements and to the final period of their empire. They could not have imported the custom with their colonies from the banks of the Elbe, this Indian fashion being absolutely and utterly unknown to all but the Arians in Germany. And they must therefore have certainly received it, they are expressly declared to have actually received it, with many other modes of personal decoration, from those provincial Britons over whom they triumphed and among whom they settled in the island [11].

A body of men just emerging from a state of real or supposed barbarism, and copying the real or supposed refinements of their neighbours, will never proceed with a sober discretion and a sensible discrimination. The association of vicious with refined manners is easily avoidable in speculation, and yet it was never avoided in practice. The city-chiefs, copying the refinements of the Roman politeness, copied also those wretched accompaniments of all refinements, indulgencies which relaxed the body and softnesses which unbraced the mind. The robust and hardy Briton, whose nerves had been strung by the healthful energy of toil, now either repaired to the sulphur-tinctured springs of Buxton, or bathed in basons of artificial warmth, and wantoned in gentle indolence amid the relaxing waters. The robust and hardy Briton, whose blood had been purified by a healthful simplicity of diet, now mimicked the elegance of the Roman tables. And the plain honest Briton now raised the pillared portico on

high,

high, and affected the luxury of an airy saunter in a walk of state [22].

These however are striking evidences of the speedy growth of civility and the rapid progress of politeness among the natives of the north; of a civility which must have been more and more widely diffused, and of a politeness which must have been more and more greatly refined, through the course of the subsequent ages. And in all these improvements the mind must necessarily have shared. The sons of the chiefs were now taught to expand their views beyond the little circle of an hunting life and the recent details of a traditionary history, and to enlarge their minds with acquisitions of knowledge. Their connection with the Romans now put into their hands the great volume of human literature, the history of man and the assemblage of the sciences; and they determined to read it. The difficulties of the Roman language gradually sunk before them, and the unknown worlds of science lay open to their view. They entered, seized the literary treasures of antiquity, and, for the first time, introduced them into the regions of the north. Nor did they rest here. The luxury of study and the pride of intellect soon led these new votaries of learning from the useful and the instructive to the ornamental and the pleasing branches of Literature. They invaded the fairy regions of classical taste. They studied the purity of the Roman language. And they cultivated the graces of the Roman compositions [23].

[1] Honoris emulatio pro necessitate erat. Agric. Vit. c. 21.— Strabo p. 305, Dio p. 1003, Diodorus p. 351, and Cæsar p. 89.—[2] Cæsar p. 89, and Ossian vol. II. p. 15 &c.—[3] B. I. ch. xi. s. 1.—[4] Cæsar p. 89; Diodorus p. 353, speaking of some Gauls that still continued to fight naked; the general Account of Historians reduced to a consistency; and Herodian lib. iii. c. 47. The custom of fighting naked among the Britons was so far retained by their descendants the Highlanders of Scotland, that even as late as the battle of Killicranky the latter threw off their plaids and short coats and fought in their shirts (Macpherson's

ſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 164.)—[5] This is called Χιτων by Dio p. 1003. ſpeaking of Bunduica, and by Diodorus p. 353. ſpeaking of the Gauls, is ſaid by the former to be παμποικιλος or all variegated, and is declared by the latter to be Χρωμασι παντοδαποις διηνθισμενος or flowered with various colours in diviſions. And ſee Strabo p. 300.—[6] Martial lib. xi. E. 21. of the Britons, Diodorus and Strabo (ibid.) of the Gauls, and Himerius in Photius's Bibliotheca c. 1135. Rothom.—[7] See Oſſian vol. I. p. 210, a Note, and Critic. Diſſ. p. 166.—[8] Voſſius de Vitiis Serm. in Braccæ.—[9] Dio p. 1003 and 1004, Diodorus and Himerius ibid., and Strabo p. 233 ανθινος, p. 265, and p. 300. Sagum (ſays Varro) is a Celtic word; and Saic ſignifies in Celtic a Skin or Hyde, the original name probably of the antient dreſs (Critical Diſſ. p. 166).—[10] Dio of Bunduica p. 1003, Diodorus p. 351. of the Gauls, Herodian lib. iii. c. 47, and Pliny lib. xxxiii. c. 1.—[11] See the figure of a North-Briton upon a Roman monument in Horſeley N°. 3 of Scotland.—[12] See Camden p. 707. edit. 1607.—[13] Diodorus p. 353.—[14] Dio of Bunduica.—[15] Inde habitûs noſtri honor & frequens toga (Tacitus c. 21).—[16] See an old author in Baluzii Capitularia c. 741. tom. II.—[17] See b. I. ch. vi. ſ. 1.—[18] Martial l. xiv. E. 129.

Roma magis fuſcis veſtitur, Gallia rufis.

From this paſſage, as well as from the ſecondary ſenſe of the word Brac or Brog, ſignifying Rufus or Red in the brac or red wheat mentioned before, the red, and not the blue, appears to have been the predominating colour in the Celtic garments. Dr. Macpherſon's tradition therefore (Crit. Diſſ. p. 166) muſt be as wrong as his application of Claudian is unjuſt. Cæruleus or Blue (as Cæſar aſſures us p. 89) was the favourite colour, not of the Britiſh cloaths, but of the Britiſh paintings upon their bodies. And for that reaſon Claudian gives Britannia a Cærulus or blue garment,

Cujus veſtigia verrit
Cærulus, oceanique æſtum mentitur, amictus.

—[19] Evans's Welch Poems 1765 p. 72. Eurdorohawd, and p. 78. —[20] See Suetonius p. 82. Oxon. 1690. Solis—ne hiberni quidem

 patiens

patiens [Augustus] domi quoque non nisi Petasatus sub Dio spatiabatur, and Montfaucon plate 15. tom. III. L'Ant. Expliquée.—[21] And see Montfaucon ibid. c. 17. He there mentions some antient representations of Roman Gauls discovered in France, the sleeves even of whose gowns thus reached to the hands.—[22] So the shoes of the Gauls in plate 47 and 48 of Montfaucon tom. III. all cover the foot entirely and reach up to the calf. And see Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5.—[23] The lower half of the female gown is called a Skirt to this day in Lancashire.—[24] Hieme Augustus — Subuculæ thorace laneo — muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82), and Horace lib. i. Ep. 1.—[25] Pliny lib. xix. c. 1.—[26] Hist. Aug. Scrip. p. 128. Paris; *Boni* linteaminis appetitor fuit [Alexander Severus], dicens, Si lintei idcirco sunt *ut nihil asperum habeant*, quid opus—. Here the expression, Ut nihil asperum habeant, plainly determines these linen garments to be worne the next to the skin, and shews Montfaucon and others to be wrong who date the original of linen shirts lower than this period.—[27] Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5. where the breeches even of the court-apparitor are mentioned to have been of linen; and, if these were, the shirt must certainly have been. And see Baluzius in Capit. tom. II. c. 741.— [28] Augustus—Hieme—tibialibus—muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82).—[29] See b. II. ch. vi. s. 1. Malmesbury f. 57 (Saville's edit.) asserts the Saxons to have been Picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti.— [32] Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, balnea, & conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur (Tacitus c. 21).—[33] Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire—; ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent (Agric. Vit. c. 21); Martial,

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus;

and the Romans appear in Dio p. 1007. to have early introduced the submitting Britons to an acquaintance with general history.

VI. WHILE

VI.

WHILE the northern Britons were thus happily adopting the elegant refinements of the Italian politenefs and thus happily catching the ingenuous fpirit of the Roman literature, the precincts of Mancunium muft have been divided into farms. Thefe affuredly were large and extenfive, as fuch certainly were the farms of the Gallic hufbandmen [1]. And houfes muft have been neceffarily erected for the management of them, the firft farm-houfes that arofe in the neighbourhood of Mancunium. They muft have been generally raifed upon the convenient border of a ftream, upon the edge of Shooter's Brook, along the high floping bank of the Irke, and on the bending margin of the Medlock. And in them and their adjoining offices muft all the concerns of the farm have been tranfacted.

The milk of the primæval Britons had not only furnifhed them with an agreeable liquor, but had long been formed into an agreeable food [2]. Butter was utterly unknown to the Romans: and to a mind delighted with the hiftory of human manners it is curious to obferve the terms in which one of their writers defcribes it. He fays, that it is the fpume of the milk, that it is more concreted than what is denominated the butter-milk, and that it has the nature of oil in it [3]. This food was highly efteemed by the tribes of the Celtæ, and the ufe of it was entirely confined to their chiefs [4]. And the Celtic procefs in making it was effentially the fame as it remains to the prefent moment [5].

To thefe the Mancunians muft have now added a third fpecies of milky food, and muft now for the firft time have underftood the art of manufacturing cheefe [6]. The cheefes which were moft in eftimation among the Romans of this period were the Gallic, and particularly fuch of them as were made at Nifmes and in two villages of the Gevaudan. Thefe were calculated only for immediate ufe [7]. And fo calculated undoubtedly were the cheefes of the Britons, which the Belgic colonifts had been long

accustomed to make, and which many of the nearer Britons had been long instructed to make after them [8].

The Britons must in all probability have previously planted bee-hives near the abodes of their chiefs, the mountain-bees being translated in colonies with their queens from the inmost woods, and meddyglin or metheglin being made of their honey [9]. The Britons must assuredly have planted them near their farm-houses at present, and have constructed these as well as other implements of that neat contexture of willows, for which they were peculiarly famous, and to which they gave the appellation of Bascaud Basket or platted work [10]. Such a hive was found about eighteen years ago in the wide and sullen-looking extent of Chatmoss, two yards below the surface, and at the bottom of a new turf-pit. It was a cone two yards and a half in height and one in diameter at the base, and consisted not of a single hive but of four stories of hives, one hive taking up the whole of one story. It was made of unpeeled willows, and had doors large enough to admit a full-grown hand into the hives, and contained compleat combs and perfect bees within them. Both the combs and the bees soon mouldered into dust upon the admission of the air to them. But one remarkable observation had previously forced itself upon the unintelligent mind of the discoverer, that the bees were not of the same size as the present, but very plainly of a larger body [11].

Near the house must have been the clamours of domestic poultry, parading in companies about the extensive precincts of it, and speaking the natural effusions of animal contentment. These the Mancunian chieftains had kept around their seats before, not at all for the purposes of food, but for the mere satisfaction which they had in their social aspect and for the mere pleasure which they received from their domestic notes [12]. Near the house must also have been the garden of it. Such the Britons of the southern counties had laid out near their houses before [13]. But at this period, and for many centuries after it, the European garden was the flower-garden the orchard and the kitchen-garden of the present times all united in one. The

flower-

flower-garden must have been little cultivated at first. The few native flowers of the island were easily collected as they checkered the skirts of our woods or painted the slopes of our hills, and were translated into the irregular flower-plots of the Mancunian garden. But the kitchen-garden and the orchard must have been more carefully attended. The wild fruits and the woodland vegetables, which had frequently afforded an occasional repast to the hungry hunter or the straying traveller, were now carefully gathered and transplanted into the precincts of the town. The carrot shoots naturally wild in Britain and in France, was originally imported into Italy from the latter, and is only altered by manure and meliorated by care [14]. The turnip was particularly used in Gaul, and was even dispensed as a food to the Gallic cattle in winter [15], an application of roots which has been vainly esteemed the result of modern genius, and which is really one of the greatest improvements of modern agriculture.

The rabbet was not yet an inhabitant of the island [16]. But the hare had always been. This animal the Britons made use of for the purposes of divination [17]. This animal the Britons never killed for the table [18]. But, for the delight which they took in the breeding of them, they kept numbers about the courts of their chiefs [19]. The same numbers they must therefore have bred about the new-erected villas of Mancunium. And the idea of a hare-warren and the model of a park must have been originally derived from the primæval Britons.

The boar must have been often pursued into the toils, have been removed alive to the farm-house, and have become a serviceable animal for the uses of the table. The Sistuntian must now at least have done what the Britons of the south had certainly done before, have drawn down the savage from its native mountains, and have converted the wild ranger of the woods into the peaceful inhabitant of the farm-yard. And the Sistuntians must now have done more, as the Britons of the south certainly had [20], and seizing the infant brood of the boar in its den, and transferring them to the effeminating diet and the

domesti-

domesticating confinement of the farm-house in their tender years, must have softened their tempers with greater success and have provided for the table with greater certainty, the original stock being perpetuated by a regular succession, and the original nature being lost in a few descents.

At a greater distance must have been the spreading circuit of the meadows corn-fields and pastures. The pastures, enlivened with the sweepings of the town and the marle of the Daub-holes, must have put on a better covering of their own native grasses, and have been more gayly painted with their own native flowers. And the meadows must have been considerably enriched with the foreign Trefoil, the one only artificial grass of the Romans at this period [21]. The former must have been filled with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Here and there must have appeared little hovels among them, in which some Ambacton must have regularly watched with their attendant mastiffs, for the nightly protection of both against the inroad of the wolf and the boar from the neighbouring woods. And the flocks and the herds must have ranged at this period all over the site of the present town, have nibbled upon the slope of the Market-street-lane, and have grazed along the course of the Smithy-door; and the bleatings of the one and the lowings of the other must have been loudly returned by the eddying ecchoes of the surrounding wooods [22].

[1] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 6. and 28.—[2] Pliny lib. xi. c. 41. They made curds as well as butter of their milk; densantes in acorem jucundum et pingue butyrum.— It is plain from Pliny's account compared with Cæsar's p. 122, that the Germans are not meant by Pliny among the barbarians that were acquainted with butter and unacquainted with cheese; as it is from Herodotus (lib. iv.) that the Scythians, and from Strabo (p. 233.) that the Celtæ, must be. The Spaniards (says Strabo) use butter instead of oil.—[3] Pliny ibid.—[4] Pliny lib. xxviii. c. 9.—[5] Ibid. And see also Columella lib. vii. c. 8. Longa vasa angusto foramine in Pliny are evidently churns. And Pliny absurdly derives the

word Butter from the Greek βυς and τυρ☉ ox-cheese. The word must be Celtic, as the Romans must have adopted it from their Celtic neighbours. And Butyrum seems nothing more than Buyd Ur the Chief or Excellent Food, being appropriated (as I have observed above) to their chiefs.—[6] Strabo p. 305.—[7] Pliny lib. xi. c. 42.—[8] Strabo p. 305.—[9] Diodorus p. 350, and Ossian vol. I. p. 147. and vol. II. p. 62. Solinus c. 22. asserts the Britons of Ireland to have had no bees in his time. But the Caledonians appear from Ossian to have had them.—[10] Baxter on Bascauda, And so Kauelh, an hamper or large basket in Welch, is a beehive in Cornish (Lhuyd's Compar. Etym. p. 3.). [11] Another such hive was found about forty or fifty years ago in the neighbouring Linyshaw Moss.—[12] Cæsar p. 89. Gallinam et Anserem gustare, fas non putant: hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causâ.—[13] Strabo p. 306.—[14] Pliny lib. 19. c. 5. —[15] Columella lib. ii. c. 10.—[16] Varro c. 12. lib. iii.—[17] Dio p. 1006.—[18] Cæsar p. 89.—[19] Leporem alunt animi voluptatisque causâ (Cæsar p. 89.)—[20] Pegge's Coins p. 89, for a sow and pigs described upon a British coin. And see Strabo p. 301, in whose time the Gallic sows ranged abroad in the fields very large strong and swift, and as dangerous to be approached by a stranger even as a wolf.—[21] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. And this is mentioned in the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha lib. iii. c. 2. A. 49. as then cultivated in Wales.

[22] ———— Passimque Armenta videbant
Romanoque Foro, et lautis mugire Carinis.

VIRGIL.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

I.

WHEN the Romans had seen their little village of hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and when they began to extend her dominions into the territories of the neighbouring powers, they did not model their new conquests as they had previously modelled their old. They instituted a new platform of polity for them, and they distinguished them by a new denomination. They now divided them into districts, they now gave them the appellation of provinces, and they now subjected them to prætors and quæstors. The island of Sicily was the first conquest of the Romans beyond the barriers of Italy, and was therefore the first of all their provinces, and received the first model of their provincial regimen. And every other of the Roman provinces was governed by its own prætor and its own quæstor. The former was appointed by the people or the emperor, and the latter was nominated by the prætor's authority only. The former was charged with the whole administration of the government, and the latter was deputed to manage the finances under him [1]. And this must have been equally the conduct of the Romans within our own island particularly. The conquered regions of Britain were divided into six provinces, and were governed by six prætors and six quæstors. Each province formed a distinct government of itself, and each was governed by a distinct prætor and quæstor. But they all acknowledged one head within the island, and were all subject to the one authority of the proconsul the legate or the vicar of Britain [2].

For

In our own province of Maxima, the prætor constantly resided at York. There, in the capital of the province, was the mansion-house of the prætor, and it was denominated Palatium or Domus Palatina by the Romans [3]. In this was assembled the principal court of justice; in this judicial determinations were made by the prætor; and in this the imperial decrees and the prætorial edicts were promulged by his ministers. And other courts must have been opened under his commission in the other towns of the province, in which his deputies presided, inferior causes were determined, and the decrees and the edicts were equally promulged. Each prætor must have had many of these deputies under him, as each province had many of these towns. Britannia Prima comprized about forty towns, Britannia Secunda about fifteen, Flavia about fifty, Valentia about ten, and our own Maxima about twenty-five. Thus Britain, from the southern sea to the friths of Forth and Cluyd, had at the close of the first century about an hundred and forty towns in all. Of these the neighbouring county of Chester had four or five, Chester, Kinderton, Hanford, and others [4]. And the county of Lancaster had eight, Blackrode, Freckleton, Ribchester, and Colne, Overborough, Warrington, Lancaster, and Manchester [5].

These towns were of different degrees. They varied greatly from themselves, not merely in the rank of their civil estimation, but even in the nature of their civil constitutions. They were particularly distinguished into the four orders of towns municipal and stipendiary, of colonies, and of towns invested with the Latin privileges [6]. And as there must necessarily have been many stipendiary towns in every conquered kingdom, so were there no less than two municipia, nine colonies, and ten Latin towns within our own [7]. The generality of the British towns therefore was merely stipendiary. Such were Winchester, Canterbury, Exeter, and Lincoln, in particular [8]. Such also was our own Mancunium: and, like them, it was subject to all the provincial regimen. It was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, and a merely annual of-

 ficer.

ficer[9]. This præfect, as ædile, must have had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its vicinity ordinarily delegated to him. But the garrison in the station must undoubtedly have been independent of him, and subject immediately to the prætorial authority. And like the prætor he had his quæstor with him, appointed pretty certainly by the provincial quæstor, and authorized to receive the taxes of Mancunium[10]. These were officers now first introduced among us, and necessarily introduced with our towns by the Romans. By the former was all the discipline of the Mancunian polity regulated. And by the latter was all the œconomy of the Mancunian taxes adjusted.

The taxes imposed upon the provincial Britons consisted of four or five different articles. One was an imposition upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the spirited Boadicia[11]. Another was a capitation-tax, which is likewise insisted upon by that British heroine[12]. A third was a land-tax, which amounted to two shillings in the pound or a tenth of the annual produce in every thing that was raised from seed, and to four shillings in the pound or a fifth of the produce in every thing that was raised from plants[13]. A fourth was an imposition upon all cattle[14]. And all the commercial imports and exports were subject to particular charges[15]. Such in general were the taxes of our British ancestors beneath the government of the Romans. And as they were the badges of the Roman dominion over them, they were naturally disliked by a newly conquered people. As they were embittered to their minds by the never-failing haughtiness of a victorious soldiery in general and by the native insolence of the Roman soldiery in particular, they were as naturally hated by a gallant nation. But they were by no means oppressive in themselves. They were merely an equivalent in all probability to the duties which they had formerly rendered to their own sovereigns. The amount of them was scarcely sufficient to answer the necessary expences of the civil and military establishments within the island[16]. And the weight of them was certainly light, as the smallness of the collections at last stimulated the policy of avarice to abolish all the provincial

provincial taxes, and to substitute even the Roman in their stead[17].

In this general condition of our towns, some were raised above the common rank by the communication of the Jus Latii or the Latin privilege[18]. This was a privilege of exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor[19]. And, in consequence of it, the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and a foreign quæstor, but by a præfect and a quæstor elected among themselves[20]. A Briton was their governor, a Briton was their justiciary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer. And every inhabitant of such a town that had borne the offices of prætor or quæstor was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman Citizen[21]. These rights the Romans first communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the conquered Italians. Cæsar seems to have been the first that ever carried them beyond the barriers of Italy and conferred them upon a provincial town. Novum Comum certainly and most probably Nemausis in Gaul received this distinction from him, and were perhaps the first provincial towns that received it[22]. And this was afterwards extended to several of our towns in Britain, to Durnomagus or Caster near Peterborough, to Ptoroton or Inverness, to Victoria or Perth, to Theodosia or Dumbarton, to Lugubalia or Carlisle, to Sorbiodunum or Salisbury, to Corinium or Cirencester, to Cataracton or Catarick in Yorkshire, to Cambodunum or Slack in Longwood, and to Coccium or Blackrode in our own county[23].

These were the names and these were the constitutions of the towns which were inhabited principally by the Britons. But there were others which were principally possessed by the Romans, and which had therefore a very different polity. These were colonies and municipies.

The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly coeval with the commencement of the Roman conquests. But the first that was planted in any of the provinces was projected by the genius of the celebrated Caius Gracchus, and was settled upon the site of the celebrated Carthage[24]. And others were

planted upon the same principle in Britain; Claudius settling a strong body of legionary veterans at Camulodunum or Colchester, the first of all the Roman colonies in Britain; and he and the succeeding legates fixing no less than eight others in other quarters of the island, at Richborough, at London, at Gloucester, and at Bath, at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, at Chesterford near Cambridge, at Lincoln, and at Chester [25].

That colony was necessarily esteemed as the head-quarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were lodged, where the eagle was reposited, and where the prepositus was resident. Such was Deva for the twentieth Valerian Victorious legion, Eboracum for the sixth Victorious, Caerleon for the second Augustan, and Glevum for the seventh Twin Claudian [26]. And the rest must have been peopled by the other cohorts of these legions, as we shall hereafter see Caerleon, London, and Richborough all peopled by the cohorts of the second Augustan [27]; and the tenth Antonian must have been lodged in the common stations, as the tenth legion had three stations, the twelfth five, and the twenty-second six, in Germany and in Gaul [28]. Thus were large bodies of the soldiery kept together by the Romans, at Richborough, London, Colchester, Chesterford, Lincoln, and York along the eastern side of the island, and at Bath, Gloucester, Caerleon, and Chester upon the western, ready at once to suppress any insurrection at home and to repel any invasion from abroad. And thus did these Roman legionaries live together without any intermixture of the natives, suffering no Britons to become proprietors among them [29], and allowing none probably to reside with them at all but the useful traders and the necessary servants.

Beneath a government partly civil, the legionary colonists were subject to the Roman laws, were governed by their own senators or decuriones, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens [30]. Beneath a government partly military, the legionary colonists undoubtedly strengthened their towns with regular fortifications and guarded them with regular watches, and undoubtedly had their names retained upon the quarter-master's roll

and were obliged to march at the general's command [31]. But as in a ſeries of years the number of males in the colonies muſt have neceſſarily increaſed, and as they muſt have been all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigency a draught muſt have been made out of the coloniſts, and ſuch a number levied as was requiſite to the occaſion. And the towns naturally aſſumed the names of the legions to which the coloniſts belonged. Theſe frequently accompanied, theſe ſometimes superſeded, their Britiſh appellations. Thus we have Camulodunum and Glevum mentioned with the additional titles of Gemina Martia, Colonia Victricenſis, and Claudia [32]. And thus we have Iſca Legio Secunda Auguſta, Iſca Legio Auguſta, Iſca Secunda, Iſca Auguſta, and Londinium Auguſta; Deva Legio Viceſima Victrix, Deva Victrix, and Deva Getica; and Eboracum Legio Sexta Victrix, Colonia nomine Sextæ, and Sexta [33].

It was happy for our Britiſh anceſtors that their Mancunium was not, like the neighbouring Deva or the diſtant Camulodunum, converted into a colony. If it had been converted by Agricola in 85, by Lollius afterwards, or by any of the ſucceeding legates, it might perhaps have ſtood more diſtinguiſhed in the pages of our national hiſtory, or have appeared with greater luſtre in the fragments of our national antiquities. It might have enjoyed the pleaſing ſatisfaction to gaze upon the initials of its own name glittering fairly upon a Roman coin, or to catch the whole of it juſt fading into obſcurity upon a Roman ſtone. And it might have had the raviſhing felicity of being claſſed by the Britiſh antiquarians among the cities that had poſſeſſed the privilege of a Roman mint, and of being ranked by the Britiſh medalliſt among the towns that had contributed to enrich his Roman collection. But the houſes which our fathers had built and the lands which our fathers had cultivated would have been all ſeized by the rapacious legionaries, and they and their families have been obliged to abandon Mancunium for ever [34].

Nor would the condition of the citizens have been bettered, if the town had even obtained the higheſt degree in the ſcale of civil privileges, and been modelled like Verulam and York [35]

into

into a municipium. The latter was certainly a military municipium: and so assuredly were both. This appears sufficiently at once from the treatment which the inhabitants of the former received from the revolted Britons under Boadicia, and which was shewn only to Colchester, a colony of Roman citizens, and to London, the residence of Roman-Belgic traders [36]. Verulam as well as York was a colony before it became a municipium [37]; and it as well as the other must have been inhabited by Roman legionaries. And both enjoyed a privilege which none of the colonies possessed, the right of exemption from the imperial statutes and the liberty of enacting their own laws [38].

But Mancunium soon enjoyed all the advantages of a colony without feeling the least inconveniencies of it. The privilege of Roman citizenship must have been frequently communicated to individuals among the Britons, and was at last extended to all of them. In the towns distinguished by the Latin liberties this privilege, as I have previously mentioned, became the common right of all that had borne the office of ædile or of quæstor in them. But when philosophy and Antoninus Pius were invested with the imperial authority, these narrow restraints were taken away, and the Roman citizenship was restored to every Briton of property and worth [39]. It ought to have been extended to all. This Mæcenas particularly recommended to Augustus [40]. This humanity dictated. This policy prescribed. And the cunning avarice of a Caracalla communicated what the virtuous wisdom of a Pius should have bestowed [41]. By this communication the lower rank of the Mancunians was freed from a disgraceful punishment, and was no longer liable to be scourged with rods [42]. By this communication the higher rank of the Mancunians was delivered from a disgraceful exclusion, and was now admitted to a participation of marriages and a communion of honours with the Romans [43]. And by this all the citizens of Mancunium, now created citizens of Rome, were raised to a footing of equality with their Roman masters, were empowered to elect their own officers, and were at liberty to be governed by their own townsmen.

[1] Cicero contra Verrem p. 272. tom. IV. Olivet, prima omnium provincia est appellata, and p. 135. tom. IV. Quæstore suo—and Strabo p. 1197.—[2] Tacitus and Notitia.—[3] Spartian's Severus c. 22.—[4] See before and b. I. ch. xi. ſ. 1. hereafter.—[5] Richard p. 17—29. and Itinerary.—[6] Richard p. 36.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Richard p. 36.—[9] Κατ' ειλος in Appian p. 443, Stephanus, 1592.—[10] Αγορανομος in Strabo p. 285, ηγχον in Appian ibid., and ταμιας in Strabo ibid.—[11] Dio p. 1004.—[12] Ibid.—[13] Dio ibid.—and Appian p. 353 and 516.—[14] Ibid. ibid.—[15] Strabo p. 306.—[16] Appian in Preface p. 3.—[17] See below.—[18] Richard p. 36. and Pliny's N. H. lib. iii. c. 3.—[19] Strabo p. 285.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Appian p. 443. κατ' ειλος, and Strabo p. 285.—[22] Ibid. ibid.—[23] Richard p. 36.—[24] Velleius Paterculus lib. i. c. 15.—[25] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 32. and Richard p. 25 and 36.—[26] Richard p. 36.—[27] B. I. ch. xi. ſ. 4. and ch. xii. ſ. 1.—[28] Antoninus p. 22 and 23, Bertius.—[29] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.—[30] Coloniæ—jura conſtitutaque omnia populi Romani habent (Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13), and Horſeley in Bath.—[31] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. and Horſeley b. I. ch. vi.—[32] Richard p. 36, and Camden p. 323.—[33] Richard p. 27 and 36—Ptolemy—Antonine—Ravennas—and Notitia compared with its own rude map. See a great miſtake in Horſeley p. 362.—[34] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31 of Camulodunum, Pellebant domibus, turbabant agris.—[35] Richard p. 36.—[36] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. Sociorum.—[37] Agricola lib. v. Incenſæ coloniæ.—[38] Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13.—[39] Gruter p. 408. N° 1.—[40] Dio p. 674.—[41] Ρωμαιυς παντας τυς εν τη αρχη αυτυ—απεδειξεν, Dio p. 1295.—[42] Appian p. 443, and Acts of the Apoſtles chap. xxii.—[43] Gruter p. 408. N° 1.

II.

THE immediate deſcendants of the firſt great pair muſt have been all neceſſarily born beneath the controul of a monarchical

government. The power of the father, being amesnable to no superior authority, must have been the prerogative of the sovereign; and the obedience of the son, being challenged by no superior jurisdiction, must have been the submission of a subject. And the remoter descendants of the same pair must have been all equally born beneath the controul of the same government. The establishment of the primogeniture provided for the descent of the power, and instituted monarchy immediately succeeded to natural[1]. Such therefore was the first polity of the first nations which history holds up to our view. And such was particularly the original polity of all the tribes of the Britons. The various nations that had planted the whole compass of our island were all distinct communities governed by distinct kings[2].

Many of these sovereigns were allowed by the Romans to continue in possession of their antient thrones, and to enjoy the full extent of their antient authority. They were considered as the allies of the Romans, and their dominions were not reduced into provinces. Such was Prasutagus the monarch of the Iceni[3]. Such was Venutius the king of the Jugantes[4]. And such was Cartismandua the sovereign of the Brigantes[5]. But this indulgence was merely the result of temporary policy. Detached for the present from the general interest of the nation, these monarchs became the unconcerned spectators of the Roman progress. Having contributed to enlarge the power of their enemies by the desertion of their friends, these sovereigns all fell in succession after them, justly sacrificed to that desertion, and equally reduced by that authority.

But even in this condition of the island, beneath all the rigour of the provincial regimen, the sovereigns of the tribes were still allowed to remain in general. This antiquarianism has never supposed before. The reverse of this has been universally believed by the critics[6]. But the fact is sufficiently authenticated.

Cogi-dunus or Cogi-dubnus appears undeniably from his name to have been originally the cogi or king of the Dobuni,

and

and from the additional appellation of Rex or King which is given him by Tacitus appears equally to have retained the same sovereignty under the Romans [7]. Nor was this all. He was even invested by the Romans with the sovereignty of some other states, which had probably lost the line of their princes in the prosecution of the war, and which were now subjected to the scepter of the Dobuni [8]. One of these was undoubtedly the Regni of Sussex and Surry [9]; and the rest must have been the nations that lay betwixt the Dobuni and them, the two intervening tribes of the Attrebates and the Bibroces. And this extended sovereignty over a part of Warwickshire, over a considerable portion of Buckinghamshire, over nearly all Berkshire, absolutely over all Worcestershire Oxfordshire Gloucestershire Surry and Sussex, Cogidubnus retained to the days of Trajan [10], when not only these counties in particular, but when the whole extent of England and Wales, had been long molded into the form of a province.

This was allowed in the first and second centuries, and at the first modelling of the Roman conquests among us. And thus allowed at first, the British sovereigns must have equally continued through all the period of the Roman government afterwards. Accordingly we find many reguli in general within the conquered provinces of the island during the course of the third century [11]. Accordingly we find Cunedag reigning the king of the Otadini, and succeeding to the sovereignty of the Ordovices, in the fourth century; though Otadinia and Ordovicia had both been reduced into a province three ages before, and though both of them continued members of a province to the period of the Roman departure [12]. And accordingly, upon the retreat of the Romans from Britain, we see monarchs appear immediately in every quarter of the island, and the whole body of the Romanized Britons as much divided into distinct principalities as ever the primeval Britons had been, and as much under the government of distinct princes [13].

Hence, and hence only, are the subject Britons represented by Tacitus, even in the reign of Trajan, as only brought into obe-

dience, not reduced into slavery, Domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant [14]. Hence, and hence only, are the colonies of the Belgæ particularly denominated by Tacitus socii or allies of the Romans in the reign of Nero; and even the whole country of the subject Britons is mentioned by Dio, in the later days of Severus, as ἡ φιλια or the region of friends [15]. And hence, and hence only, are the Britons described by Suetonius Paulinus, the severest of all their conquerors, to be, even in their δουλεια or their most abject submission to the Romans, still ελευθεροι or possessed of their antient freedom, and still αὐτονομοι or governed by their antient laws [16].

The British sovereigns then retained their sovereignties beneath the government of the Romans, and Lancashire yet enjoyed the privilege of its antient monarchy. A king continued to preside over our Sistuntian ancestors: but he necessarily retained only a subordinate sway, and possessed only a diminished authority. The great power of life and death must have been undoubtedly taken from him, and transferred to the provincial prætor. And to guard against any exertions of this authority by the sovereign, was most probably the principal design of the tax upon funerals.

But the Sistuntian monarch must have been allowed to enjoy the whole antient extent of his civil authority. All the internal œconomy of the state must have been regulated as it was before by him. This appears very clearly from the above-mentioned assertion concerning the conquered Britons, that they were αὐτονομοι or governed by their own laws. And this appears more clearly from the certain continuance of the British polity among all the Britons, being derived even to the Welch of these later ages, and being observed equally in the conquered districts of Britannia Secunda and in the unconquered regions of Ireland [17].

The descent of the crown among the Sistuntians must have been, as it always was among the Britons in general, in the course of an hereditary lineal and cognatic succession. Mandubratius succeeded his father Immanuentius in the throne of the Trino-

vantes,

vantes,* the son of Cuneda followed him regularly in the sovereignty of the Ordovices, and Trenmor Trathal Comhal and Fingal, father son grand-son and great-grand-son, successively inherited the monarchy of Morven for their patrimony [18]. And it is expresly declared by the Britons of themselves, that they were used to be governed by women as well as men, and by the Romans concerning them, that their monarchies devolved equally in succession upon the daughters and the sons of royalty [19]. Thus was Boadicia the queen of the Iceni and Cartismandua the queen of the Brigantes, and both in their own right [20].

But this hereditary succession appears plainly not to have been absolute and inviolable. It was certainly defeasible among the Saxons, as I shall evince hereafter [21]. It was defeasible, I apprehend, among all the earlier monarchies of the world. And it was certainly defeasible among the Britons. The law of succession however was infringible, not by the general interposition of the people, but by the particular prerogative of the nobles or by the single authority of the king, or rather by the concurrence of the king and the nobles together. Such it appears in the earliest institutions of the Welch and in the correspondent customs of the Irish. In that very remarkable compilation of laws which was made by Howel Dha a little before the middle of the tenth century [22], and which is principally composed of the customs existing previously among the Welch Britons [23], we find the king's son brother or nephew to have been the customary inheritor of the crown, and the reigning monarch or the nobles to have selected the particular person [24]. And in the most antient customs of the Irish Britons we see the hereditary succession very frequently superseded by the rule of Tanistry; a member of the royal family being adopted at discretion by the nobles, and denominated by the law the Tanist or the second in dignity [25].

The monarchies of Britain were as little absolute in themselves as the succession to them was indefeasible in its nature. The Britons were not unacquainted, though history has never supposed them to be actually acquainted, with that properest

restraint upon monarchical despotism, the rational the manly the free institution of parliaments. No power but the royal could either make or abrogate a public law [26]. And fixed upon this necessary principle hangs the central balance of every monarchy. But even the king could not make or abrogate a law without the consent of the country [27]. And grounded upon the solid basis of this maxim stands all the fair structure of popular liberty. The most antient constitutions of Wales have expressly recorded the exception. The terms of it carry sufficiently in themselves a reference to parliamentary concurrence. And we have a decisive argument for the existence of British parliaments in the prefaces to the laws of Howel Dha, the most authentic registers of the legislative authority by which they were made. We there find six men summoned out of every commot or every century in Wales, the most wise and the most powerful persons in the kingdom, in order to meet and assist the king in the great work of legislation. The parliament being assembled, by common council and consent they examined the antient laws, reformed and cancelled some, added others, and digested both into a regular code. This they presented to the king. This the monarch approved, and gave it the ratifying sanction of his own authority. And both the monarch and the senators concurred to imprecate the wrath of God, of the parliament, and of all the country upon such of the people as should violate and upon such of the kings as should abrogate any of these constitutions, unless they were annulled in a council equally national as that in which they had been recently made [28].

In these laws of the Good Howel the curious mind is presented with a remarkable delineation of the British court; and the striking simplicity of the draught evinces the great antiquity of the original. Upon this model undoubtedly were all courts formed at the beginning. And upon this our own in particular appears to have been actually formed. The royal mansion and its offices consisted merely of a Newadd or hall, an Ysdafell or parlour, a Bwytty or buttery, an Ysdable or stable,

a Cyn-hordy or dog-kennel, an Yſgubawr or granary, an Odyn oven or bakehouſe, a Ty Bychan or boghouſe, and an Huudy or bedroom [29]. The fire-pan was of iron and the fuel of wood [30]. And the bed was merely of ſtraw, as it even continued to be in the royal bedrooms of England as late as the concluſion of the thirteenth century [31]. The king's own dreſs was a ſantell or mantle, and a bais, tunic, or waiſtcoat, both aſſuredly of woolen, a grys or ſhirt and lawdr or breeches, both pretty certainly of linen, and eſgidjeu or ſhoes, hoſaneu or ſtockens, lewys or gloves [32], and bian gapan or a cap of ſkins [33]. And the queen's dreſs was nearly the ſame, her majeſty only wearing Ffilaenneu or Roman headbands under her capan [34]. The great officers of the court were the Pen-teulu or the mayor of the palace, the Diſdain or ſteward of the houſhold, the Pen-hebogydd or maſter of the hawks, the Brawdwr Llys or court-juſticiary, the Pen-gwaſdrawd or the preſident of the grooms, the Gwas Yſdafell or the lord chamberlain, the Bardh-teulu or the court-poet, the Goſdegwr or the king's ſerjeant, the Pen-cenydd or the maſter of the king's hounds, the Meddyd or the king's cellarer, the Meddyg or phyſician to the houſhold, the Trulliad or butler, the Dryſawr or porter, the Cog or cook, and the Canhwyllyd or the curator of the lights. In this eſtabliſhment of a court we ſee the head of the falconers and the chief of the grooms, the poet-laureat and the cook, all ranked immediately among the great officers of ſtate. Such a rank was naturally given them in a court generally devoted, as all courts originally were, and as all in illiterate ages muſt ever be, to the pleaſures of the feaſt and the diverſions of the chace. So the Pincerna or butler to king Ethelwulph was maternal grandfather to king Alfred. So the maſter of the horſe to king Alfred is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle under the appellation of the Horſe-thane. And ſo among the officers of king Hardicnute's court we have Stir his major domo, majorem domus, or mayor of the palace, Edric his butler, ThroND his butcher, ſuum carnificem, & alios magnæ dignitatis viros, ſent in a joint commiſſion with Alfric archbiſhop of York and Godwin earl of

Kent.

Kent [35]. These all executed their distinct offices in person. It was the business of the Gosdegwr to command silence in the king's hall at dinner by striking upon a particular pillar, of the Gwas Ydafell to make the king's bed, and of the Drysawr to provide straw for all the beds and to kindle all the fires in the court [36]. And the same establishment prevailed exactly in the English the Irish and the Scottish courts. The house of Stuart and the family of Butler are sufficiently known to have derived their appellations from their hereditary offices in the palaces of Scotland and of Ireland. The duke of Hamilton is hereditary porter to the king of Scotland, and the dukes of St. Albans and Ancaster are hereditary chamberlain and hereditary falconer to the king of England, at present. More than one manor is held under the crown of England to the present period with the special obligation on the lord to attend and officiate in the king's kitchen at the coronation, and to present the king with a dish of his own cooking. And the royal porter in England as late as the thirteenth century was expressly obliged to provide litter for the beds and to light all the fires in the palace [37]. But the privileges of these British officers were particularly striking. They were all of them annually presented with a piece of linen and of woolen by the king and queen [38], and were regularly gratified besides with old cloaths from the royal wardrobe. The king's riding-coat was three times a year given away to the master of the Mews, the king's caps saddles bits and spurs became the perquisite of his master of the horse, and the chamberlain appropriated to himself the king's old cloaths and old bed-quilts [39]. Thus the chamberlain of our own palace, even in the reign of Edward the first, by antient custom received the king's old coverlets curtains and bedding [40]. And in the palaces of the Britons this principle was carried to so great a length, that even the wardrobe of the officers was in some cases inheritable by their inferiors; as the coat of the Pen-teulu devolved three times a year to the Trulliad, the Trulliad's descended to the Bardh, and the Bardh's was received by the Drysawr [41]. But these were not all their privileges. They had equally a right to

stated

ſtated meſſes of meat, when they gave any entertainments in their private apartments; the preſident of the palace being impowered to command three diſhes of meat and three horns of the beſt liquor, and the maſter of the mews three horns and one diſh [42]. But the latter was cautiouſly required to bring his cup in perſon to the hall at every repletion of it, leſt he ſhould drink too much and neglect his birds [43]. The preſident of the palace might require the bardh to ſing to him whenever he pleaſed [44]. And if the maſter of the mews in the king's preſence killed one of the three birds that were denominated noble, the king was bound to aſſiſt him in diſmounting and remounting, and to hold his horſe while he took the birds [45]. But if he killed the bird in the abſence of the king, he was required to haſten to court, and to preſent the game to his majeſty; and, by the etiquette of the court, the king roſe up in compliment to him, or elſe gave him the mantle which he was wearing [46].

The cuſtomary enſign of royalty for the ſovereigns of the Britons muſt have been the imperial fillet or diadem which was common to them and to all the eaſtern monarchs. Tied round the royal head, it was ſometimes ſecured upon the forehead with a croſs fillet and a claſp, and was ſometimes ornamented with the muſcle-pearls and the ſparry diamonds of the country [47]. It was frequently worne by the monarch immediately over his hair, which roſe in one two or three rows of curls above it, and was ſometimes worne upon a ſmall cloſe cap that juſt covered the head and was edged by the fillet [48]. But after the coming of the Romans, when the ſovereignties of the iſland ſubmitted to the authority of the empire, and when the monarch and his ſubjects adopted the manners of the Romans, the corona koron or crown muſt have been introduced into the iſland, and muſt have been worne by the ſovereigns of our fathers. And we have a very curious and antient delineation of it upon the tomb-ſtone of a Britiſh monarch that reigned in the fifth century. The ſtone was diſcovered in the iſle of Angleſey about the reign of Charles the ſecond, lying no leſs than ſix feet under the ground. And as the edge of it bears a remarkable inſcription to the memory of Pabo, ſo the plane of it exhibits the figure of the king, dreſſed

in

in his armour, grasping a scepter, and wearing a crown; the scepter being a strong weapon of iron and pointed in the form of a lily, and the crown being a circlet studded with stars and fringed with three flowers above [49].

[1] Genesis chap. iv. ver. 7.—[2] Cæsar p. 92, Mela lib. iii. c. 6, Dio p. 957, Diodorus p. 347, Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 15. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, and Richard p. 15. How inconsistent and mistaken therefore are Dio p. 1280 and Richard p. 7?—[3] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.—[4] Ibid. lib. xii. c. 40.—[5] Ibid.—[6] See Carte particularly vol. I. p. 133, 137, &c.—[7] Agric. Vit. c. 14. Cogiduno regi. And in Dio p. 957 we have Togidumnus, the son of Cunobeline, plainly appearing from the tenor of the history as well as the import of his appellation to have been the Togi or leader of the Dobuni, and dying in the defence of his dominions against the attacks of Plautius p. 958.—[8] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xiv. Quædam civitates—donatæ.—[9] See the Chichester inscription in Horseley.—[10] Agric. Vit. c. xiv.—[11] Porphyry in that well-known but misapplied saying, that Britain was then Fertilis provincia tyrannorum (Hieron. Epist. ad Ctesiphontem)—Richard p. 15—and Nennius c. 18.—[12] Appendix to Nennius c. 64, and b. I. ch. xii. s. 5. Nennius brings Cunedag de regione—Guotadin into Ordovicia: the genealogists therefore are mistaken in deriving him from Cumberland (see Mona p. 146 and Carte p. 139). And Carte, who, like the other historians, verbally denies the existence of any British kings under the provincial government, virtually acknowledges it p. 139 and 163, mentioning the kings of the Ordovices. And see a great mistake in him p. 163 &c.—[13] See b. II. ch. i. s. 1.—[14] Agric. Vit. c. 13.—[15] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, and Dio p. 1282. And in Galgacus's speech (Agric. Vit. c. 31) the Romans are said to call themselves the Amici of the Britons.—[16] Dio p. 1010. —[17] Mona p. 130 &c.—[18] Cæsar p. 92, Nennius c. 64, and Ossian's Poems.—[19] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35, and Agric. Vit. c. 16.—[20] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35.—[21] See b. II. ch. iv. s. 2.

—[22] See

— [23] See the Preface to Wotton's edition. — [24] See the original Preface or Prefaces to the Laws. — [25] Lib. I. c. ix. art. 2, 7, and 8. — [25] In Ireland (says Ware) the successor was appointed by the common votes of the people (Ant. Hib. c. viii.). And see s. 3. for all below the nobles having no power or weight in the affairs of government. — [26] Howel Dha lib. iv. c. 65. A. 4. — [27] Ibid. — [28] See Wotton's edition. — [29] Lib. i. c. 47. A. 8. And compare it with the accounts of the Letty or bedrooms of the great officers. In (or, as it undoubtedly ought to be translated, over) the Neuad was the bedroom of the royal heir. There (says c. 9) he shall sleep attended by young nobles. Another great officer lay in (over) the granary (c. 15), another in (over) the odyn (c. 21), And a third in (over) the kitchen (c. 26). — [30] Lib. ii. c. 1. A. 6. (In many houses it was of stone, p. 362), and lib. i. c. 42. — [31] Lib. i. c. 18. A. 9. And see an Extract from Fleta in Note to Preface, and Camden c. 331. Gibson. — [32] Lib. i. c. 17. A. 6. — [33] Lib. i. c. 18. A. 7. and lib. i. c. 17. A. 8. — [34] Lib. i. c. 32. A. 2. — [35] Howel lib. i. c. 1, Afferii Alfredus p. 4, Sax. Chron. p. 99, and Florence of Worcester p. 623, Frankfort edit. — [36] Lib. i. c. 20, c. 18. A. 4, and c. 40. A. 15. — [37] See Extract from Fleta in Note to Preface to Howel Dha. — [38] Lib. i. c. 2, &c. [39] Lib. i. c. 15, c. 17, and c. 18. — [40] Extract from Fleta in Preface to Howel Dha. — [41] Lib. i. c. 14. — [42] Lib. i. c. 12 and 15. — [43] Lib. i. c. 15. — [44] Lib. i. c. 12. — [45] Lib. i. c. 15. — [46] Ibid. — [47] Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline N° 3. class 2 and N° 5. class 1; Coin 15, 16, and 20, in Borlase's Cornwall b. iii. ch. xii; and Agric. Vit. c. 12. — [48] N° 3. class 2 and N° 5. class 1 in Pegge, and Borlase's Coins 16 and 20. — [49] See it in Mona p. 158.

III.

WHEN the great colony of the Sistuntii was first led into the watery plains of Lancashire, the commandant or sovereign of them, the younger son most probably of some of the more southerly kings, must have taken possession of the lands by the

 privilege

privilege of occupancy, and have made them all his own. He must have then granted them out to his principal followers, assigning each of them his particular proportion, and obliging each of them to particular returns for it. And these must have continued obligatory upon the lands, and have descended to the present proprietors under the Romans. Such continued among the Britons of Wales to the sixteenth century. Such remained among the Britons of Ireland to the seventeenth.

Immediately below the sovereign ranked the equites or knights, the Uchelwyrion, magnates, or high men, holding their lands immediately from the crown, and presiding as lords over their particular domains [1]. As the immediate tenants of the crown, they were obliged by their tenures to certain services to it, the express conditions of their fees, and all honourable in their natures [2]. Some retained their lands under a tenure which strongly resembled the grand serjeanty of the Normans, the duty of attendance upon the king at dinner, and the obligation of personal services to him at it, to hold the king's feet in their bosom and to rub him with a flesh-brush [3]. But most were particularly bound upon summons to attend the sovereign in arms, and to follow him to the war [4]. This was denominated the Gwaeth Milwyr or the service of the soldier, being borne at their own expence whenever and as often as they were carried into the field within the limits of their own country, and once annually without them for the period of six weeks [5]. And they were bound to engage always at the call in the construction or reparation of the royal castles [6]. They were also assessed with rents either in money or in kind, but stated in their value and gentle in their amount. For a fee containing about a thousand acres of land, the knight, immediately before the commencement of winter, remitted to the king's palace an horse-load of his best wheat reduced to flour, one oxe, a barrel of mead nine palms in length and eighteen in breadth, or two barrels of braget or four of common ale, and one hundred and sixty-eight equal threaves of oats for the stable, a sow three years old, a salted gammon three inches in thickness, and a pot of butter three palms long

and

and three broad [7]. But if the provision was not furnished at the time appointed, the chieftain paid in lieu of it a pound and twenty-four pence, the former payment being denominated the Twnc Punt or the Tributary Pound, and the latter being entitled Argant Y Gwynos or the Supper-silver [8]. Beneath the reserve of these services and payments, the uchelwyrs had a full property in their lands, and could transmit them to their heirs [9]. The lands were originally given away by the king under the limitation of these duties. The non-performance of them must have necessarily extinguished the title of the chief. And the lands reverted to the crown that gave them [10].

Inferior to these, and holding from them as lords in fee or holding as they held immediately from the crown, was the great body of the people, being esteemed, as Cæsar declares the common people in Gaul to have been reckoned, Penè servorum loco, and all absolutely in a state of villainage [11]. These were divided into the two classes of Nativi liberi or free villains and of Puri nativi or compleat villains [12]. The former were allowed to relinquish their lands or to remain upon them at their own discretion, were privileged to buy and to sell, and were charged with services the most honourable of the menial kind and all assuredly determinate [13]. The latter were reckoned absolutely the property of the lord, disposable to any one at his will, and saleable as a part of his estate [14]. The latter were bound to services the most servile and the most indeterminate, to construct and repair the lord's houses, and to execute all his drudgeries of husbandry [15]. They were both subject, like the chiefs, to attendance in war and to payments in money or returns in kind. And it strongly evinces the great humanity and the free genius of these villain tenures, that both had them generally as settled and determinate as they. The villains on a fee of one thousand acres made annually two large remittances to the lord [16]. One was, like the noble's, immediately before the winter, and consisted of a sow three years old, a vessel of butter three palms long and three broad, a barrel of braget nine palms in length, twenty-four equal threaves of oats for the horses, sixty-six loaves

of the best wheat that grew, if any grew, within the fee, six of them made of wheat purged from the bran, and, if no wheat was raised upon the fee, six loaves of the coarser oatmeal, equal in breadth to the measure of the arm from the elbow to the wrist, and so thick as not to bend though they were held by the margin [17]. The other remittance was made at the beginning of summer, and consisted of a weather three years old, a mass of butter as large as the largest dish in the fee and a couple of the lesser palms in thickness, twenty-six such loaves as were remitted before, and a cheese composed of all the milk that all the cows within the fee could furnish in one day [18]. But besides these payments, both of which were scarcely equivalent even to the remittances of the knights, the villains were necessarily subject to additional impositions. The sovereign in particular retained a considerable portion of lands in his own possession, the appropriated demesne of the royalty, and denominated Loghty among the Irish [19]. The villains upon these demesne-lands were required every year to entertain the king, the queen, and some of the great officers of state, with their attendant trains. But they were obliged to receive them only by a certain cylch, cycle or rotation, and to maintain them only for a certain period [20]. Some were bound to entertain the king himself, to provide straw for his bed and wood for his fire, and to furnish him with mutton lamb or kid and butter cheese or milk, as long as he continued with them [21]. The royal court was continually ambulatory and itinerant [22]. And the king's domesticks were annually divided into three bodies, some of the principal officers, all the huntsmen, and all the grooms; and each took its assigned quarters among the villains [23]. And the same rights of supremacy which were possessed by the king over the royal villains were equally possessed by the uchelwyr over his own [24]. But this branch of the villain regimen under both was as gentle as it was determinate, being constantly settled in proportion to the estate of the villain [25]. And the same sort of regimen was actually retained in the modern feuds, the tenants of the lord of Manchester in the fourteenth century being obliged to furnish the lord's sworn bailiff

bailiff and his four deputies with bread beer and other necessaries, and with provision for their servants and horses, upon notice of their arrival among them [26].

These were the two only ranks of the British citizens, the nobles and the villains [27]. All below the latter were Caeths or slaves, made such by the voluntary sale or the public condemnation of their persons to servitude; were sometimes denominated Ysdafellawgeu or cottagers, answering to the Bordarii and Cottarii of Doomsday Book; and, like the slaves of the Saxons, were certainly possessed of some property [28]. And both these ranks were obnoxious to the payment of an heriot upon the decease of the possessor, and to the imposition of a relief or a fine of renewal upon the succession of the heir [29]. The estates of both these ranks paid equally to their respective superiors the maritagium or fine for the marriage of a daughter [30]. The nobles and the villains did homage to the lord for their land, and their infants in orphanage received a tutor and guardian from his appointment [31]. The nobles and the villains were obliged to attend their lord to the wars, or to pay him a Lluyd, an escuage, or a commutation for it [32]. And the fee of the former was forfeited to the crown upon neglect of the services, and devolved to the crown upon failure of issue [33]. But these payments were all, except the escuage, regularly defined by the law. The marriage-fine for an uchelwyr's daughter was an hundred and twenty pence, and for a villain's only twenty-four [34]. The heriot and the relief were combined together under one common appellation of Ebediw, as I shall hereafter evince both to have been denominated the Heriot among the Saxons and the Relief among the Normans [35]. And the ebediw of an uchelwyr was settled in general at an hundred and twenty pence, of an uchelwyr's villain at sixty, and of a king's villain at ninety [36]. The royal villain must have enjoyed one third more advantage from his estate than the private. And the British nobles paid much easier heriots than the Saxon [37].

Such were the tenures of the lands in Wales before the English customs were transplanted into the country by the English

arms.

arms. And the particular appearance of the ſame holdings even ſo early as the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha, holdings not formed by that great legiſlator of Wales, but referred by him to prior inſtitutes and aſcribed by him to the earlier Britons, evinces the great and ſtriking antiquity of them. Such was the tenure of the lands in Wales, before the Engliſh cuſtoms abſolutely ſuperſeded the native holdings of the country. And the general appearance of the ſame tenures equally among the natives of Wales and the aborigines of Ireland demonſtrably evinces the whole curious ſyſtem of polity to have been derived from the common parents of both nations, the original and primæval tribes of the Britons [38].

This then was the nature of our tenures in Britain and in Lancaſhire at the cloſe of the firſt century. And they appear undeniably to have been purely military in their deſign and abſolutely feudal in their eſſence. The primary inſtitution of feuds is unanimouſly deduced by our hiſtorical and legal antiquarians from the northern invaders of the Roman empire; and the primary introduction of them into this iſland is almoſt as unanimouſly referred to the much more recent epocha of the Norman conqueſt. But they certainly exiſted among us before, and even formed the primitive eſtabliſhment of the Britons. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lands of the Britiſh chiefs have been enjoyed under the king as the ſupreme proprietor of all, and poſſeſſed under a baron as the immediate lord of the fee, with the obligation of military ſervice to him or with the payment of a fine of commutation for it [39]. The military ſervice is the firſt great ſignature and the higheſt characteriſtic of the feudal ſyſtem, and is expreſsly declared in ſome of the earlieſt inſtitutes of the Britons to have been the principal ſervice of the Britiſh fees [40]. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lands of the Britiſh chiefs and the Britiſh villains have been obnoxious to heriots, to reliefs, to homage, wardſhip, marriage-licences, and eſcheats. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lord of the fee have acted as the Britiſh lords in the earlieſt ages acted, have taken the

the fee into his own hands upon the death of the occupant, have retained it in his own poſſeſſion till the heir came to requeſt the right or till the ſurvivor was capable of performing the ſervice due to him for it, have then made a formal ſurrendery of it again to the heir [41], and have obliged him to pay an acknowledgment for the ſurrendery inveſtiture or premier ſeizin of it [42]. Theſe were all the native productions of that great principle of the feudal polity, which acknowledged all the lands of a kingdom or of a barony to have been originally held by the original conceſſion of the royal or the private lord, which confeſſed the right of the primary donation to have been abſolutely terminated by the death of the grantee, and which received the continuation of the grant to each ſucceſſive heir as a new donation from the lord. The heriot therefore was paid upon the death of every poſſeſſor, as the lord's ſeizin of the whole; and other diſcharges were made at the renewal of the grant or the portioning of a daughter, as an acknowledgment of the lord's primary right to the whole. And the ſame principle, gradually operating downwards, affected the villain eſtates in the ſame manner. The Britiſh villain expreſsly held his land to the laſt, as the feudatory muſt have actually held his at the firſt, dependant on the will of his lord. But though the original tenure of villainage remained nominally the ſame, property gradually gained upon theſe precarious tenures in the villain as in the freehold eſtates, and the former had early begun, like the latter, to be continued for life and to deſcend to the heirs among the Britons. The latter were become abſolutely hereditary before the age of Howel Dha, and the former were become partially ſo, the houſe deſcending by law, and the lands devolving by allowance, to the poſterity of the previous occupant [43]. And hence only could the heriot and the relief have been the incidents equally of the freehold and of the villain lands at all among the Britons.

Such was the curious and original frame of the Britiſh tenures, a compleat ſyſtem of feuds in miniature, and the ſame in effect with the more enlarged ſyſtem of the Normans. The ſameneſs is great enough to evince the very near relation of the

former

former to the latter and to the common family of feuds. The difference is ſtriking enough to demonſtrate the deſcent of the former by a line abſolutely diſtinct from the latter. The British is certainly prior in its origin to the Norman, becauſe it is much leſs complicated and diffuſive than it. The tenures of pure and free villainage correſponding with great exactneſs to the ſame holdings of later ages, the knights ſervice among the Britons was actually compounded of the mixt tenures of the barony and the free ſoccage among the Normans [44].

Theſe feudal tenures muſt have been derived from a very antient and primitive origin, and muſt have exiſted coeval with the firſt plantation of the iſland. They were plainly the joint reſult of a colonizing and a military ſpirit. The former providentially animated the firſt ages of the Noachidæ, was conſtantly proſecuted under the diſcipline of regular order and the controul of regal authority, and had whole regions to partition among the members of the colony. The latter was excited by the frequent migrations of coloniſts and the numerous invaſions of ſettlements in the ſame ages, and naturally provided for the ſecurity of the infant colony by the inſtitution of a military eſtabliſhment. Nearly all the lands in the kingdom therefore muſt naturally have been charged with the feudal obſervances, and the only allodial lands within it muſt have been ſuch as belonged to the relations of the royalty. The word Allod or Allodium has effectually baffled all the torturing diſquiſitions of etymology to the preſent moment. Like many of the kindred terms of feudaliſm, it has been vainly explored, I apprehend, in languages to which it never bore any relation. Like many of the kindred terms of feudaliſm, it is, I apprehend, neither Saxon nor Norman in its origin, but actually and abſolutely British. British certainly is the characteriſtic term of the whole ſyſtem, Feod or Feud, occurring particularly in the laws of Howel Dha, Fyd or Fud, and ſignifying literally and directly an eſtate [45]. British certainly is the remarkable Heriot of the feudal ſyſtem, the Dered of Howel Dha, the Hæred of Angleſey, and the pronounced Hared of Lancaſhire, as the plain

unwreſted

unwrested import of the word, an Obit or Mortuary, sufficiently evinces of itself[46]. British certainly is the famous Mercheta of the Scottish feuds in particular, which has given occasion to that fiction of folly in the best histories of Scotland, that the lord had a privilege to sleep with the bride of his vassal upon her wedding-night, which has been explained by derivations equally obscene and stupid, and which is apparently nothing more than the Merch-ed of Howel Dha, the daughter-hood, or the fine for the marriage of a daughter[47]. British certainly is the feudal appellation of Villain, appearing equally in the laws of the Britons, Bilain or Filein, and signifying an Husbandman or Peasant[48]: And British certainly are the two equally well-known and peculiarly feudal denominations of Baron and Manour, though both have been appropriated to the Normans, and the former, like villain, so absolutely appropriated, that the appearance of it has been even adduced as a positive argument against the authenticity of some Saxon charters[49]. They both occur in the antient Institutes of Wales, and Manour an hundred and twenty years absolutely before the Conquest; are written Barwn and Maenawr, and signify a Military Man and a District[50]. And Allodium, I think, is derived from the same language. Allodial land is an estate discharged from all the feudal services, and, as I have observed already, must naturally have been such only as belonged to the relations of the crown. And the estates of the Ealodeu or the members of the royal family, the children the nephews or the cousins of the reigning monarch, are all expresly exempted from the imposition of the Ebediw in the Laws of Howel Dha, and are actually the only lands in the kingdom that are favoured with such an exemption[51].

The prescribed mode of descent for all the noble or freehold lands in the kingdom at this period must have been by the course of the custom which is denominated Gavelkind. This antient usage appears equally in Ireland and in Wales, is recorded as early as the tenth century in the laws of the latter, and existed for ages afterward the one universal rule of inheritance in both[52]. Familiar among the Saxons afterward, it was allowed to operate

 only

only upon a small portion of their estates, upon censual lands or free soccages; but extended its influence through the whole circle of the landed property among the Britons [52]. The whole circle of absolute property, as I have already evinced, was formed merely of one species of tenures, at once actually military and positively censual. And this species was naturally denominated among the Britons Gafael Kinead or the Family Estate. Gafael or Gavel carrying exactly the same signification in the British as Fyd or Fud, the addition of Kinead or Kind was necessary to restrain the generality of the expression, and to distinguish the legally hereditary estate of the Uchelwyr from the legally undescendible possession of the Filein. And both together import precisely what Feod and Feud signify at present, a free tenement and its appurtenance, a noble estate and the modal circumstances of it [53]. There were three particular prescriptions of this British institution; and all appear plainly to have been intended as improvements upon the feudal system. The inheritance of the British baron, the only freeholder in the kingdom, was divided equally among the sons, and in defect of sons among the next heirs that were males [54]. This was calculated directly to multiply the number of the military tenants, and to provide against defects in the military services. The females of every degree, till the utter extinction of the males, were absolutely precluded from the inheritance [55]. They were unable to perform the military services, and were therefore esteemed unfit to receive the military tenures. And, what was very extraordinary in itself, but naturally resulted from the same feudal principle of gavelkind, no distinction was made in the line of the males betwixt the spurious and the legitimate [56]. They were both qualified equally to execute the services of their father, and they were both admitted equally to a share in the patrimony [58]. But though the fee was divided equally among the sons, and though the spurious shared it equally with the legitimate, yet the eldest yet the legitimate was considered by the law as the actual proprietor of the whole [57]. And under this useful restriction, which continued the several branches of the original family together, and kept

them

them in due subordination to the Pen-cenedl, the head of the family or manour, and the eldest legitimate line of the barony [11]; this common law of inheritances was coeval undoubtedly with the commencement of the British feuds, as it resulted evidently from the same military precautions with them. Thus if the survivor of a feudatory could not immediately execute the services due to the king for the fee, it was regularly retained in the king's possession till he was absolutely able [12]. Thus if the possessor of a fyd left one son perfect and another imperfect in his bodily functions, the former, whether he was legitimate or illegitimate, became the proprietor of the patrimony, because (as the law expressly subjoins) the latter could not execute the services due to the sovereign for the fee in the forum and in the field. Founded upon these first fixed principles of the feudal system, gavelkind continued universal in Wales and in Ireland even nearly to the present period. In Ireland, the usage was uniformly observed to the very recent and very signal epocha in its civil history, the regular settlement of the whole frame of the English polity in Ireland by the prudence and authority of James the first. In Wales, a statute of the 12th of Edward the first permitted the antient stem to continue rooted in its native soil, but lopped its two principal branches away, the admission of bastards to the inheritance and the preclusion of females from it. And a statute of the 34th—35th of Henry the eighth for ever levelled the reverend trunk to the ground, all the lands in Wales being then required to be holden "as English tenure to all intents according to the common laws of this realm of England."

The law of gavelkind was confined merely to the descent of private inheritances. It did not mount up to the throne. It could not. The whole design of the institution being the better discharge of the military duties to the crown, the inheritance of the king could not possibly be affected by it. And accordingly, in direct contradiction to a fundamental principle of gavelkind, I have previously shewn one of the royal family to have regularly succeeded in the throne by a peculiar and exclusive privilege.

lege. And, even in these later ages among the Irish, gavelkind was never permitted to extend its influence to the estate even of the Tanist or the immediate heir of the crown[62]. The estates of our Sistuntian fathers devolved by the laws of gavelkind: but the impartible monarchy of Lancashire descended by hereditary right. And from this difference the crown must have derived a very considerable advantage, virtually creative of absolute authority and subversive of all legal liberty. It could have been under no apprehension of danger, it could have been in no fear of opposition, from the greatness or the exorbitancy of an accumulated fortune in any of the barons. The lands were parcelled out at every fresh descent into a fresh variety of inheritances. And the wealth of the chiefs in a series of successions must have been broken into a thousand fragments.

Such were the feudal tenures of the Britons. And, in the continuation of them under the Romans, the obligation of attendance upon the king in his wars was still undoubtedly retained by the crown, but must have been enforced only at the command of the Romans. Prudence would certainly induce the Romans in this manner to continue the antient privilege of royalty, which could never be exercised against them, and which could so usefully be exerted for them. It would enable them upon any emergency to raise a number of soldiers, and to embody them with their own, with great facility and without expence. And had such a power of the crown been taken away from it during all the long æra of the Roman government, it would never have been recovered afterwards, and consequently could never have descended to the British sovereigns of Wales. And this seems to have been the only hardship of the Sistuntians beneath the government of Rome, that, additional to the taxes of the empire, they were bound to the feudal payments and the military services of the kingdom. But for this they were now relieved by the Romans from all the fear of incursions and all the danger of rapines. And for this they were now discharged by the Romans from all the expences of maintaining their numerous garrisons and of engaging in their frequent wars.

[1] Cæsar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore genera sunt duo:—alterum est Druidum, alterum Equitum;—Howel lib. i. c. 12. a. 1, lib. iii. c. 7, lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1, and p. 340 and 341. See also Mona p. 121, 132, and 133.—[2] Lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, p. 340, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 7. and p. 337, and Mona p. 132 and 133.—[3] Lib. i. c. 37. a. 2 and 3. —[4] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312 and 331, and Mona p. 127—[5] Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 1. and Mona p. 128.—[6] Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 2.—[7] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 2 and 3, and c. 19. a. 11.—[8] Ibid. and lib. ii. c. 23. a. 1.—[9] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, Mona p. 124, and Ware's Ant. Hib. c. 13.—[10] P. 332, 337, and 348, and Mona p. 132. [11] Cæsar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore genera sunt duo: nam plebs pæné servorum habetur loco; lib. i. c. 19, lib. ii. c. 18, and ibid. c. 21.—[12] Lib. iii. c. 7, p. 450. a. 28, and lib. i. c. 3, and Mona p. 121.—[13] P. 450. a. 28, and Mona p. 122 and 126.—[14] P. 498. a. 4, and Mona p. 122.—[15] Lib. ii. c. 25. a. 8 and c. 26. a. 7. —[16] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 4. and Mona p. 127.—[17] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 5. [18] Ibid. a. 6.—[19] Lib. i. c. iii. &c., Mona p. 130, and Ware c. 8. [20] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23 and 24.—[21] Lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7. and c. 25. a. 3.—[22] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 7. and Mona p. 128.—[23] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23 and 24, c. 15. a. 10, and c. 21. a. 8, 14, and 15.—[24] Lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1.—[25] See lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7.—[26] From a record of inquisition 15 Edw. II, 1322, in Kuerden folio p. 279.—[27] Cæsar p. 118, lib. i. c. 9. a. 8, Ibid. c. xix. a. 12, and lib. iii. c. 7. —[28] Cæsar p. 119, and Howel p. 324, p. 217, and lib. ii. c. 21. a 35 and 36. And see B. II. c. iv. s. 1.—[29] Lib. i. c. 14. a. 29 &c., c. 38. a. 7, l. ii. c. 1. a. 66, and note p. 12 and glossary. —[30] P. 369 and 370, lib. ii. c. 1. a. 68 and 80, and lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, c. 17. a. 18, c. 18. a. 12, c. 21. a. 26, and c. 38. a. 7. —[31] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8, lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5.—[32] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312. a. 54, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 13 and Mona p. 123 and 128.—[33] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 2 and 9, lib. ii. c. 12. a. 7, lib. ii. c. 30. a. 9, p. 337, lib. iii. c. 3. a. 27, and p. 343.—[34] P. 369 and 370.—[35] B. II. c. 4, s. 1. and see note p. 12.

12 in Wotton.—[36] Lib. ii. c. 21. a. 28 and 30 &c.—[37] See B. II. c. 4. f. 1.—[38] See Mona p. 130 &c., Ware c. 8 and 13, and Sir John Davies on the causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued by the English (London 1612) p. 177.—[39] Howel p. 337, and see before.—[40] P. 331.—[41] P. 348 and 365 and lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6.—[42] Lib. ii. c. 22. a. 9. and p. 365.—[43] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11. and c. 18. a. 3. Though the law is express that the villain son should not succeed by right to his father's lands (lib. ii. c 12. a. 11), yet the sons certainly succeeded in fact at this period. The house is positively declared to be hereditary (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11); and the whole compass of the villain township was divided betwixt them and the other villains (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11. and lib. ii. c. 21. a. 7.). Nay, the lands were so divided that the sons were ordered by law to be left as much as possible upon their fathers lands (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 12). And the son of an Uchelwyr, bred up for a year and a day by a native villain with the permission of his lord, is declared to have a right to share the lands and the goods of the villain as if he had been the villain's son (lib. ii. c. 26. a. 8). And a free villain became by law the proprietary of his lands in the course of four generations (lib. ii. c. 18. a. 2.).—[44] See B. II. c. iv. f. 1.—[45] Lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, lib. ii. c. 14. a. 3, 6, 7, and 8, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 8 and 10, p. 347, 348, &c, and p. 365, &c.—[46] Lib. i. c. 13. a. 10, lib. i. c. 16. a. 12, and Mona p. 131.—[47] See Merched lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, &c.; and see also Macpherson's Crit. Diss. p. 192—198, who idly derives it from a mark or piece of money. And see Selden's Titles of Honour, Blackstone's Comment. v. II. p. 83, and a thousand others, who all assert the truth of the fable.—[48] Lib. i. c. 3 and 9, &c.—[49] Hickes's Diss. Epist. p. 68, and Spelman in Manerium.—[50] Lib. ii. c. 19. a 9, 10, 11, p. 340. Barwn-jeid or barons, and Baxter in Garnia.—[51] Lib. i. c. 9 and 12. The Ealod was to render his hawks his horse and his dogs at death to the king: but then he received them previously from him. And the Bradwr Llys or court-judge is the only person besides that seems to be exempted, being excepted in lib. i. c. 16. a. 42. But even he is obliged in

 lib.

lib. i. c. 18. a. 12.—[52] Ware c. 8, Howel lib. ii. c. 17. a. 3, Mona p. 122, 12th of Edw. I., and 34—35th of Henry 8th c. 26. Item 91.—[53] Silas Taylor, the first critick who deduced the custom from the Britons, and the only one except Wotton p. 149 and his prefacer, derives the word Gavelkind, as Wotton also derives it, from the Welch Gavel Cenedl a Noble Estate. But as the Irish is much nearer than the Welch to the old Celtic (see Lhuyd p. 1), so it furnishes the very word, Kinead or Kind.—[54] Ware c. 8, 12 Edw. I, and 34—35 Hen. VIII.—[55] Howel l. ii. c. 17. a. 3. and p. 338, Ware c. 8, 12 Ed. I, and Howel p. 347 and 348.—[56] Ibid.—[57] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 8 and p. 347.—[58] See lib. ii. c. 22. a. 6. compared with c. 20. a. 1.—[59] P. 348—[60] Ibid.—[61] Ware c. 8 and Davies passim.—[62] Ware c. 8. And see a great mistake in Carte p. 179 &c., and in the sensible Silas Taylor p. 24 and 28, Powel's Hist. of Wales, Davis's Dictionary, &c. &c.

IV.

IN this disposition of the Sistuntian lands, it was necessary to have the country cantoned into particular regions and divided into lesser or greater districts. Such an internal partition of a kingdom is necessarily one of the earliest efforts of its civil polity. And the assignment of particular lands to each of the chiefs at first must have necessarily produced such divisions very early in our own county; and Lancashire must have been parcelled into districts coevally with the first plantation of it.

These divisions must have been similar to our present townships, and the actual origin of them. The Tref or Mansion of the lord and of his more immediate attendants, the neighbouring though dispersed cotes of his ambacton, and the lands immediately adjacent to both, must necessarily have formed one division or township. Such undoubtedly were the Vici of the Gauls, of which the Helvetii had four hundred though they had only twelve towns, which were certainly considerable mansions, and which were also particular districts [1]. And such were in the earliest ages and are at this period the Trevs of the Welch,

Welch, deriving their denomination from their origin, and declaring the one by the other [2].

Thus did the little diſtricts of our townſhips in Lancaſhire commence with the firſt colony that ſettled in it. The lands within the compaſs of one townſhip were aſſigned to one chief, and became a lordſhip under him, the grazing grounds undoubtedly of his domeſtic flock. The reſt of his cattle were ſent moſt probably, either into ſuch of the neighbouring heaths and woods as afforded a common right of paſture, or into the fells of Furneſs and the mountains of Weſtmoreland, or into both. And the ordinary care and the common guard of the towns and forts that were raiſed by the Siſtuntians afterwards, raiſed in the depth of extenſive woods, and conſequently upon lands belonging to the crown as having never been ceded to a feudatory [3], was conſigned by the king without doubt to a determinate number of the neighbouring townſhips.

Theſe little diſtricts muſt have ſubſiſted by themſelves only for a ſhort period after their appointment. The more regular adminiſtration of juſtice in the kingdom muſt ſoon have occaſioned the combination of ſeveral townſhips into one cymmwd or commot, and of many into one cantref or hundred. Such diviſions we actually find among the Gauls, among the Welch, and among the Iriſh, and in the earlieſt inſtitutes of the Welch referred to the primæval Britons [4]. And as the denomination of Cantref was given to a diviſion by the Britons from the number of townſhips of which it conſiſted, Cantrev ſignifying an hundred trevs, ſo the Helvetian Gauls had four hundred vici or townſhips and juſt four pagi or cantrevs [5].

Such was the firſt beginning of thoſe larger regions or diſtricts in Lancaſhire which we now denominate the Hundreds of it. Formed ſome time before the towns were conſtructed, they muſt naturally have adopted their appellations from the moſt remarkable objects of nature within the extent of them. And from the partition of the large country of Helvetia into four cantrevs only, a country ſpreading about two hundred and twenty Roman miles in length and one hundred and eighty in breadth [6], but loaded with

with mountains in every part, Sistuntia or Lancashire could not have been divided into many. The country which lay to the south of the Ribble could not have been divided into more than two hundreds, the one perhaps taking in the western side of the country, and the other perhaps comprizing the eastern. There could not possibly have been more than two hundred townships to the south of the Ribble at the period of this institution. And the county in general must have been considerably populous even in this disposition of the south, being divided at least into three cantrevs or hundreds, and comprizing at least three hundred trevs or townships. Very populous, we are well assured [7], was the whole circuit of the island in general; and proportionably so must have been every kingdom of it in particular. And the counties of Durham York Cumberland Westmoreland and Lancaster are expresly declared to have been uncommonly populous even before the settlement of the Romans within them [8].

Nor was this interior disposition of the county destroyed, as at first sight it may seem to have been, by the conquest of the Romans and the erection of their towns. When Agricola induced the chiefs to settle in towns with their ambacton, he did not prevail upon all. He prevailed upon few. The greater number must have adhered to their original mode of living. This the fewness of the towns which Agricola induced them to erect very plainly demonstrates. The compass merely of eight small towns, and the narrow precincts of their cultivated areas, could never have contained the whole nation, could have contained only a very insignificant number, of the Sistuntii. Only one of the nearest chiefs must have been persuaded to settle in the town of Mancunium, attended by the train of his ambacton. And he must have retained assuredly his old mansion and his old township, keeping the former perhaps as a lodge for hunting, and still using the latter as a pasture for his cattle.

This chieftain must have continued to be, as I shall shew every of his successors in the barony of Manchester to have invariably been, an hereditary member of the British parliament [9]. At that period and for several ages after it, the British councils

must have been composed only of hereditary members. An elective estate of the legislature, that favourite branch of the constitution to every genuine Englishman, was actually and entirely unknown. The commons of the Celtic kingdoms were of no consequence at all in the general estimate of polity, and were allowed no suffrages in the general assemblies of the country [10]. The commons of Britain, as I have already demonstrated, were absolutely all in a state of villainage. And the constituent members of the parliament in the days of Howel Dha, the only antient parliament among the Britons of which we have any records remaining at present, are expressly declared to have been the men of wisdom and the men of authority in the kingdom [11]. The feudatories of Britain, like the feudatories of Normandy, were obliged by the tenure of their fees to the performance of certain civil as well as military services to the crown, expressly denominated the Services of the Forum, and in fact relating equally to acts of legislation as to the administration of justice [12].

The cantrevs were equally continued under the Roman government. This the continuance of them among the Britons of Wales abundantly evinces. They must have been originally used by the Sistuntii for many purposes of a civil and a military nature, the collection of taxes, the mustering of forces, and the administration of justice. And to these they must have been still applied by both the Romans and the Britons. The Roman quæstor of Mancunium was perhaps charged with the collection of all the Roman taxes, and the Roman præfect at Mancunium was perhaps commissioned to sit upon all the capital offences, that arose within the compass of the eastern hundred.

But the institution of trevs commots and cantrevs must have been particularly subservient to the administration of civil justice. The territorial judicatures of later feuds were all exemplified among the Britons. Every cantrev commot and trev had a distinct court of justice, the appropriated tribunal of the district or the seigniory. Thus the possessor of a villain estate under a royal or a private lord was expressly bound to his appearance in the

the court of his own villain tref or township [13]. Thus an uchelwyr is expressly declared to have had a right of determining causes that arose within his own domain [14]. And thus we find the courts of the commot and of the cantred to have been held in virtue of their office by the appointed governours of those extended districts [15]. Every baron in right of his fee was at once an hereditary judge in the supreme court of justice, the parliament, and an hereditary justiciary in his own jurisdiction [16]. Thus the claimant of an estate was obliged to commence his action before the lord who had the immediate seigniory of the land [17]. And thus a person that had received the investiture of a fee from the king was not, upon any suit concerning the fee, to answer in the Llys or court of a frehyr-jawl or private lord, but before the judge of the principal court [18]. In these, as well as in the superior court of parliament, that great that amiable principle of the feudal system, the limited necessity of a concurrence in the governed to render valid the acts of the governour, must have been absolutely reduced to practice. In the inferior moot of the trev the œconomy of justice must have been conducted with the assistance and concurrence of the superior villains. In these later ages of the feuds and in the same sort of baronial courts, the free soccagers must have been the assessors with the mesne lord, and the villain soccagers must have sat with the king's bailiff. And every owner of a noble fee within the jurisdiction of a commot or a cantrev court appears actually to have inherited a seat and a suffrage in it [19]. These were denominated the Seniors, and their decision was denominated the Verdict, of the Country; and they are retained by representation in the jury of the present times [20]. Such was the establishment of courts in the kingdoms of Britain, agreeing pretty exactly with the Norman judicatures erected afterwards, the court of the tref answering to the moot of the mesne lord, the court of the commot to the leet of the superior barony, and the judicature of the cantref to the court of the hundred. Only the second was not among the Britons, as it was among the Normans, the private moot of a seigniory. It was absolutely,

like the third among both, the public judicature of the crown.

The disputes betwixt the members of the different trevs being referred to the court of the commot, and betwixt the members of the different commots to the court of the cantred, the differences betwixt the inhabitants of the different cantreds were carried to a moot which was superior to all and was therefore denominated the principal court [21]. In this the supreme judicature of the kingdom were determined all the various suits that respected the fees of the royal feudatories, and such other causes as were too dubious to be decided in the inferior courts [22]. The king presided in person or by deputy, the one judge of the principal court; and the feudatories of the kingdom were assessors with him [23]. But besides these there were other assessors, the regular and official judges of the kingdom, and by the nomination of the king the presidents in the courts of a commot or a cantred [24]. These were denominated Brehons in Ireland and in Caledonia, and were invested with feuds that descended with their offices to their sons [25]. This is a branch of polity which has been universally supposed to be merely Celtic, the result of the Celtic genius untutored in judicial speculations, and vainly imagining the knowledge of the law to be as inheritable as the office and the feud. But this was certainly founded upon as sensible principles as the baronial judicatures of the feudal nations, and was actually exemplified in the hereditary earldoms of the Normans. And this was certainly an improvement upon the common judicial principles of feuds, the brehon being of course not charged for his fee to any of the military services, and being therefore at liberty to fix his whole attention and the attention of his son upon the study of the law. The same strain of polity, however it has been utterly unnoticed by the critics, is discovered equally in the judicial system of these later ages. In a record of the 13th of John, the two lords of Whithington near Manchester are expressly declared to "hold one knight's "fee, under the baron of Manchester in antient manner, and "finding one judge for the lord the king [26]." And in a record of

of the same period the lord of Pilkington near Manchester is equally mentioned to possess one fourth of a fee from the same baron "in antient farm and finding one judge for the king [27]." These courts determined all the disputes emergent in the little kingdoms of the Britons. But to the king's own private determination were referred all causes that related to the crown, respected the king, or belonged to any of the royal family [28].

All these Gorseddau or courts of judicature must have been constantly convened under the Romans, as they were certainly assembled at first, in the open air, upon the summit or the slope of an hill, within some appropriated circle of stones or some appropriated amphitheatre of stones and turf. In the regions of Caledonia and Ireland they were assembled for ages after this period upon the side of an hill, and the judges were seated upon green banks of earth; the grounds being formerly denominated the Mute or Moot Hills in Caledonia, and being now entitled the Parle or Parling Hills in Ireland [29]. And in the Romanized regions of Britannia Secunda or Wales even the supreme judicature of the kingdom, which was frequently held by the king in person, was in all causes of inheritance antiently convened in the open air as late as the tenth century [30]. The judges were paid for their decisions by the gainer of the cause; and the rate of the payment was settled by the law [31]. And the judges determined by a Brawd-lyfr, a Cause-book, or a code of laws, which appears to have been drawn up before the reign of Howel, which was assuredly compiled in the period of the Roman residence, and which contained all the antient institutes and authentic customs of the country, the common-law of Lancashire and of Britain [32].

The casualties of wrecks and of treasure-trove belonged to the king, who was necessarily in all the feudal kingdoms the general owner of such property as was challenged by no other claimant [33]. The half of the former however was resigned by the crown to the private lord of the domain upon which it was accidentally thrown [34]. The uninterrupted possession of an estate reasonably conferred an absolute right to it; but it was the

possession

possession of no less than an hundred and eighty years, a term rudely supposed to be commensurate with three generations [35]. Any proprietor in the kingdom might annually let out his land at his own discretion; but he could not either sell or mortgage it without a licence from his lord [36]. All the estates in the kingdom were entailed, and could not be alienated from the line, unless the king and all the relations of the possessor, his brothers, his cousins, and his cousins sons, concurred in the act, and unless the alienation was made in order to pay the fine for murder, a payment in which the law considered the son as equally interested with the father [37]. And nothing could be bequeathed by a testament but debts [38]. The son was actually of age at fourteen, and the daughter at twelve; and by a strange absurdity the son had a just ground of action against his father for any correction afterwards [39]. And the general peace of the country was secured by that wise œconomy of civil polity which appears afterwards so greatly improved among the Saxons, the institution of Frank-pledges. The free-man or noble was responsible to the state for the conduct of his sons and his villains, and was obliged to satisfy the government for any offences which they committed, unless (as was very seldom the case) the punishment was the forfeiture of life or limb [40]. Being entitled to receive satisfaction for any offences committed upon them, he was naturally required to make it for any offences committed by them [41].

The general jurisprudence of the country was regulated as it seems to have been regulated in all nations at first, and as it was particularly regulated among the Germans [42]. No crimes were ordinarily capital. They were punished only with an Eric or fine. Such was the case formerly in Scotland [43]. Such was the case originally in Ireland [44]. And such was the case antiently in Wales. These fines were of two appellations and degrees, the public and the private [45]. The former were twelve cows or three pounds, the latter were three cows or an hundred and eighty pence [46]. A theft a rape and a riot were generally punished by the former; all other offences (except murder)

were

were generally punished by the latter[47]. In some circumstances however the criminal was corrected with personal inflictions. The noble was not answerable for his villain in any causes that affected either life or limb[48]. And even robbery was sometimes punished with banishment, with slavery, or with hanging[49].

The right of compurgation, which unjustly seems so extraordinary a test to the judgment of these later ages, and which was very familiar to the Saxons, appears to have been equally in use among the Britons. The accused having asserted his own innocency upon oath, a number of his friends appeared in court, and sware to their belief of the same innocence. The rank of the witness was required among the Saxons and the Britons to be the same with the rank of the accused[50]. And the number varied with the nature of the accusation. In all civil cases the oaths of twenty-four men were required to take off the force of an accusation concerning the value of an hundred and twenty pence, and the oaths of forty-eight for the value of two hundred and forty[51].

In all the modes of a criminal process, the forms of proceeding in the British courts exactly coincide with the Saxon in some particulars, and are essentially distinguished from them in others. The three acts of murder theft and housefiring had each nine Affaeth Affinities or accessory parts of the crime, for which a person was equally responsible to the law as for the actual perpetration of the deed, and was subjected to different degrees of punishment by it[52]. The three first circumstantials of murder in particular were to point out to the murderer the proper place for the crime, to advise him about the execution, or to encourage him to the fact; and each required upon a denial of the charge a compurgation of an hundred men, or was followed upon confession of the deed with a fine of an hundred and eighty pence. The three next were to point out the person intended to be murdered, to accompany the murderer a little on the road to the murder, or to attend him to the very scene of the villainy; and if each accusation was not refelled by the oaths of two hundred men, each crime was punished

with

with the mulct of three hundred and sixty pence. And the other three were actually to assist the murderer, to detain the unhappy man till the murderer came up, and to stand by and behold the commission of the murder, and were each to be answered by three hundred men or mulcted five hundred and forty pence [53]. The fine for the actual perpetration of murder, the Werigild of the Saxons, was denominated Gwerth among the Britons, the worth or price of the murdered. Even the king had his gwerth, as among the Saxons; though the British law has not, like the Saxon, sufficiently told us the rate of it [54]. The gwerth of an uchelwyr was settled at sixty-three cows or fifteen pounds fifteen shillings in all, and the gwerth of an uchelwyr's villain at half the money [55]. The fine was discharged to the lord and the relations of the murdered. All the kindred of the murderer were obliged to contribute to it in certain proportions ascertained by the law. And, if every penny was not paid, the former might put the murderer to death with impunity [56].

In all the modes of a civil process, the forms of proceeding in the British courts stand entirely distinguished from the Saxon. Every cause that respected inheritances was referred to the principal court, to the examination of the king or his deputy, the official judges, and the collected barons [57]. The other courts were continually open: but this was occasionally shut. Its juridical year was divided into terms. These were only two in number, and in this the infancy of civil polity were very naturally regulated by the season of sowing and the period of the harvest [58]. The former commenced upon the 9th of May, when the seed-time was concluded, and lasted to the 9th of August. The latter began upon the 9th of November, when the harvest was compleated, and continued to the 9th of February [59]. Though the suits in these courts respected the descent of inheritances, the most involved and perplexing causes that are brought before our present judicatures, yet the action was so generally decided within the compass of a single term, that if it ever extended beyond the close of it, it was necessarily recommenced at the beginning of the next [60]. Every action was prosecuted

with

with the ſimpleſt forms, and was conſequently decided in a ſummary manner. At the commencement of the cauſe, the plaintiff and defendant were ordered to propound their pleas, and were allowed three nine or fourteen days for producing their witneſſes, according to the diſtances at which they aſſerted them to reſide from them. Upon the day appointed the judges repaired to the diſputed eſtate, and each took his ſeat in the open air, the king or his deputy firſt ſeating himſelf with his back to the ſun or weather. The parties gave ſecurities for their peaceable ſubmiſſion to the award of the court, ſecurities that were actual hoſtages and were lodged in a priſon. Silence was proclaimed in the court, the breach of it was ſeverely fineable, and each party in perſon briefly ſtated the nature of his cauſe and offered to produce his witneſſes. If the witneſſes were actually preſent, the cauſe was immediately determined. If the witneſſes were abſent, another interval of three nine or fourteen days was allowed. The ſecond meeting was deciſive. The hoſtages were brought into court, the witneſſes delivered their teſtimonies, and the judges retired for conſultation. The perſonal dignity as well as the actual number of the witneſſes influenced the deciſion. And contrary to all the principles of equity, which upon an equality of evidence always determine in favour of the poſſeſſor, the defendant was abſolutely nonſuited, unleſs his witneſſes were not only equal, but even ſuperior in number and dignity to the plaintiff's [11].

[1] Cæſar p. 3 and 114. And ſee below.—[2] Howel lib. ii. c. 19.—[3] See Wotton's Gloſſary to Howel under Diffaith Brenin.—[4] Howel lib. iii. c. 27. a. 25. And ſee lib. ii. c. 19, Mona p. 117, and Davies p. 134.—[5] Cæſar p. 3 and 7 and 117.—[6] Cæſar p. 2. [7] Diodorus p. 347, πολυ-ανθρωπος νησος, and Cæſar p. 88, Hominum eſt infinita multitudo.—[8] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 17, Brigantes—civitas numeroſiſſima totius provinciæ.—[9] See b. II. ch. iv. ſ. 2.—[10] Cæſar p. 118 concerning the Gauls, Plebs penè ſervorum habetur loco, quæ per ſe nihil audet, & nulli adhibetur

O o concilio.

concilio.—[11] See the Prefaces to the Laws.—[12] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 6 &c, p. 348, and Pref. to Laws.—[13] P. 325, and lib. ii. c. 26. a. 1.—[14] Lib. 1. c. 16. a. 30, lib. ii. c. 2. a. 3, and p. 325. c. 85. —[15] P. 389, 405, 468, lib. i. c. 6. a. 1 and 2, and lib. i. c. 16. a. 3.—[16] P. 93, 187, 307, 377, and 403.—[17] Lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1. —[18] P. 325.—[19] P. 187, 121, 325, and 405, and Mona p. 121.—[20] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 1. and lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1.—[21] P. 121 and 390. —[22] P. 325, lib. i. c. 16. a. 36, p. 19, and p. 27.—[23] P. 325, and lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12.—[24] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12, lib. i. c. 16. a. 35, and lib. iii. Pref. 2.—[25] Ware c. viii. and Crit. Diss. p. 186.—[26] Kuerden folio p. 274.—[27] Ibid.—[28] Lib. i. c. 27. a. 10.—[29] Ware c. viii, Crit. Diss. p. 187, and Spelman in Parliamentum. In Borlase's Cornwall p. 208 is an amphitheater which I take to have been for this use. And so the Tinwald of the Manks and the Stannary Parliaments of the Cornish to this day.—[30] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12.—[31] Lib. i. c. 16. and lib. ii. c. 27. a. 21.—[32] P. 186, 300, and 408. And in Ireland (says Ware) they determined from certain prescripts and customs of the kingdom (c. viii.)—[33] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 12 and 13, c. 27. a. 9, and c. 13.—[34] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 14.—[35] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 7 and 8.—[36] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 29. —[37] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 1.—[38] Lib. ii. c. 1. a. 15.—[39] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8 and 12.—[40] P. 325 and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5.—[41] Lib. iii. c. 2. a. 32 &c. &c.—[42] Tacitus c. 21.—[43] Crit. Diss. p. 187.—[44] Ware c. viii.—[45] Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—[46] Ibid.—[47] Ibid.—[48] P. 325.—[49] P. 210, 217, and 325.—[50] Lib. iii. c. 3. a. 49 and 54, and see b. II. ch. iii. s. 4.—[51] Ibid. a. 51 and 52.—[52] Lib. iii. Pref. 2. —[53] Lib. iii. c. 1.—[54] Lib. i. c. 4. and lib. iii. c. 2.—[55] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 10, l. iii. c. 2. a. 9, and lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—[56] Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 15, 16, and 20, 24, and 22.—[57] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 11, and p 325.—[58] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 7.—[59] Ibid. a. 3—6.—[60] A. 10.—[61] Lib. ii. c. 10.

The deductions which I have made in this chapter from the Collection of Welch Laws published by Dr. Wotton are not made, as the Reader will remark, merely from the fourth and fifth books of them, which, like the laws of the Confessor in the Saxon Code, are only commentaries upon the previous Insti-

tutes,

tutes, though, like them, as antient sensible commentaries, they are at once useful in their notices and respectable for their authority. The deductions are not even made, as the Reader will equally remark, merely from a few detached passages in the three first books, which contain the laws of Howel Dha in particular, but from the general uniform tenour of his whole Code. A few single passages might be the production of that interpolating hand which we clearly discern in some parts and therefore suspect in others. But a general uniform tenour cannot be the result of any interpolations at all. It must flow from the genuine the original source of the whole. The true idea of these deductions therefore must be taken from a compleat a comprehensive view of them. These evince one regular system of military and civil polity to be exhibited in the laws, to be incorporated into the frame, and to be the actuating life and spirit, of them. Such a system could as little be the creation of Howel as it could be the invention of any of the kings after him. Howel interpolated the code existing before him as the succeeding kings interpolated his. And the strong and striking agreement of the whole written system of Wales with the unwritten system of Ireland fully proves the interpolations of all to have been merely trifling and immaterial, and decisively demonstrates the present code of Howel and his successors to be the fair register the faithful exemplar of the municipal laws of the antient and original Britons.

CHAP. IX.

I.

THE whole extended commerce of the Belgic and the interior Britons was carried on without the assistance of money and in the course of a regular exchange. Such was certainly the first commerce of the island, that which the Phœnicians opened with the south-western extremities of it [1]. Such was certainly the much recenter commerce which was prosecuted with so uncommon a vigour, and was diffused to so great an extent, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius [2]. And such must therefore have been equally the commerce betwixt the Belgic and the aboriginal Britons. Hence neither of them possessed any minted money at the period of Cæsar's descent upon the island. And the British attempts at a coinage had then risen no higher than to pieces of brass and iron bullion, unshaped, unstamped, and rated by the weight [3]. But, during the extended state of the British commerce in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, the advantages of a coinage must have appeared to be very considerable abroad, and the facility of engaging coiners must have been a considerable inducement to begin it at home. A mint-master was invited over from the continent. He came; he brought all his implements with him; and a mint, the first that ever appeared in the island, was erected in the south. And Cunobeline, the successor of the famous Cassivelaun in the monarchy of the Cassii, and now equally the sovereign of them and the Trinovantes, was the first monarch in the island that minted money [4].

The first mint was pretty certainly set up, one mint was undoubtedly erected, at his royal town of Camulodunum or Col-

chester.

chester [5]. The instruments of coinage appear to have been the same as continued among us nearly to the present period, the round piece of metal being stamped with the stroke of an hammer above, and at the same time receiving another impression from a die below [6]. And the metals that were coined were generally gold silver and brass [7]. Mines of silver and gold were worked in the island during the reigns of Augustus and of Trajan [8]. A gold mine was actually discovered a few years ago at Ampthill in the county of Bedford and within the territories of Cunobeline [9]. And the British mint adopted at once all that variety of metals in its coins to which the Romans were several ages in ascending. All the money of the Roman state was merely brass for nearly three hundred years together, the coinage in silver commencing only five years before the first Punic war, and the coinage of gold not succeeding till more than sixty years afterwards [10]. And about thirty of these coins of Cunobeline have descended to us. Some of them exhibit a plane surface, but most of them bear a small convexity [11]. And few of them carry a fine texture in their composition, the metals being too much debased with foreign mixtures [12].

That the art of minting was thus introduced into the island from the Roman continent, is abundantly evinced by the inscriptions and the faces of these coins. The devices are many of them undoubtedly Roman, januses, sphinxes, centaurs, pegasuses, and laurel-wreaths. The letters upon them are all derived from the Roman alphabet, and, what supersedes all further argument, some of the inscriptions are even written in the Roman language [13]. And that the art of minting was introduced by Cunobeline, we have every reason to suppose, as it must have been introduced after the invasion of Cæsar, as Cunobeline lived in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula [14], and as he is the earliest monarch of the Britons whose coins we have discovered. The art must have been introduced before the death of Cunobeline and the surrender of Camulodunum to the Romans. The death of the king happened before the surrendery of the capital; and the capital was taken in the autumn of 43 [15]. And had Cuno-

4 beline

beline survived the subjection of his kingdom, he could not have retained the power of the mint; that liberty being constantly taken away by the Romans, the right of coining being exercised only by themselves, and the coins being all inscribed with the names of the Roman emperors [16].

But the mint at Camulodunum was not the only one which Cunobeline erected. He set up three others in three other towns of his dominions [17]. And Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard and the Triades) Charaticus and Caradauc so deservedly famous afterwards for his gallant opposition to the Roman army and his more gallant behaviour to the victorious emperor, one of the sons of Cunobeline, and his successor in the sovereignty of the Cassii and Trinovantes, adopted the same scheme and employed the same mint-master [18]. But in all probability he coined only a few pieces, his own kingdom being soon reduced by the Romans, and himself taking refuge with the Silures and the Brigantes. And we have only one of his coins at present.

But the art of coining could not long remain confined within the precincts of the Cassii and the Trinovantes. And many coins which have been discovered in the island evince that it did not. These carry no appearances upon them that can induce us to attribute them to any other than the primæval Britons. These carry a remarkable and striking similarity to the coins of Cunobeline. The wheel, the horse, the crescent, and the boar, so frequently the devices upon the latter, appear as frequently upon the former [19]. Even the name of Tascia, which occurs so often on the coins of Cunobeline, the appellation of the mint-master in all probability whom Cunobeline originally invited into the island, appears equally inscribed upon some of these [20]. And, as many of them have been found in the midst of undoubtedly British monuments [21], so several of them exhibit even the British chariot very evidently pourtrayed upon them [22]. Being discovered within the island, and bearing in their appearances no relation to any other country, the suggestions of good-sense and the proprieties of reasoning would have obliged us to refer them to

the

the British coinage. But discovered within the country, carrying every appearance of relation to it in their aspect, found even among monuments indubitably British, and presenting even the indubitable symbols of a British mint, it would be the squeamishness of folly to hesitate about their original [23].

The art of coining, thus introduced by Cunobeline and pursued by Caractacus, first travelled in all probability, whither it would most easily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the son of the one and the brother of the other [24]. And it afterwards was carried gradually through the island, being practised at Calleda, Calleva, or Wallingford, the capital of the Attrebates [25]; by Bootica or Boadicia, the queen of the Iceni; by Comus and by Calle, the sovereigns of two other principalities; and at Durnum or Durnacum, the Durinum of Richard, the Durnovaria of Antoninus, and the present Dorchester, in the west; and both at Eburo, Ebur-ac, or York, and at Eisu, the Isu Brigantum of Antoninus, or Aldborough, in the north [26].

Thus was the kingdom of Lancashire first provided with a regular coinage a few years before the period of the Roman invasion. The art of coining had not opportunity to exert itself sufficiently in Lancashire, before the coming of the Romans superseded the necessity of it. At that period therefore the quantity of money within the county must have been very insignificant; and none of it has reached the present age. But it must have been nearly the same in the metals in the design and in the execution, as were the coins of the Britons in general and of the Brigantes in particular. The metals of all were generally gold silver or brass, sometimes amber, and even sometimes iron [27]. In some the gold was even minted without any allay. In most the gold and silver were considerably debased [28]. The minting was frequently rude, the first efforts of the British coiners being as devoid of propriety as they were uninformed by experience. And the minting was frequently graceful, the art naturally refining as it proceeded, and at last catching all the spirit and elegance of the coins of Cunobeline [29].

Upon

Upon the coming of the Romans the Sistuntian mint was stopt. But the Romans became coiners for the Britons. No less than eleven mints in all probability were established within the pale of their own government, two in the two municipia and nine in the nine colonies. And coins minted at Chester at London and at York at Richborough at Colchester at Lincoln Verulam and Gloucester have been safely transmitted to the present days [30]. Chester from one side and York from the other diffused their minted wealth over Lancashire. The British chiefs in general appear to have had considerable riches among them. Thus Cæsar acquired a large booty in his two descents upon the island [31]. Prasutagus the king of the Iceni died possessed of very great wealth [32]. And to a few states in the south, and within a few years after their first subjection, the philosophical Seneca lent more than even four hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our money upon good security and exorbitant interest [33]. The Roman coins that circulated in the island must have been generally minted within it, as the great number of the mints suggests, and must have been as generally framed from the native or imported bullion of it. The Roman coins must have been current in great numbers among the Britons, as the incredible quantities that have been discovered within the island very clearly demonstrate. They must not have circulated merely among the soldiers and the traders of the Romans. They must have circulated among the British chiefs, among the British ambacton. Hence such large treasures of the Roman coins have been formerly found, and are now frequently discovered, in every quarter of the island. And hence such large treasures of the Roman coins have particularly risen, and are daily rising, to light from the site and from the vicinity of almost every stationary town in the kingdom [34].

[1] Strabo p. 265.—[2] Ibid. p. 306.—[3] Cæsar p. 88. See Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline p. 35. And the Romans used only pieces of unstamped brass to the days of Servius Tullius, Pliny lib. 33. c. 3. —[4] The tenour of the history in Dio p. 957—959 plainly shews Cunobeline to have been king of the Cassii as well as of the Trino-

Trinovantes. On Plautus's invasion of the country of the Cassii, in that part which was inhabited by their subjects the Dobuni, he was met by Caractacus and Togodumnus. Both were successively defeated. The one was killed, and the other retired. The Dobuni then submitted. And Plautus followed up his successes to Camulodunum the capital.—[8] Dio p. 959, and Pegge's class 2.—[9] Pegge p. 69.—[7] Pegge's Plates.—[8] Strabo p. 305, and Agric. Vit. c. 12.—[9] Camden c. 340.—[10] Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—[11] Pegge p. 9.—[12] Ditto.—[13] P. 42 to 49.—[14] Suetonius's Caligula c. 44.—[15] Dio p. 957, and Carte p. 101. vol. I.—[16] Gildas's Hist. c. 5.—[17] Pegge class 4. N° 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and class 2. N° 5. and class 5. N° 1.—[18] Class 6. N° 2.—[19] Camden's Coins, class 1. N° 8, 10, 11, 13—16, 25, 26, 31—33, class 2. N° 8, 10, 31, and 32, and Borlase's Coins N° 5, 13—21, and 22.—[20] Pegge p. 21 and class 5, and Thoresby's Musæum p. 338. N° 10.—[21] Borlase's Cornwall p. 258 and 116.—[22] Borlase N° 22, and Camden class 2. N° 30.—[23] How mistaken therefore are Messieurs Pegge Pettingal and Wise! The first is willing to reject all but the coins of Cunobeline. And the others are desirous equally and absolutely to reject all.—[24] Dio p. 957, Camden class 1. N° 8, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric. See Carte p. 100.—[25] Caleda and Calleva as Cantrev and Cantred.—[26] Camden class 1. N° 10, 11, 15, 26, and 31, class 2. N° 10 and 32. As it was very inaccurate in Messieurs Speed and Borlase to suppose Comus to be the king of the British Attrebates, when Cæsar plainly declares him to have been the sovereign of the Gallic, so was it equally unwary in Mr. Pegge to conclude, that because the Comus of Cæsar was a Gallic prince therefore the Comus of the Coins could not possibly be a British one (p. 38). The latter was undoubtedly a distinct person from the former. And from the addition of RE. upon the coins appears to have been a British king.—And see another great mistake in Mr. Pegge p. 21, who rejects all the coins of Prasutagus Togodumnus and Caractacus, because the British kings coined no monies under the Romans. The latter may be true, and the former not be false. These princes might coin money before the Romans subdued their kingdoms.—

 [27] Pegge

[47] Pegge p. 84 and Thoresby's Musæum p. 337.—[48] Borlase p. 250 and Camden c. cxiv. Gibson.—[49] Camden class 1. N° 6, 11—16, 25, 31, and others.—[50] See Camden c. 671, 574, and 877 for London, Chester, and York, and Stukeley's Carausius vol. I. p. 66 &c. for Richborough, p. 96 for Colchester, p. 276 and 277 for Lincoln, p. 253 for Claudia, Gloucester, and pl. 12. N° 1. for Verulam.—[51] Strabo p. 306.—[52] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.—[53] Dio p. 1003.—[54] I am sorry to observe, that Mr. Pegge has sullied his useful treatise on the Coins of Cunobeline with a rude stricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. Let the extravagancies of Dr. Stukeley be all corrected. They ought to be. But let not his character be held up to the public as the mere fantastical enthusiast of antiquities. This justice, gratitude, and politeness equally concur to forbid. His strong intellect, his enterprizing spirit, and his extensive learning must ever be remembered with respect and reverence. And even his extravagancies, great as they are, must be considered as the occasionally wild colouring of that bright ray of genius which has not yet been too frequently the portion of our English antiquarians, and which never seduces the dull critic either into excellencies or into extravagancies.

II.

THE primæval Britons of Lancashire and the rest of the island, whatever history has asserted or antiquarianism believed of both, were not unacquainted with the mechanical arts in general. This their ability to construct the military chariots of their country is a sufficient indication in itself. The primæval Britons of Lancashire and the rest of the island were even intimately acquainted with two or three of the mechanical arts in particular. This the ingeniousness of the contrivance and the neatness of the execution in the British chariots sufficiently demonstrates. These cars were even admired by the Romans, were adopted by individuals for their journeys, and were introduced by the public into their races [1]. And we have the picture of one of them sketched out by a British hand and engraved upon a British coin [2].

coin [*]. There we see the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left shoulder, and a spear protended from his left hand, his feet resting upon the pole or on a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horses in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the description of another, which is equally authentic in itself, very similar in one or two particulars, and more circumstantial [3]. There we have the car of a British Regulus bending behind and drawn by a pair of horses; its sides being embossed with sparkling stones, its beam of the polished yew, and its seat of the smoothest bone; its sides being replenished with spears, the bottom being the footstool of the chief, and his red hair flying from his head behind as bending forward he wields the spear.

The primæval Britons understood the useful art and practised the convenient labours of the pottery. Many of their earthen vessels have descended to us by the only way in which they could have descended, or could have been ascertained to them if they had. They have been discovered in the sepulchers of the Britons upon Salisbury Plain in Cornwall and in Ireland [4]. They were some of them rudely wrought, and others pretty neatly fashioned. They were generally ornamented with little moldings and circular channels about the brim. And all but one had been burned in a kiln or furnace. This must have been one of the earliest arts upon which the human understanding exerted its faculties, when it first began to attend to a better provision for domestic occasions and the more agreeable accommodation of domestic life. In all probability therefore it was imported into the island with the first colonists of the country. And the Britons must have gradually improved it afterwards, forming the perhaps shapeless vessel of their fathers in a regular mold, strengthening their unbaked clay by the hardening fires of a stove, and even enlivening their plain workmanship with some little decorations. But the progress of the art in Britain was very unequal to its refinements on the continent. And shells were the only drinking-vessels of the Britons [5]. The Britons

of the west, who had carried on a long and a close correspondence with the continent, and who must have been acquainted, if any of the Britons were, with the continental improvements in the art, were therefore fond of the foreign ware and gave it a good vent in their country [6]. But the arrival of the Romans introduced all the refinements of Campánia, and a pottery must have been necessarily erected at every stationary town in the kingdom. In the Mancunian pottery, as I have demonstrated before, were some excellent artists engaged. And in it, under the direction of a Roman or Roman-Frisian master, the Mancunians learnt to model their vessels with a lathe, to give them the soft polish of a glazing, and to flourish them with carvings and emboss them with figures [7].

Nor were the primæval Britons uninstructed in the business of the turner and the employ of the carpenter. They were conversant with both, forming their shields either in circles or in lozenges, tapering the shafts of their spears and arrows, and rounding the axles of their chariots [8]. Such a degree of mechanical knowledge could scarcely be unknown to any nation, and was absolutely necessary to a military one. And this would naturally lead them to the formation of many domestic utensils of wood. Such were most probably the first domestic implements of man in general, the block of the maple or the beech being first scooped into an unwieldy unshapely vessel, the knife afterwards pruning off the excrescencies and correcting the form, the lathe rounding it next into neatness, and the graver carving it at last into elegance. And with these implements of wood the primæval Britons must have had trenshurs, trenchers, or wooden plates; wooden cadrs or chairs, and all the wooden furniture of the brewery. The chairs we see represented upon the coins of Cunobeline, a winged figure being placed with an helmet and trowsers in one of them, and the king's minter being seated in another [9]. In this respect the Britons were more polished than the Gauls, the latter even after the conquest of them by the Romans sitting constantly upon the ground at their entertainments, and having

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only a carpet of ſkins beneath them[10]. And the Britiſh chairs were either merely tall rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day diſtinguiſh by the Britiſh appellation of Crickets, Krig-cts, or little elevations, or were provided with backs, were mounted upon four ſupporters, or reſted upon a ſquare baſis of wood. And as we have ſpecimens of all theſe chairs delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, ſo we have a cricket particularly exhibited twice upon them in the genuine form which it carries in Lancaſhire at preſent[11]. The Romans probably very little improved either the wooden bowls the wooden plates or the wooden chairs of the Britons. All of them perhaps were baniſhed entirely to the houſes of the inferior Mancunians. And among the inferior Mancunians have all of them deſcended nearly to the preſent period, and have all continued nearly in their original conſtruction.

The vitrification of ſandy particles by the force of fire, and the various application of the vitrified matter to domeſtic uſes, form one of the moſt pleaſing diſcoveries in the whole circle of domeſtic improvements. The diſcovery however reſulted not in all probability from the creative powers of the human underſtanding. It was merely the conſequence of chance. Such have been almoſt all the great inventions of man, ſome incident ſoliciting his attention, and reaſon becoming the pupil of contingency. And ſuch was moſt probably the firſt invention of glaſs, ſand being vitrified by an accidental fire, and art imitating the work of caſualty. Many accidents of this nature muſt have neceſſarily happened in the earlieſt ages of the world, in the firſt efforts of the pottery, or on the firſt formation of bricks. And tradition, almoſt the only information that we can have concerning the commencement of the domeſtic arts, here concurs with probability, and aſſerts the firſt glaſs to have been actually manufactured by chance[12]. But this event muſt have happened many ages before the conſtruction of Tyre. And that ſtately emporium can have no title to the honour of the firſt diſcovery. In Tyre however were erected the firſt public glaſs-houſes that hiſtory mentions: and in Tyre was the only ſtaple

of the manufactory for many ages [11]. The sand of the Tyrian shore, for the space of half a mile about the mouth of the Belus, was peculiarly adapted to the making of glass, being neat and glittering [12]. And the wide range of the Tyrian commerce necessarily gave a large vent to the productions of the furnace. But before the conquest of Lancashire public glass-houses were erected in Italy, in Spain, in Gaul [14], and in Britain. Hence in many parts of Britain have been discovered small annulets of glass, having a narrow perforation and a thick rim, denominated by the remaining Britons Gleineu Naidroedh or Glass-adders, and, as the continuing superstitions concerning them demonstrate, once used as talismans among the druids [15]. And hence in the barrows upon Salisbury Plain, which are certainly older than the invasion of the Romans, and which are probably prior to the encroachments of the Belgæ, beads of glass have been discovered in numbers. Many of them were single and pierced for the introduction of a string, and many were combined together in the making, and twisted round a small rod of the same metal [16]. Thus proficients as the Britons certainly were in the art of manufacturing annulets and beads of glass, no question can be made but they applied it directly to domestic uses, and formed with it many domestic instruments. And history assures us that they actually did, and that they manufactured a considerable quantity of glass-vessels [17]. These without doubt, like their annulets, were green, blue, yellow, or black, and many of them curiously streaked with other colours [18]. And the process in the manufactory of the glass must have been nearly the same without doubt among the Britons, as it was among the Spaniards and the Gauls. The sand of the shores being reduced to a sufficient fineness by art, it was mingled with three-fourths of nitre, and both were melted together. The metal was then poured into other vessels, was left to harden into a mass, and was afterwards replaced in the furnace. There it became clear and transparent in the boiling, and was then figured by blowing or modelled by the lathe into all such vessels as were wanted [19].

And the arrival of the Romans must have little improved this curious manufactory of Britain, as they universally preferred silver and gold to glass for the composition of their drinking-vessels [20]. They made indeed great improvements in their own at Rome during the government of Nero. The bowls and cups of this metal then rivalled the bowls of porcelain in their dearness, and then equalled the cups of chrystal in their clearness [21]. But these were infinitely too costly for general use. These undoubtedly were never attempted in Britain, and never made their appearance in the island. And the common glasses of the Romans and Roman-Britons must have been infinitely inferior in goodness, and from the few fragments that have been discovered at the stations of the former or the stationary towns of the latter appear to have generally consisted of a clear but greenly tinctured metal.

Native amber, once the subject of fabulous absurdities and the occasion of ridiculous contentions, is the exsudation of the gummy trees which formerly lined all the northern coast of Germany, and remain in various places upon the margin of the Baltic at present. This beauteous distillation, dropping from its parent boughs, often fell directly into the sea, was often carried from the shore by the retreat of the tide, and was often swept from the banks by the descent of the rivers [22]. It must therefore have been frequently found, as it is sometimes discovered to the present period, along the margin of our eastern coast [23]. And the primæval Britons appear to have possessed very considerable quantities of it. This they flattened into squares and molded into circles, and their females strung them as beads and wore them as necklaces [24]. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of the Britons. The Gallic women in the north of Italy did the same as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancashire [25]. And the Britons formed their amber into several domestic vessels [26]. In this state of their amber-manufactory were they subdued by the Romans, and nearly in this state they must have continued under them; the Romans only

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teaching them in all probability a greater neatneſs in the figure of their beads and a greater elegance in the ſhape of their veſſels.

The firſt formation of braſs, as we are aſſured by hiſtorical infallibility, was actually prior to the flood, and was diſcovered even in the ſeventh generation from Adam [27]. The uſe of it however was not, as ſeems generally believed and the Arundelian marbles aſſert, previous to the knowledge of iron. They were both firſt known in the ſame generation, and were both firſt wrought by the ſame diſcoverer [27]. And the knowledge of both muſt have been afterwards diffuſed over the world with the diffuſed colonies of the Noachidæ. An acquaintance with the one or the other muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary to the exiſtence of the coloniſts, to the clearing away of the woods about their ſettlements, and to the erection of houſes for their habitation. And as the nations in the eaſt appear to have worked their mines of iron and copper in the remoteſt periods of their hiſtory [28], ſo the tribes of the primæval Britons in the weſt appear to have been particularly acquainted with both [29].

Of all the metals the moſt beneficial to man is iron. And the veins of it are therefore the moſt univerſally diffuſed. Providence has ſtored almoſt every region of the world, and has particularly repleniſhed the hills of Britain, with that uſeful ore. But the primæval Britons were long unapprized of their native wealth. It was late before any mines of iron were opened in the iſland. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the deſcent of Cæſar, and even then were carried on, not by the original Britons, but by the commercial Belgæ [30]. To that period both the Britons and the Belgæ muſt have received from the continent all the iron that they had among them. And at the period of Cæſar's invaſion the quantity which was collected in the iſland was very inſignificant [30]. But iron mines being once diſcovered, others would be immediately opened. And a conſiderable manufactory of iron was accordingly eſtabliſhed in the kingdom before the reign of Tiberius [31]. In this

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must many domestic utensils have been formed by the primæval Britons. The iron money of the Britons evinces them to have possessed the secret of casting their iron and stamping it. And the manufactory, which appears to have extended into the farthest regions of the north [32], had certainly learnt the art of hardening the iron into steel. This was a secret well known at this period among their Celtic brethren on the continent. The steel of the Spaniards bore as great a reputation as it bears at present [33]. And in that fairest mirror of the original British, the native language of Ireland, the appellation of steel is not Roman at all, the appellation of steel is actually and absolutely British. But the manufactory must have been undoubtedly enlarged and the forges must have been undoubtedly multiplied by the Romans. One forge perhaps was erected in the vicinity of every station. And within the western riding of Yorkshire and in the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, some years ago was found a quantity of Roman coins carefully reposited in one of them [34].

When the Britons imported all their iron from the continent, they imported also all their brass. And when they had ceased to introduce the former, they still continued to receive the latter [35]. Their want of the metal remained, and no mines of it were opened in the island [36]. In the earliest ages whose manners have been delineated by the pencil of history, we find the weapons of their warriours invariably framed of this factitious metal. And the most authentic of all the profane records of antiquity for that reason mistakenly dates the first discovery of iron a couple of centuries below the æra of the Trojan war [37]. Every military nation, as such, is naturally studious of brightness in its arms. And the Britons particularly gloried in the neatness of theirs [38]. For this reason the nations of the world in general still fabricated their arms of brass even long after the Arundelian æra for the discovery of iron [39]. For this reason the primæval Britons in particular still continued to import brass from the continent, though they had found iron to be a native of the country, and could have supplied themselves with a sufficient

quantity of it. And for this reason the latter appear to have carefully reposited their brazen weapons in cloth, and to have even provided them with regular cases [40].

When the Britons imported their iron and brass from the Gallic continent, they must necessarily have purchased the latter at an easier expence than they procured the former. The Gauls had certainly many large brass-works carried on in the kingdom, but seem to have had few iron forges within it [41]. And this would naturally induce the Belgæ to be less diligent in their enquiry after the veins of copper and calamine at home, than in their search for the courses of iron ore; though the one was equally discoverable in the island as the other, and lay equally within the Belgic regions of it. Brass being thus cheaper to the Britons than iron, they formed of course some domestic as well as military implements of it. Such domestic utensils were common among the Gauls [42]. And such were common among the Britons, either imported into the island, as some undoubtedly were, or manufactured within it, as others assuredly were [43]. The Britons had certainly brass-founderies erected among them, and certainly minted money and fabricated weapons of brass.

In this condition of the brass-works the Romans entered the island. And seeing so great a demand among the Britons for the article of brass, they must speedily have instructed them to discover the materials of it among themselves. This must have unavoidably resulted from the conquest of the Romans. The power of surprizing their new subjects with so unexpected a discovery would naturally stimulate the pride of the Roman intellect. The desire of obliging themselves with so cheap a supply of that useful metal, stationary as they were in the kingdom, would naturally actuate the selfishness of the Roman heart. The veins of copper and the beds of calamine would be easily found out by an experienced enquirer after them; and the former metal was therefore distinguished among the Britons by the one Roman appellation of Cyprium Koppr or Copper. And many founderies of brass appear to have been established by the Roman-Britons in many parts of the island. Some must have

been

been undoubtedly erected before, one perhaps within the confines of every kingdom and most probably in the vicinity of every capital. One at least must have been necessary in order to supply the armoury of the principality: and one perhaps was sufficient for most of the British states. But several appear to have been now established within every principality, and one perhaps near every stationary town. Two of these forges have been discovered in the single county of Essex and within a narrow portion of it, one of them at Fifield, and the other at Danbury [44]. And a third was placed upon Earsley Moor in Yorkshire, twelve miles to the north-west of York and in the neighbourhood of Isurium or Aldborough [45].

A brass kettle, the workmanship in all probability of a British or Roman-British foundery in the neighbourhood of Manchester, was some years ago discovered in one of our Mancunian mosses, and is now lodged among the petty curiosities of our Mancunian library. It is about five inches and a half in diameter and two and a half in depth, and is fitted with a flat handle of brass. And the metal of this skillet, like the metal of the British coins and the British battle-axes, is mixed with a quantity of lead. Such a mixture was requisite to make the brass sufficiently obedient to the worker's tool. The proportion of the temperature was the same in Italy and Gaul, being eight pounds of lead to one hundred of brass [46], and nearly quadrating with the proportion observed at present. But the paleness of the metal in the axes the coins and the skillet evinces the proportion in Britain to have been very different. And the lead of all must be nearly as Dr. Richardson has estimated it to be in some, one full third of the whole composition [47].

[1] Cicero's Fam. Epist. lib. vii. E. 7, and Sidonius Apollinaris (Sirmondus) carmen 23 and lin. 306 and 351.—[2] Borlase's Coins N° 22, and Camden class 2. N° 30.—[3] Ossian vol. I. p. 11.—[4] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 44 and plate, Borlase p. 233 and plate 18, and Wright's Louthiana b. iii. plate 2.—[5] B. I. ch. vii. s. 2.

 [6] Strabo

—[6] Strabo p. 265.—[7] Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 12. vel quæ rotâ fiunt, and the bowl mentioned before in b. I. ch. ii. ſ. 3.—The glazed earthen rings of Camden c. 815 muſt have been Roman-Britiſh. —[8] Pegge's Coins claſs 4, C, claſs 5. N° 4, and claſs 6. N° 2.— [9] Claſs 2. N° 3. and claſs 3. N° 1 and 6.— [10] Diodorus p. 351.— [11] Pegge claſs 4. N° 1 and 3.—[12] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—[13] Ibid. —[14] Ibid.—[15] Camden c. 815.—[16] Stukeley's Abury p. 26 and 43 and 45, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32 and 4.— [17] Strabo p. 307, υαλα σκευη. Theſe and the accompanying words have been applied by ſome to mean, not what were made by the Britons, but what were imported into Britain. But the nature of the other particulars mentioned by Strabo is a ſufficient proof to the contrary. They are ſuch as could be manufactured only by the Britons.—[18] Stonehenge p. 45, and Camden c. 815.—[19] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Ibid.—[22] See Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 2, and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 45.— [23] Diodorus p. 348, Camden p. 350 and 713, and Dale's Harwich p. 112 and 275.— [24] Diodorus ibid. and Strabo p. 307, and Abury p. 44, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32. — [25] Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 3.— [26] Strabo p. 307. — [27] Geneſis ch. iv.— [28] Deuteronomy ch. viii. See alſo ch. iii.—[29] Cæſar p. 88.—How miſtaken therefore are Montfaucon, Borlaſe, and all the antiquarians, in truſting to the Arundelian marbles for the æra of the firſt formation of braſs, groſſly overlooking the poſitive and expreſs accounts of inſpiration!— [30] Cæſar p. 88.—[31] Strabo p. 305.—[32] Oſſian vol. I. p. 14, 55, and 62.— [33] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 14, Diodorus p. 356, and Martial lib. iv. E. 55.— [34] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. IX.— [35] Cæſar p. 88.—[36] Strabo p 305.—[37] Arundelian Marbles in Prideaux p. 163 &c.—[38] Solinus c. 22.—[39] Borlaſe b. iii. ch. 13.— [40] Ibid.—[41] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 8 and 14.— [42] Strabo p. 265 and Diodorus p. 35.— [43] Strabo p. 265. — [44] Borlaſe b. iii. c. 13.— [45] Ibid.— [46] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c 8.— [47] Leland vol. IX. [48] See Itin. Cur. p. 55 for this kettle.

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IN this state of the British manufactories, when the hills of Britain were found to be replenished, as even in the third century they were actually discovered to abound, with a rich variety of all sorts of metals [1]; the primæval Britons of Lancashire, and their brethren in the other parts of the island, must have slept upon skins of beasts, and have lain upon the floor of their apartments [2]. This must have been the practice universally in the first ages. This was originally the practice of the Greeks and the Romans in particular [3]. But the present example of the Romans suggested to the Sistuntii the use, and the present introduction of agriculture supplied the Sistuntii with the means, of the neater conveniency of straw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Romans were constantly composed of straw, and straw still formed the beds of the soldiers and the officers at the conquest of Lancashire [4]. From them the Britons in general and the Mancunians in particular must have learnt the use of straw-beds at this period; and with both it continued for many centuries afterwards. Straw was used even in the royal bed-rooms of England as late as the conclusion of the thirteenth century [5]. Most of our Mancunian peasants use beds of chaff at present. And straw-beds remain general in France and in Italy to the present moment. But at this period the bed was no longer suffered to rest upon the ground. The better mode that had very antiently prevailed in the east, and that had long before been introduced into Italy, was now adopted in Britain, and the bed was mounted upon pedestals [6].

The hearth of the primæval Britons seems to have been fixed in the middle of their great halls, being pretty certainly nothing more than a large stone, depressed perhaps a little below the level of the floor, and thereby adapted to contain the ashes. But this must have been now changed for a portable fire-pan, raised upon low supporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars.

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Such were the fire-hearths of the Gauls in the first century [7]. Such were the fire-hearths of the Welch in the 10th [8]. And such have continued among us very nearly to the present. These were large enough among the Gauls to allow the imposition of two or three caldrons upon them, and to admit the arrangement of two or three spits before them [9]. And such appears from the mode so lately remaining among us to have been equally the case among the Britons in the hour of hospitality; equally in England and in Gaul the guests being seated by the fire, and the caldrons being all charged and the spits all loaded with entire joints of meat [10].

The firing of the primæval Britons was certainly wood. The firing of the Roman Britons must have been wood and charcoal. The native Romans were certainly ignorant of that black inflammable fuel which we now denominate Coal. There are no beds of it at all within the compass of Italy. The great line of that fossil seems to sweep away round the globe from North-east to South-west, not ranging at a distance even from the south-easterly regions of our own island, as is generally imagined, but actually visiting France and yet avoiding Italy. But the primæval Britons must have certainly used it. In the district particularly of our own Mancunium, to whose soil nature has happily committed the precious deposit and in whose cells providence has kindly treasured up an inexhaustible abundance of it, the Britons could not have remained unapprized of the agreeable combustible around them. The Mancunian rivulets not unfrequently bring down fragments of coal from their native mountains, the extremities of the fuel often rising into day-light, and little pieces being washed away by the neighbouring waters. And in the long and winding course of these various currents the Britons must naturally have soon marked the shining jetty stones in the channel, and by the aid of accident or the force of reflection have found out the considerable utility of them. But we can advance still nearer to a certainty. Several pieces of coal were found a few years ago in the bed of sand beneath the Roman road to Ribchester, when both were dug up at the construction of Mr. Phillips's house in the Quay-street. Two or three of them were

were as large as hen-eggs. And others were discovered in the same bed of sand sixty yards to the west of the road in the year 1770. But, what is still more remarkable, the number of pieces under the Roman road was no less than thirty or forty, and a quantity of Slack or small powdery coal was actually discovered with them. These two significant circumstances fully evince the coaly fragments not to have been brought by the currents from the hills, and to have been afterwards laid upon the ground on which they were discovered. They must have been all derived immediately from the quarry by the same hands that lodged them upon the spot. The large pieces must have been variously dispersed, if they had ever been rolled along a channel. And the slack must have been absolutely dissipated entirely, if it had ever been shifted by a current. They must have been all lodged upon the spot before the road of the Romans covered it. That ground being in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancenion, the Britons had there reposited a quantity of coals for the use of the garrison, and many of the smaller pieces and some of the slack were naturally buried in the soft sand upon which they were laid. That the primæval Britons were acquainted with the black combustible which is generated in the bowels of the earth, is evident from the distinguishing appellation for it amongst us at present, Coal, which is certainly not Saxon and is as certainly British, which must have been transmitted from the Britons to the Saxons and us, and which subsists among the Irish in their Gual to this day. And that the primæval Britons made use of coal in the Castle-field, is evident from the cindery dross, the certain and actual refuse of some considerable coal-fire, which has been lately discovered in the Castle-field. It was found about four or five years ago, a largish quantity of it lying in a pit three or four feet deep in the ground, and contiguous to the Roman road at the extremity of the field. It was also found about four or five years ago on cutting down the Roman road at the same point from the surface to the base, and still to this day more imperfectly appears in the open curious front of the Roman road, a remarkable seam of black rubbish extending

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for ſeveral yards betwixt two courſes of gravel, one a yard in height above and the other about a foot in depth below, ſpreading about two inches in thickneſs at the northern end, where the pit was found, and regularly narrowing from it acroſs the face of the road. This had evidently therefore been thrown upon the road by the Romans from the materials of the pit upon one ſide of it, as they caſt up the neighbouring ground to form the baſis of the road. And this naturally diſpoſed itſelf, as it flew from the ſhovel, in the thickeſt courſe immediately under the hand, and in the thinneſt layer at the fartheſt extremity from it. I have collected cinders myſelf from the ſeam, mixed with ſome weighty metallic matter that ſhewed the coal-fire to have belonged to ſome forge in the Caſtle-field. And I have myſelf picked out ſeveral large fragments of rock from the gravel immediately under the ſeam, which muſt have been brought from the neighbouring Medlock and laid upon the line of the road before it. And the Romans and the Saxons appear actually and equally uſing coal in the provinces of Britain. Within the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire and in the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of coal-cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, ſome years ago was found a quantity of Roman coins very carefully repoſited in one of them [11]. And as early as the year 852 a grant was made of ſome lands by the abbey of Peterborough, under the reſervation of certain boons and payments in kind to the monaſtery, one night's entertainment, thirty ſhillings, and one horſe, ten veſſels of Welch ale, ſix hundred loaves, two oxen ready-killed, and two caſks of common ale, ſixty cart-loads of wood, and twelve of ᵹnæꝼan foſſil or pit coal [11]. The extenſive beds of coal therefore, with which the kingdom of England in general and the precincts of Mancheſter in particular are ſo happily ſtored, muſt have been firſt noticed by the ſkill and firſt opened by the labour of the Britons, and ſome time before the arrival of the Romans among us. And the nearer quarries in the concurring confines of Bradford Newton and Mancheſter muſt naturally have firſt attracted the notice, and have firſt invited the inquiries, of the Britons. The current of

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the Medlock that runs betwixt the beds of the minerals and waſhes the ſides of the quarries would certainly bring down ſpecimens of their native wealth, would lodge many of them around the foot of the Caſtle-field, and would allure the Britons ſucceſſively to a careful collection of the one and to a curious inquiſition after the other. But, even for ages after the diſcovery, wood continued to compoſe the principal firing of the nation. Thus in the little rental of the above-mentioned eſtate we ſee ſixty cart-loads of wood reſerved for the abbey and only twelve of coal. Wood muſt have naturally continued the principal firing of the kingdom as long as the foreſts and thickets continued to preſent their ready fuel to the hand. And ſuch it remained at Mancheſter to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithſtanding the diſcovery of another ſpecies of fuel which was abſolutely as acceſſible as wood. This is that looſe fibrous ſubſtance which our Mancunian moſſes have for ages afforded us in ſuch luxurious plenty, and which we find ſo convenient in our Mancunian houſes [12]. This moſt inflammable of all fuel would naturally be diſcovered before the coal, and muſt have been known to the primæval Britons. But it makes its firſt appearance in hiſtory together with coal, and is equally mentioned with it in the Peterborough rental, the ſixty cart-loads of wood and the twelve of foſſil coal being accompanied with ſix of ᵹeaᵱᵭa, earth, or turf. And to the green faggot, the dried billet, the turf, and the coal of their former fires the Britons now learned to add the charcoal of the Romans. The method which the Romans now taught them of charking the coal continues eſſentially the ſame to the preſent moment. The young timber which was intended for charcoal being cut into billets and heaped into a pile, it was covered over with a ſtructure of clay. The fire was then lighted within the mimic furnace. The hardening coat of the clay was pierced with long poles. And the heat and the ſmoke were gradually emitted together [13].

The primæval Britons appear to have carefully worked their mines of lead, and to have extracted great quantities of metal

from them [14]. And not only the Belgic but the aboriginal Britons were engaged in this employ. The mines of the Silly isles were worked by the one, and the riches of the Peak were collected by the other [15]. The lead-ore lay much more obvious to the notice and much more accessible to the labour of the inhabitants, than either the iron or the copper. The lead was equally found at this period in France and in Spain. But the search for it in both countries was attended with much greater trouble and expence than it was in Britain. Here veins of it lay immediately below the surface of the ground, and branched out in so great an abundance, that a very short period before the reduction of Lancashire, conquered as the Britons of Silly and of the Peak had then both been by the Romans, but still subjected, as I have said before, to the legislative authority of their respective sovereigns, a law was made by the kings to restrict the working of the mines and to prevent the overstocking of the market [16]. With this metal the primæval Britons tempered the brass of their skillets their arms and their coins. And with this therefore they must have made many of their domestic vessels. Lead and tin were for several ages the only metals that they had within themselves. And when the Romans entered the county of Chester they found the metal very plentiful among the inhabitants, and raised a rudely magnificent trophy with it, fixing more than twenty inscribed plates upon poles, and erecting them on the ground where they had defeated the Britons.

The tin of the Britons was the most remarkable production of their island. Found both in Spain and in Portugal, it was found much more plentifully in Britain [17]. Being collected in the sand or glebe, it was purified with water from the adhering earth, was fused in their furnaces, and was beaten into squares [18]. This the primæval Britons in all probability, this the Roman Britons most assuredly, worked up into many domestic utensils, cups, basons, and pitchers. Some such have been safely transmitted to the present age. A bason of this mimic silver was found a few years ago in Cornwall, four inches and an half in diameter

diameter at the brim and two and a half at the bottom, having a small fluting round the outside of the upper part, and presenting a Roman inscription upon its flat bottom [19]. And a pitcher has been also discovered of the same metal, containing above four quarts and an half, gradually narrowing to the brim, and fitted with an handle [20]. Nor was this all the use that the Britons must have made of their tin. Taught perhaps by themselves alone, instructed perhaps by their Roman masters, they must have coated over the inside of their brazen vessels with a thin covering of tin, and have thereby prevented the disrelishing tincture of brass [21]. Receiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, the Britons must have probably practised the curious art which the Gauls had discovered of incorporating tin so intimately into brass, that the work had all the hardness of the latter and almost all the beauty of the former [22].

But the Romans also taught the Britons to combine two or three of their metals together, and with them to form another which should be more beautiful in its appearance and more convenient in its use than any of them singly. This is that agreeable appendage of our tables which the Romans called Argentarium or the silvery metal, and which we now denominate Pewter [23]. Of this metal the primæval Britons must have been undoubtedly ignorant. With this metal even the Romans became acquainted only a very little time before the surrendery of Mancenion to Agricola [24]. And the Romans must have certainly introduced it to the knowledge of the Britons; several pieces of pewter having been discovered within the areas of the Roman stations in Britain. I have a small fragment of Roman pewter in my own possession. It was discovered in 1766 within a meadow at Aldchester in Oxfordshire, which the general nature of the ground and the particular vicinity of it to the area of the town sufficiently demonstrate to have been the site of the station. And it was even picked up within the walls of a ruined building, which was raised a little above the level of the meadow, and which the discovery of a tessellated pavement above

and of an hypocauſt in one part below plainly proved to have been the actual prætorium of the ſtation. But a much larger piece was diſcovered about ſixty years ago at Ebcheſter in the county of Durham, ſome vain ſearchers after other ſort of treaſure digging into the bank of the caſtrum, and lighting upon a conſiderable quantity of a melted metal, which at firſt they naturally ſuppoſed to be ſilver, but which they afterwards found to be pewter [25]. The metals that were mixed together in the compoſition of the Roman pewter at firſt were either braſs and tin, or tin and lead; as the proportion in which they were mixed was one third of braſs to the tin, and one half or one third of tin to the lead [26]. And this factitious metal was ſold at Rome ſoon after its firſt appearance at the rate of four ſhillings and ten pence a pound [26]. But this was only the common rate of the tin at Rome; and even the lead was ſold at two ſhillings and ſeven pence a pound [27]. And all the three metals muſt have been conſiderably cheaper in Britain, as Britain was the ſtaple of the two principal conſtituents of the Roman pewter, tin and lead, and as the expences of the long carriage from Britain to Rome muſt have greatly enhanced the original price.

[1] Solinus c. xxii. metallorum largam variamque copiam quibus undique generum pollet venis locupletibus.—[2] Diodorus p. 351.—[3] See Bulengerius c. xxix. in tom. 12. Grævius.—[4] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48. The beds of the Roman gentry at this period were generally filled with feathers, and the beds of the inns with the ſoft down of reeds, pro plumâ ſtrata cauponarum replet, Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[5] See book I. c. 8. ſ. 2. and the notes for the kings of Wales uſing ſtraw-beds in the tenth century and the kings of England in the thirteenth.—[6] Geneſis c. xlix. and Bede lib. iii. c 27.—[7] Diodorus p. 351.—[8] Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 6. [9] Diodorus p. 351.—[10] Ibid.—[11] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. ix and Saxon Chron.—[12] Our moors of Turbary are particularly mentioned in a record of 1322, and are declared to be propter largitatem et diverſitatem entirely unmeaſured. And

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the people had a right of common in them.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 6.—[14] Strabo p. 265.—[15] Cæsar p. 88 Mediterraneis, and Strabo p. 265.—[16] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17 ultrò.—[17] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 16. —[18] Pliny ibid. and Diodorus p. 347.—[19] Phil. Tranf. 1759, part I. p. 13.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17.—[22] Ibid.—[23] Ibid.—[24] Ibid. Nunc adulteratur.—[25] Phil. Tranf. 1702 and 1703. N° 6.—[26] Pliny ibid.—[27] Ibid.

V.

AT the period of Cæfar's expedition into the ifland, the wild woods of the Britons were replenifhed nearly with the fame varieties of timber as the forefts of the Gauls [1]. But both received a confiderable addition of foreign trees from the Romans. The beech and the fir are afferted by Cæfar to have been both of them abfolute ftrangers to Britain at that remarkable period [2]. This however the overweening fondnefs of antiquarianifm has induced the generality of our critics to difbelieve; and they have appealed againft it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, to the fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and to the fir-apples difcovered in the draining our Marton Mere [3]. But thefe arguments furely are not of fufficient moment. Cæfar has explicitly afferted the fact. Cæfar appears in general to have gained very accurate informations concerning the ifland. And if in fuch cafes the credit of cotemporary relations and the authority of peremptory affertions were to be evacuated by hypothetical reafonings and problematical arguments, the faith of records would be deftroyed at once, and the authenticity of hiftory would be utterly annihilated. I cannot however fubfcribe entirely to the relation of Cæfar. Other and more forceable arguments prefent themfelves to the inquifitive mind, that fuperfede the great authority of Cæfar, and fhew one of the trees to be certainly a native of Britain.

Among the many Roman names for the fir in the Britifh language, there are three which are purely and abfolutely Britifh. The Scotch diftinguifh the fir by the Britifh appellation of Gius, the

the Irish by the British appellation of Giumbus, and the Welch by the British appellation of Fynnidwydh. Had the fir been originally introduced into the fields of Britain by the Romans, all the British appropriated appellations of it must have been, as some of them evidently are, the mere derivatives of the Roman Abies, Z-aban, S-ibuydh, S-apin, and S-abin. And the existence of one British appropriated appellation for the fir is a strong argument in itself, that the tree was not introduced by the Romans, that the tree was originally British.

Firs actually appear as early as the third century in the unromanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland, and appear as the acknowledged aborigines of the country. Firs are frequently mentioned in the poems of the Caledonian bard, not as plants seen by him on the continent or in the provinces, not merely as forming the equivocal imagery of a similitude, but as actually and antiently growing in both. The spear of a warrior, says an Irishman in Ulster, pointing to a neighbouring tree, "is like "that blasted fir:" and it is compared by another to the fir of Slimora particularly, a mountain in the north of Ireland [3]. And the tomb of a fallen warrior upon the western shore of Caledonia is thus described from the reality by the bard: "Dost "thou not behold, Malvina, a rock with its head of heath? "Three aged firs bend from its face; green is the narrow plain "at its feet [4]."

The fir is also discovered in our Mancunian mosses together with the birch and the oak, as frequent as the oak, and much more frequent than the birch. The fir of our mosses is not, as the wild hypothesis of some asserts it to be, a mere mimickry of the natural fir, merely an oak or a birch that, lying for ages in the unctuous mass, has discharged itself of all its original properties, and has adopted all the characteristic properties of the fir. Had this been the case, it could not possibly be distinguished from the oak or the birch, and all the trees of our mosses must have been equally and absolutely firs. The fir is the only tree of our mosses that exhibits a resinous quality. And the fir of our mosses is as much discriminated to the eye by the peculiar nature of its grain, as the oak or the birch. Nor is

this all. The fir is perpetually discovered in such of our mosses particularly as were demonstrably prior to the settlement of the Romans among us. It is discovered in such mosses as appear to the present period actually traversed by the roads of the Romans. It is discovered immediately adjoining to the road and absolutely on both sides of it. Thus is the fir found very frequent in the moss of Failsworth, close to either margin of the Street, and mingled with oaks and birches. And as the road demonstrates the moss to have been formed before the settlement of the Romans at Manchester, so the trees discovered in the moss must have been all equally cotemporary with it, and all equally with it prior to the settlement of the Romans at Manchester. This argument carries a decisive authority with it. But we can prosecute it fairly up to demonstration. The fir has been discovered in our mosses, not only in such parts as are immediately contiguous to the Roman roads over them, but in such as are actually occupied and covered with the line of the Roman roads, and in the black spungy earth immediately beneath the Roman gravel. It has been very recently dug up by myself under the roots of the road over Failsworth Moss. And I have now in my own possession two pieces of tried genuine fir that were bedded with the remains of a birch-tree one yard and a half in the mossy soil and three yards under the crown of the Roman gravel.

These are three arguments which are all sufficiently convincing of themselves. These are three arguments which, springing from as many different sources, all happily unite together in one common channel, and form together an irresistible tide of evidence. And a fact which relates to the remotest antiquity, and which is asserted against the highest historical authority, cannot be too powerfully demonstrated. The fir then was one of the trees of Britain before the arrival of the Romans among us. But the beech was not. We have the positive testimony of Cæsar, that the beech was unknown to the island at the period of his own invasion. We have no demonstrative reasons, we have no forcible arguments, we have no arguments at all, against it.

And we have the strong attestation of the British language in direct confirmation of it, all the British terms for the beech being evidently and merely Roman, Faighe, Faghe, or Faydh.[4] The Romans found the fir a native of the island. But the Romans introduced the beech and their colonies together.

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans imported into Britain. They first introduced among us, and from their hands did our forests first receive, as the British and present names of the trees sufficiently and equally evince, the Platanus or plane, the Tilia or teil, the Buxus or box, the Ulmus or elm, and the Populus or poplar. And the plane, originally a native of Asia, and transplanted into Sicily, soon passed over the Strait into Italy, and before the year 79 had reached the most northerly shore of Gaul [5].

The principal production of our orchards at present is derived to us from the primæval Britons, and in the Welch the Cornish the Armorican and the Irish languages is invariably denominated the Avail, Aball, or apple. This fruitage seems to have been originally imported into Britain by the first colonies of the Britons in general and by the British Hædui of Somersetshire in particular. Hence we find the present site of the well-known Glastonbury to have been distinguished, before the arrival of the Romans, by the discriminating title of Avallonia or the Apple-orchard [6]. And the soft keen relish of the fruit so strongly recommended it to the Britons, that another Avellana arose in the north of England [7]. And before the third century the fruit appears to have been disseminated over the island, and to have even stocked the distant and unromanized regions of Shetland with large plantations of the trees [8]. But to the native and the imported fruit-trees of the British garden the Romans naturally added several plants. These must have been the Pyrus or pear, the Prunum Damascenum or damascene, the Cerasus or cherry, the Arbor Persica, perch, or peach, the Aprica or apricot [9], and the Cydonia or quince. Pears, the original production probably of most of the southerly countries, abounded particularly in Italy, and, as sufficiently appears from the Roman name of the

fruit

fruit in Wales in Bretagne in Ireland and in England, Per, Peren, Piorra, and Pear, were brought by the Romans into Britain. But Cerasi, Keres, or cherries were the native growth of Pontus and of Egypt, and were first introduced into the west by Lucullus, the conqueror of the former; being transplanted by him into Italy in the seventy-third year before the Christian æra, and being carried by others into Britain upon the first settlement of the Romans and within five years after the first permanent conquest within it [10]. The damascene had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damascus, and long familiarized to the climate of Italy, when the Romans first entered the county of Lancaster [11]; and the British appellation of it, Daimshin or Damson, still remaining among the Irish and ourselves, evinces it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. The quince was originally the produce of the Cretan shores [12]. And the peach, transplanted early from its own Persia into Egypt, but introduced very late into the west, was very common in Gaul about the epoch of Agricola's conquests in Britain [13]. And to these we may subjoin the Morus, Muyar, or mulberry, the Castanea, Kastanuydh, or chesnut, the Ficus, Fik, or fig, the Sorbus or servis, and the Mespilus or medlar [14]. The chesnut was originally the produce of Sardis in the Lesser Asia: but before the reign of Vespasian it was cultivated with great success at Tarentum and at Naples [15]. And the medlar was unknown to the Romans at the period of the last Punic war, and was originally brought into the west from Greece [16].

The beds of the British garden at first must have been replenished only with the flowers that naturally checkered the slopes of our hills, and with the plants that naturally skirted the edges of our woods. But the Roman garden soon lent its friendly assistance, and transmitted some of its own plants and flowers into Britain. There, even beneath the greater moisture of the British soil and the fainter liveliness of the British sun, they took root in the island, and became familiarized to the clime. The latter particularly are now so thoroughly disseminated over the country, shoot up so generally under the shelter of our hedges,

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and fringe so commonly the rills of our vallies, that they are constantly considered as the genuine natives of the soil. But the names of both sufficiently denote their origin, and their Roman appellations betray their Roman extraction. Such are the British Rhos or the English rose, the Lili or lily, the Violed or violet, the Tim or thyme, the Rosmarinum, Rhosmari, or rosemary, the Papaver, Pabi, or poppy, and many others. The best roses in Europe were the Italian, and the best in Italy were the Prænestine and the Campanian [17]. And thyme in the days of Vespasian so greatly overspread the stony plains in the province of Narbonne, that many thousands of cattle were brought every year from the distant parts of the country to fatten upon it [18]. Such also were the more numerous and more beneficial plants and seeds of the Radix or radish, the asparagus, the cucumber, and the melon, of Pisa, Pis, Pez, or peas, Fabæ, Faens, or beans, and Lectucæ or lettuces, and of mint, bete, fennel, and many others. The asparagus was a great favourite among the Romans, was studiously cultivated by their gardeners, and was fed to so enormous a size in the gardens of Ravenna that three of them only were actually a pound in weight [19]. The cucumber of the provinces was much larger than the cucumber of Italy, which was equally green and small, and which was so greatly esteemed by Tiberius, that he ordered pots of them to be fixed upon carriages and regularly wheeled into the sun from their sheds, that he might have a cucumber every day in the summer [20]. And lettuces were supposed to be uncommonly salutary by the Romans after the great cure which Musa effected with a lettuce upon the person of Augustus, when the emperor's life was exposed to the most imminent danger, and when his physician boldly broke through all the rules of the practice in order to prescribe it for him [21].

Corn must have been originally the spontaneous produce of the new-created earth; and the first obvious method of reducing it into flour for bread must have been by the simple expedient of pounding. This must have been for ages the only method that was practised by the various descendants of Adam, and actually continued in use among the Romans below the æra of the reign of

of Vespasian [22]. But this process was very early improved by the application of a grinding power and the introduction of mill-stones. The improvement, like most of the common refinements in domestic life, was probably the invention of the antediluvian world, and was certainly used in some of the earliest ages after it [23]. The improvement, like most of the common refinements in domestic life, was equally known in the east and adopted in the west. Hence the Gauls, hence the Britons, appear to have been familiarly acquainted with the use of hand-mills before the period of their submission to the Romans [24]; the Britons particularly distinguishing them, as we their successors distinguish them at present, by the simple appellation of Querns, Carnes, or Stones. But to these the querns or hand-mills of our British ancestors the Romans added, as they had previously added to their own, the very useful invention of water-mills. For this discovery the world is pretty certainly indebted to the improving powers of the Roman genius; and the machine was pretty common in Italy before the conquest of Lancashire [25]. This therefore the Romans must have necessarily introduced with their many other refinements among us. And that they actually introduced it, the British appellation of a water-mill sufficiently evinces of itself; the Melin of the Welch and Cornish, the Mull, Meill, and Melin of the Armoricans, and the Muilean and Muilind of the Irish, being all equally and evidently derived from the Roman Mola and Molendinum. The subject Britons universally adopted the Roman name, but applied it, as we their successors apply it at present, only to the Roman mill; still distinguishing their own original mill, as we distinguish it, by its own original denomination of a Quern. A Roman or water mill was assuredly erected at every stationary town in the kingdom. A Roman or water mill was certainly erected at Mancunium, serving equally the purposes of the town and the uses of the garrison. And one alone would be sufficient, as the use of hand-mills still remained very common in both, many such having been found about the site of the station particularly,

 and

and the use of them in general having descended among us very nearly to the present period. Such it would be peculiarly necessary to have in the station, that the garrison might be prudently provided against a siege. And the Mancunian water-mill was necessarily planted immediately below the station and the town, and upon the rocky channel of the Medlock. There, a little above the antient ford, the sluice of the mill was accidentally discovered about four and twenty years ago. There, on the margin of Dyer's Croft and opposite to Mr. Markland's Constructions, the current of the Medlock, accidentally swelled with the rains and obstructed in its course by a dam, broke down the northern bank, swept away a venerable oak upon the edge of it, and disclosed a long tunnel in the rock beneath. This tunnel I have since laid open in part with a spade. It appeared entirely uncovered at the top, was about one yard in width and another in depth, but gradually narrowed to the bottom. The sides shewed everywhere the marks of the tool upon the rock, and the course of it was parallel with the channel. It was bared by the torrent only for twenty-five yards in length, but must have been evidently continued for several yards further, having originally begun, as the nature of the ground evinces, just above the large curvature in the channel of the Medlock.

For the first five or six centuries of the Roman state there were no public bread-bakers in the city of Rome [16]. They were first introduced into Rome from the East, at the conclusion of the war with Perses, and about the year 167 before the nativity of Christ [17]. And before the conclusion of the first century after the Nativity the Roman families were supplied by them regularly every morning with fresh loaves for breakfast [18]. But the Romans did not introduce them into Mancunium, the Latin name of a bread-baker being utterly unknown to the British language in general, and bread-bakers being even recently introduced into Manchester in particular. Among the primitive Britons of the South, who raised corn and formed it into bread, the

the same custom pretty certainly obtained as prevailed originally among the Romans and many other nations [a], and as continued nearly to the present period among the Mancunians. The provision of bread for every family was left entirely to the domestic attentions of the women in it [b]. And the bread was baked by them upon stones, which the Britons denominated Greidiols and we still denominate Gredles. But as it appears at once from the kiln-burnt pottery which has been discovered in the British sepulchers, and from the British appellation of an Odyn or oven remaining among us at present, that furnaces for baking were generally known among the primæval Britons, an odyn must have been erected at the mansion of each British baron for the use of himself and his retainers. And when the baron and his retainers removed into the vicinity of a Roman station, the oven must have been re-erected with the mansion, and the public bakehouses of our towns must have commenced at the first formation of them. One bakehouse must have been constructed, as I have previously shewn one mill to have been erected, for the public service of all the Mancunian families. One bakehouse and one mill appear to have been equally and immemorially established in the town; and the inhabitants of it appear to have been equally and immemorially accustomed to bake at the one and to grind at the other [c]. Both therefore must have been undoubtedly erected at the first introduction of ovens and of water-mills into the county. The similarity of two such appointments in particular refers the consideration directly to one and the same origin for both principles. The nature of all such appointments in general refers the consideration directly to the first origin and the actual introduction of both the implements. And as the same establishments prevailed equally in many other parts of the North, and obtained pretty certainly over all the ample extent of Roman Britain, the same erections must have been equally made at every stationary town in the kingdom.

[a] Cæsar

[1] Cæsar p. 88.—[2] Plot's Staffordshire p. 216 &c. and Camden c. 967—[3] Ossian vol. i. p. 2. and vol. ii. p. 5.—[4] Vol. i. p. 127.
[5] Pliny lib. xii. c. 1.—[6] Richard p. 19.—[7] Ravennas, Banna, Uxe-ludiano, Aval-aria or (as both the MS. in the French King's library and the Vatican MS. agree to read the name) Avalana. And see an extract from Myrdhin Wyllt, a poet of the sixth century, where the apples of it are praised, in Evans p. 77.—
[8] Solinus c. xxii.—[9] This is provincially pronounced in Lancashire, not Apricot, but Apricock, with that original and British termination which forms Capet into Coppock, Mallet into Mollock, &c.—[10] Pliny lib. xv. c. 25.—[11] Lib. xv. c. 13.—[12] Lib. xiii. c. 19. and lib. xv. c. 11.—[13] Lib. xv. c. 12 and 13.—[14] Lib. xv. c. 20, 23, and 24.—[15] Lib. xv. c. 23.—[16] Lib. xv. c. 20.—
[17] Lib. xxi. c. 4.—[18] Lib. xxi. c. 10.—[19] Lib. xix. c. 4 and 8.—
[20] Lib. xix. c. 5.—[21] Lib. xix. c. 8.—[22] Lib. xviii. c. 10.—[23] Exodus c. xi. and Deuteron. c. xxiv.—[24] Cæsar p. 3. of the Helvetic Gauls, molita cibaria, and Strabo p. 287, μυλας.—[25] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 10. Major pars Italiæ ruido utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verset obiter, et molat; and Palladius lib. i. c. 42. Si aquæ copia est, fusura balneorum debent pistrina suscipere, ut, ibi formatis *aquariis molis*, sine animalium vel hominum labore frumenta frangantur.—[26] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.—[27] Ibid.—[28] Martial lib. xiv. E. 223.—[29] Pliny ibid.—[30] The women among the Saxons used generally to brew as well as to bake. Of Hereford it is recorded in Doomsday, that cujuscunque uxor brazabat intus et extra civitatem dabat x denarios per consuetudinem to the king, the lord of the town (Gale's xv Scriptures vol. i. p. 769. from Doomsday Book). And the Brewer in all our old statutes is always implied to be a woman. So in the great ordinance for bakers brewers and others during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. and II. the brewer is constantly denominated Braciatrix, quæ &c. c. 6.—[31] See B. II. c. v. s. 2.

AMONG

IV.

AMONG the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain the most curious undoubtedly was the vine. This is well known to have been very common in Britain three or four ages ago, there being scarcely a single castle or a particular monastery in the kingdom which had not a vineyard belonging to it. The county of Gloucester is particularly commended by Malmesbury in the twelfth century as excelling all the counties of the kingdom in the number and in the goodness of its vineyards [1]. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the descriptive accounts of Doomsday [2]. And the vineyards of England are actually mentioned by Bede as early as the commencement of the eighth century [3]. That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other testimony than the British appellations of it. Being brought by the Romans into Gaul [4], it was denominated the Vinum or Vigne tree by the natives. Being brought by the Romans into Britain, it was similarly denominated by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen the Guin-bren the Guin-ien or the Fion-ras; as it is still called in the Welch the Cornish the Armorican and the Irish dialects. These appellations, like the Gallic Vigne, do not directly signify the Vitis or vine, but speak of it indirectly and characteristically as the Wine-tree. And as in general these appellations evince the Romans to have been the first planters of vines in both kingdoms, so this little peculiarity in particular pretty plainly declares the inhabitants of both to have been acquainted with the liquor some time before they adopted the tree. Such would naturally be the case of both. Such appears to have been actually the case of the Gauls [5]. And the Caledonian Britons, who were certainly strangers to the vine, were well acquainted with the liquor before the middle of the third century [6]. As the former was certainly not introduced into Britain till the second century [7], so was it certainly introduced before the

the close of the third. And as it must have been for ages confined within the pale of the Roman government, so was it transplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth century[9]. But the grape, or as with an agreeable and native simplicity it was called by the Britons the Corn of the Tree the Wine-grane and the Apple of the Vine, was not, as it now is, merely raised for the uses of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the vine. They were carried with it into Gaul. And that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a strong presumptive evidence, and the British appellation of Wine-tree for the vine is a strong argument. Doomsday exhibits to us a very particular proof of wine made in England during the period preceding the Conquest[10]. And the wines of Gloucestershire within a single century afterwards were little inferior to the French in sweetness[11]. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a single vine in the days of Cæsar[12], was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Vespasian[13], and even exported its wines into Italy[14]. The whole province of Narbonne in the reign of Vespasian was planted with vineyards: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knavish dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with smoke, colouring it (as was suspected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taste and appearance with aloes[15]. And as our first vines must undoubtedly have been transplanted from Gaul, so were they in all probability the vines of the Allobroges in the north of Dauphine. These were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. These ripened even in the frosts of the advancing winter. And these were certainly of the same colour and seem to have been actually of the same species as the black Muscadines of the present days[16], which have lately been tried in the island and are found to be fittest for the climate. These were pretty certainly brought into Britain a little after the introduction of vines into all the regions of Gaul, and about the middle of the third century; when the numerous plantations of vines had gradually

spread

ſpread over the face of the latter, and when they muſt have actually continued their progreſs into the former [17].

The Romans, even nearly to the days of Lucullus, were very ſeldom able to regale themſelves with wine. Very little was then raiſed within the compaſs of Italy. And the foreign wines were ſo dear, that they were very ſeldom produced at an entertainment; and, when they were, each gueſt was indulged only with a ſingle draught. But in the ſeventh century of Rome, as the extent of their conqueſts augmented the degree of their wealth and enlarged the ſphere of their luxury, wines became the object of particular attention, many wine-vaults were conſtructed, and good ſtocks of liquor were repoſited in them [18]. This naturally gave encouragement to the wines of the country; and the Falernian roſe immediately into great repute, and a variety of others, the ſtill-celebrated wine of Florence among the reſt, ſucceeded it about the cloſe of the century. And the more weſterly parts of the European continent were at once ſubjected to the Roman arms and enriched with the Roman vines [19].

But the ſcarcity of the native and the dearneſs of the foreign wines in Italy, ſeveral ages before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire, had called out the inventive faculties of the Roman mind, and occaſioned the original diſcovery of factitious wines [20]. Theſe were ſtill continued by the Romans and naturally taught to the Britons. Theſe were made of almoſt all the products of the orchard and garden, the pear, the apple, the mulberry, the ſervis, and the roſe [21]. Two of them therefore were thoſe agreeable liquors which we ſtill extract from the apple and the pear and which we ſtill denominate Cyder and Perry. The latter muſt have been called Pyrum by the Romans, and was therefore called Per-ui, Perry, or Pear-water by the Britons. The former actually received the appellation of Sicera among the Romans, the word being colloquially pronounced by them Sidera, as the ſame pronunciation of it among the preſent Italians ſatisfactorily evinces; and retained therefore the appellation of Cider among the Britons [22]. And greatly as the Britiſh language, and through

it the original English, are enriched by the Roman, both have naturally received a much greater supply from the colloquial and the later Latinity than from the written and the classical; many truly Roman words particularly occurring in the British and English, which either do not appear at all or appear very different in the present remains of the Roman.

[1] F. 161 Saville.—[2] See Arpennis in Spelman's Glossary.—[3] Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 1. Smith.—[4] Diodorus p. 350.—[5] Ibid.—[6] Ossian vol. i. p. 116.—[7] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 12.—[8] Vopiscus's life of Probus c. 18. Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis—permisit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent.—[9] Bede lib. i. c. 1.—[10] Spelman in Arpennis and Camden p. 319. [11] Malmesbury f. 161.—[12] Diodorus p. 350.—[13] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 1.—[14] Ibid. c. 3.—[15] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 6.—[16] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 2. [17] Solinus c. 21.—[18] Lib. xiv. c. 14.—[19] C. 6, 14, and 3.—[20] C. 16.—[21] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 16. and Palladius (Gesner 1735) p. 993, 923, 924, and 901.—[22] Sicera—quæ—conficitur—Pomorum Succo: Hieron. tom. iv. c. 264. Paris 1706.

V.

THE genuine breed of the British horses must have frequently run wild in the woods and mountains of the island, as thousands at the present period expatiate in a state of absolute freedom along the great base of the southern continent of America, and as numbers still range along the hills of Scotland and the forest of Hampshire. The genuine breed of the British horses was at once diminutive in its size and swift in its motions[1]. This breed still evidently subsists among us in the garrans of Scotland, in the ponies of Wales, and in the wild hobbies of some forests in England. And this appears to have been improved into the much larger race of our present horses by the

the introduction of a bigger breed from the Roman continent, and by the careful incorporation of the foreigners with the natives. The ſtandard of the Roman horſes was certainly larger than that of the Britiſh [2]. The Britiſh are certainly improved in their ſize by the intermixture of a larger and a foreign breed with them. And we find a foreign breed of horſes to have been actually introduced into the iſland, and ſome of them to have been actually carried into the moſt northerly regions of the Roman government, before the concluſion of the third century [3]. Theſe ponies the primitive Britons harneſſed to their cars. Theſe ponies the primitive Britons equipped with bridles and girths and mounted with riders [4]. The cavalry of the Britiſh armies conſiſted equally of horſemen and of charioteers [5]. But the Romans muſt have firſt taught our fathers to cover the naked backs of their horſes with the furniture of ſaddles. The horſes in the coins of the Britiſh ſovereigns have not the leaſt appearance of a ſaddle. And the Britiſh and the preſent appellation of that covering is purely and abſolutely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Sadle [6]. But the necks of the Britiſh garrans were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes were frequently decorated with ſtrings of the Britiſh pearls [7]. And the bits were compoſed of the bones in the large marine animals that frequented their ſhores, were poliſhed carefully by the tool, and were brightened into an emulation with ivory [8].

But if the horſe was originally an inhabitant of Britain, the aſs was originally a foreigner. The Romans and the Spaniards trafficked much in this uſeful animal; and it bore a very conſiderable price among them [9]. And though the milk of this animal among the Romans was not applied to the purpoſes of medicine, it was early applied to the uſes of vanity. In the earlier period of the empire it was ſuppoſed by the Roman ladies to contribute much as a waſh towards the whitening of the ſkin: and the conſort of Nero kept a train of five hundred milch-aſſes in conſtant attendance upon her, and had her bath conſtantly repleniſhed with their milk [10]. And the aſs muſt have been brought into Britain with the Romans, as the only Britiſh

appellations of it, the Asyn of the Welch, the Azen of the Armoricans, and the Asal of the Irish, demonstratively prove. But by the intermixture of them and the horses another sort of animal was formed in the island, sharing usefully the nature of both, and denominated by the Roman name of Myl, Mul, or Mule. These the Britons as well as the Gauls must have yoked to their chariots, and have taught them all the various paces and all the ready obedience of their managed horses [u].

The breed of our British dogs must once have been as frequently wild as our horses, and has as great a propensity to become wild at present. In the desert plains of Patagonia, where the European horses have lapsed into absolute barbarism, the European dogs have equally lapsed with them; and are found equally savage in the beautiful but uncultivated island of Juan Fernandes. The wild dogs of Britain must have been early reclaimed by the British hunters, and their principles of courage and their powers of sagacity have been early converted against their unreclaimed brethren of the forests. And both such as had always remained tame and such as had once been wild particularly attracted the admiration of the naturalists, and greatly engaged the regard of the sportsman, among the Romans before and after their conquests in the island. But the principal sorts which seem to be genuine natives of the soil are these five, the great houshold-dog, the greyhound, the bulldog, the terrier, and the large slow hound.

The first is blest with no powers of sagacity at all, but is animated with an uncommon degree of courage. And it is peculiarly distinguished from others by a surly dignity of aspect, by a genuine good-naturedness of temper, and by an honest fidelity of heart. We have a breed of these at Manchester that is enormously tall and large. And just such an one is represented upon a coin of Cunobeline, and a person appears mounted sideways upon it, the worthy animal waving its tail and turning up its face with a sensible satisfaction in its rider [w].

The bull-dog enjoys equally a sagacity of nose and a bravery of spirit. The latter indeed is so peculiarly eminent, that this dog,

dog has perhaps a larger ſhare of true genuine courage than any other animal in the world. The boldneſs of its ſpirit is remarkably enterprizing, and the reſolution of its temper is aſtoniſhingly determinate. And the native gallantry of the breed has gained them the credit of a frequent mention and the honour of an high commendation in the records of antiquity. The Gauls even purchaſed them early for the uſes of war, and embattled them with their native dogs for the fight [13]. In the ſame manner the Colophonii of Ionia and the Caſtabalenſes of Cilicia formed the front-line of their armies with dogs; and, after Marius's defeat of the Cimbri in battle, the dogs fiercely defended the baggage againſt the victorious Romans [14]. And when

——Até, hot from hell,
Cried Havock, and let looſe the dogs of war

no longer in Gaul, the Romans exported them for the uſes of hunting [15]. Strabo expreſſly commends them in general as incomparable dogs on the field [16]. And Gratius, who wrote in the days of Auguſtus, preſents us with a clear account of their value and their uſe:

Quid freta ſi Morinûm, dubio refluentia ponto,
Veneris, atque ipſos libeat penetrare Britannos?
O quanta eſt merces, & quantùm impendia ſupra,
Si non ad ſpeciem mentiturôſque decores
Protinus! Hæc una eſt catulis jactura Britannis.
Ad magnum cùm venit opus, promendaque virtus,
Et vocat extremo præceps diſcrimine Mavors,
Non tunc egregios tantum admirere Moloſſos [17].

But can you waft acroſs the Britiſh tide,
And land undangered on the farther ſide,
O what great gains will certainly redound
From a free traffick in the Britiſh hound!
Mind not the badneſs of their forms or face:
That the ſole blemiſh of the generous race.
When the bold game turns back upon the ſpear,
And all the Furies wait upon the war,

First

First in the fight the whelps of Britain shine,
And snatch, Epirus, all the palm from thine.

Claudian particularly celebrates their activity and courage in the attack of the bull:

Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ,
——The British hound,
That wrings the bull's big forehead to the ground [17].

And Symmachus the cotemporary of Claudian mentions seven Irish bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then first produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people, who were so struck with their ferocity and boldness that they universally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron [18].

The greyhound was originally denominated by the Britons either simply and most commonly the Grech, Greg, or Dog, which the mode of liquifying the g into y among the Britons and Saxons has now softened into Grey, or less frequently but more particularly the Vertrag, Ver Trache, the eager or swift dog [19]. This lightly limbed and elegantly molded species of our hounds was as much esteemed by the Romans for its fleetness as the former was admired for its bravery, but was not, like the former, peculiar to Britain. It was a native equally of Britain and of Gaul, and was therefore sometimes denominated by the Romans the Gallic Dog and sometimes ranked by them among the hounds of the Britons [20]. Martial extols the honest disinterestedness of the dog in the following couplet:

Non sibi, sed domino, venatur Vertagus acer,
Illæsum leporem qui tibi dente feret [21].
For thee alone thy greyhound hunts the prey,
And brings to thee th' untasted hare away.

Nemesianus, who wrote near the close of the third century, mentions them by a Roman appellation exactly equivalent to the Ver Trache of the Britons, and shews the fondness of the Romans for them:

——*Catulos* divisa Britannia mittit
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos [22];

Be thine the greyhounds of the Britiſh race,
And taſte improved the pleaſures of the chace.

And Gratius has given us a ſtrong commendation of their ſwiftneſs and a good general deſcription of their nature:

——Si—juvat compellere Dorcas,
Aut verſuta ſequi leporis veſtigia parvi,
—— —— —— —— —— ——
——Pictam maculâ Vertraham dilige falsâ.
Ocyor affectu mentis pennâque cucurrit;
Sed premit inventas, non inventura latentes
Illa feras ——[21].

——Would you chace the deer,
Or urge the motions of the ſmaller hare,
Let the briſk greyhound of the Celtic name
Bound o'er the glebe and ſhew his painted frame.
Swift as the wing that ſails adown the wind,
Swift as the wiſh that darts along the mind,
The Celtic greyhound ſweeps the level lea,
Eyes as he ſtrains, and ſtops the flying prey.
But ſhould the game elude his watchful eyes,
No noſe ſagacious tells him where it lies.

There is a fourth breed of our dogs which equally appears to be the genuine production of the iſland. That is the race of our little terriers, ſo uſeful as it now is, ſo neceſſary as it muſt once have been, in the deſtruction of the weezle the foulmart and the polecat of our woods. Theſe and the kindred claſſes of our woodland vermin muſt without them have multiplied to an infinite degree in the iſland, and have proved an infinite annoyance to the poultry-yards and the hare-parks of the Britiſh chieftains. The terrier therefore muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary among us in the period of the primæval Britons. And the terrier appears to be actually a native of the iſland. It is very evidently deſcribed in the Poems of Oppian, who lived in the days of Severus, and who preſents us with this circumſtantial account of it:

Εστι δε τι σκυλακων γενος αλκιμον ιχνευτηρων,
Βαιον, ατταρ μεγαλης αντaξιον εμμεν' αοιδης.
Τους τραφεν αγρια φυλα Βρεταννων αιολοταττων·
Αυταρ επικληδην σφας Αγασσαιους[a] ονομηναν.
Των ητοι μεγεθος μεν ομοιϊον ουτιδανοισι,
Λιχνοις, οικιδιοις, τραπεζηεσσι κυνεσσι,
Γυρον, ασαρκοτατον, λασιοτριχον, ομμασι νωθες,
Αλλ' ονυχεσσι ποδας κεκορυθμενον αργαλεοισι,
Και θαμινοις κυνοδουσιν ακαχμενον ιοφοροισι.
Ρινεσι δ' αυτε μαλιστα πανεξοχος εστιν Αγασσευς,
Και στιβιη πανεριστος· επει και γαιαν ιοντων
Ιχνιον ευρεμεναι μεγα δη σοφος, αλλα και αυτην
Ιδμων ηεριην μαλα σημηνασθαι αϋδμην[24].

A ſmall bold breed and ſteady to the game
Next claims the tribute of peculiar fame!
Train'd by the tribes on Britain's wildeſt ſhore,
Thence they their title of Agaſſes bore.
Small as the race that uſeleſs to their lord
Baſk on the hearth and beg about the board,
Crook-limbed and black-eyed, all their frame appears
Flanked with no fleſh and briſtled rough with hairs;
But ſhod each foot with hardeſt claws is ſeen,
The ſole's kind armour on the beaten green;
But fenced each jaw with cloſeſt teeth is found,
And death ſits inſtant on th' inflicted wound.
Far o'er the reſt he queſts the ſecret prey,
And ſees each track wind opening to his ray:
Far o'er the reſt he feels each ſcent that blows
Court the live nerve and thrill along the noſe.

This is a very minute deſcription of a Britiſh dog. And thoſe two particular ſtrokes in the deſcription, the crookedneſs of its limbs and the leanneſs of its body, clearly appropriate the account to our preſent terrier[25].

To theſe we may ſubjoin another breed of our dogs, which ſeems to have been equally an original inhabitant of the iſland,

[a] A Gaſt or A Gaſs (as Kiſt, the ſame word, is alſo Kis) ſignifies merely The Dog.

and

which is now almost peculiar to the parish of Manchester. This is the good old hound of our Mancunian fathers, which is so remarkably distinguished over all the rest of the kingdom by the peculiarity of its aspect and the particularities of its frame. And this must certainly have been the fine original from which the many striking and picturesque touches in these well-known lines of Shakespear were immediately transcribed.

HIPPOLITA.

I was with Hercules and Cadmus once,
When in a wood of Crete they bayed the boar
With hounds of Sparta; never did I hear
Such gallant chiding. For, besides the groves,
The skies, the fountains, ev'ry region near,
Seemed all one mutual cry. I never heard
So musical a discord, such sweet thunder.

THESEUS.

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flewed, so sanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-kneed, and dew-laped, like Thessalian bulls;
Slow in pursuit; but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never hollowed to nor cheered with horn
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly.

This delineation is evidently taken from the life. And the largeness of the chaps and the dapples of the body, the ample sweep of the slouching ears and the large exuberance of the bagging chest, the deforming crookedness of the knees, the sonorous depth of the note, and the heavy slowness of the motion, are all such clear and characteristic particulars as concur only in the Mancunian hound. This breed was in all probability once known in every part of the island. This breed was near the close of the last century confined to one or two counties in the south-western regions of the island and to Manchester and its vicinity in the north-western [26].. This breed is now utterly

extinct in the former and survives only in the latter. And the great size and the present fewness of this remarkable race pretty plainly proclaim them to be natives of the island, and to be the last perishing remains of a British breed within it. Once lost in the north, the dog was still continued in the south, and had there the honour to be delineated by the just bold pencil of a Shakespear. Once lost in the north, the dog was first introduced into it again from the south, and bears therefore at Manchester the expressive appellation of the Southern Hound. And being originally carried from Manchester into many of the neighbouring districts, and even into some of the southern counties, it there retains the note of its recenter descent in its newer appellation of the Manchester or the Lancashire Hound. But it has been long neglected by carelessness or by design. The characteristic bulk of the hound has been gradually diminishing for some time. And this old and venerable breed is gradually dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of common harriers.

These and our wolf-dogs were some of the original hounds of the island. And the Romans seem to have introduced into the one and to have added to the other the present breed of our common harehounds and the present race of our common spaniels. The former are pretty certainly foreigners, as their only game, the hare, could never have been hunted by the primæval Britons. And they are most probably Tuscans. Nemesianus has given us the following account of the Tuscan dog: and the description agrees exactly, I think, with the common harehound.

Quin & Tuscorum non est extrema voluptas
Sæpe canum; sit forma illis licèt obsita villo,
Dissimilesque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;
Namque & odorato noscunt vestigia prato,
Atque etiam leporum secreta cubilia monstrant [a]:

Nor on the file of hunters last is found
The merit, Tuscans, of your native hound;

What-

What though their form be shagged with roughening hairs,
Nor one faint semblance of the greyhound wears,
Still will the table thank their useful care,
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare;
They snuff her footsteps on the scented mead,
They thread her mazes to her secret bed.

And the latter breed carries evidently the signification of its origin in the singularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniel or Spaniard being a sufficient indication of its native country, and the Roman termination of its name, Hispaniolus or Spaniol, being a sufficient declaration of its Roman introducer. And the same race of our dogs is pretty certainly meant by the same appellations in these lines of Nemesianus,

Nec tibi Pannonicæ stirpis temnatur origo,
Nec quorum proles de sanguine manat IBERO [28],
Praised are the fathers of Pannonia's blood,
And praised the children of HISPANIA'S BLOOD;

And in these lines of Oppian,

Εξοχ' αριζηλοι, μαλα τ' αγρευτηρσι μελονται,
Παιονες, Αυσονιοι, Καρες, Θρηικες, ΙΒΗΡΕΣ [29],

First on the field appear Ausonia's race,
Thy dogs, O Caria, and thy hounds, O Thrace,
First from the hunter claim the favourite's meed
Pæonia's offspring and HISPANIA'S BREED.

[1] Dio p. 1280.—[2] Ibid.—[3] Ossian vol. I. p. 115, The Steeds of the Strangers.—[4] Pegge's Coins C class 4, N° 2 and 3. class 5, and N° 2. class 6, and Camden's 2d table N° 9 and 32.—[5] Cæsar p. 87, and Pomponius Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[6] See Ware's Antiq. (Harris 1764) p. 160.—[7] Borlase's Coins N° 12, 19, 20, and 22, and Ossian vol. I. p. 11.—[8] Ossian ibid., Strabo p. 307, and Solinus c. 22.—[9] Pliny lib. viii. c. 43.—[10] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 41.—[11] Claudian p. 244 Elzevir.—[12] Pegge's Coins class 4. N° 5.—[13] Strabo

[13] Strabo p. 305.—[14] Pliny lib. viii. c. 40. —[15] Strabo p. 305.—[16] Ibid. —[17] Gratii Cynegeticon p. 26. London 1699. —[18] De Laud. Stil. lib. iii. and Symmachus lib. ii. Ep. 77. —[19] The same as Ger Brache. So Durobriv-æ, Brig-e, and Duro-trig-es, one word varied into Briv, Brig, and Trig.—[20] Ovid's Canis Gallicus in Met. lib. i. and Gratius's Inconsulti Galli in b. i. l. 194, both compared with Nemesianus. —[21] Lib. xiv. E. 200. —[22] Cynegeticon p. 123. London 1699. —[23] Ibid. l. i. —[24] Ibid. Camden p. 190 has strangely applied this passage to our present gaze-hound. The mere reading of the words is sufficient to shew the falseness of the application.—[25] And the way of hunting even the fox in the eighth century was only by un-earthing it. Assuescant pueri (says Alcuinus)—non vulpium fodere cavernas, non leporum fugaces sequi cursus, Malmesbury f. 13.—[26] Aubrey's MS. in the Museum Oxford.—[27] P. 117.—[28] P. 123. —[29] B. i. l. 370.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

I.

IN the whole circle of intellectual entertainments, few particulars carry so agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the history of human manners. And that lower species of patriotism which shoots up instinctively in every breast makes it particularly pleasing to view our own national manners genuine as they rise in the pages of our national records, and to see faithfully represented in the mirror of history those accidental combinations of ideas or those rational modes of opinion which prevailed in the more distant ages of our fathers. Nor is this satisfaction confined merely to their sublimer exertions of the understanding, their theories of political science or their principles of literary taste. It is even better felt on the survey of their little fashions and fancies in the more characterizing scenes of lower life, in the faithful exhibition of their private manners, and in the authentic detail of their domestic œconomy.

The provision for the table among the primitive Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their flocks of sheep, their deer, and their hogs [1]. Their droves of the last must have undoubtedly furnished them, as their brethren the Gauls and the Spaniards were actually furnished [2], with a great variety of dishes. The Gauls produced the largest and the best hog-meat that was brought into Italy [3]. And the northerly Gauls in particular supplied the whole compass of Rome and the greatest part of Italy in the days of Augustus with gammons, hogs-puddings, sausages, and hams [4]. And to these the Britons must have added some others of the island beasts and several of the island

iſland birds. The former ſhall be ſpecified hereafter. The latter muſt have been the duck, the teal, the widgeon, the wildgooſe, and the ſwan; the woodcock, the quail, the heathcock or grouſe, and the ſnipe; the lark, the quoiſt or ſtock-dove, and others. Theſe are all natives of the iſland, as either the appellations of them in the Britiſh language or the mention of them in the Britiſh poems of Oſſian[s] evidently ſhew; and none of theſe appear to have been prohibited, as ſome certainly were, by accidental cuſtoms or religious obligations. And the Britiſh Cheneros or wildgooſe was actually eſteemed a great dainty in the reign of Veſpaſian, and was preferred by the Britons for the table to moſt of the other animals in the iſland[t].

But this bill of the Britiſh fare was greatly enlarged by the Romans. The intimate connection of the Britiſh with the Roman reſidents, and their faithful imitation of the Roman manners, muſt have naturally diſſolved the obligations which the mere influence of accidental opinions had preſcribed to the Britiſh tables. The declenſion of the druidical religion, and the neceſſarily preceding relaxation of its practical rigours, muſt have naturally untwiſted the bonds which the mere prejudices of national religion had impoſed upon the Britiſh palates. Geeſe hares and poultry were no more prohibited to be eaten. The Britiſh hen now firſt began to be fattened, and the Britiſh cock now firſt began to be caſtrated. The practice of cramming the hen was originally tried at Delos, and was prohibited by a law at Rome a little before the third Punic war[r]. But to dam up the current of luxury in one channel frequently ſerves only to make it directly break out into another. Hens were crammed no longer: but both hens and cockrels were fattened, as they are ſtill fattened amongſt ourſelves, with food ſteeped in milk, and were even rendered more agreeable to the palate than the former[s]. And the method of fattening the cock by the act of caſtration ſeems to have been entirely a Roman invention, and was certainly introduced into Britain by the Romans, the unhappy victim of barbarous luxury being ſtill denominated among us by his Roman appellation of Capo or Capon[t].

Nor

Nor were the prohibitions of the Britons confined entirely to hares geese and poultry. They extended equally to all the finny tribes that inhabited their rivers and frequented their shores [10]. And these were now equally as the others laid open to the waste of hunger and the ravages of luxury. Beneath the shelter of this prohibition the fishes had hitherto continued for ages in peace, neglected and unknown, and had multiplied into infinite numbers [11]. They were now first pursued into their watery element, and now first received their particular appellations. Hence the class of our fishes is so remarkably distinguished above the other ranks of our animals by the much greater frequency of Roman-British denominations among them. The Minimus or Minnow, the Gobio or Gudgeon, the Trutta or Trout, and the Perca or Pearch, the Conger or Conger, the Barbulus or Barbel, the Abramis or Bream, the Carpio or Carp, the Mullus or Mullet, and the rest, were now dislodged from their antient seats in the rushy channels and the hollow banks of our rivers. The Thynnus or Tunny, the Solea or Sole, the Salmo or Salmon, and the Raia or Ray, the Cochlea or Cockle, the Musculus or Muscle, and the Ostreum or Oyster were now taken from their primæval haunts upon our beaches and our shoals. And both now made their appearance upon our tables. The British oyster was deservedly famous among the Romans, and was even as early as the reign of Vespasian thought worthy to be carried into Italy [12]. The best were then gathered from the shore of Kent, were then denominated the Oysters of Rutupis, and were of the same species pretty certainly and were probably collected from the same places as the present low-priced oysters of Milton and Feversham [13]. And the Romans first taught us the art of fattening our oysters in artificial beds and of feeding our fishes in artificial ponds; the feeding-pits of the former being first invented about ninety years before Christ and first constructed upon the shore of Baiæ, and large reservoirs being immediately made by others for the latter [14].

But the Romans increased the variety of the British provisions, not only by the introduction of many prohibited animals to the table,

table, but alſo by the importation of many foreign animals into the iſland. Theſe were rabbits, pheaſants, cuckows, and pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtles, and peacocks. The perdix, petris, paitriſg, or partridge, the pluvialis or plover, the turtur, tyrtyr, or turtle, and the pavo, peav, or pea, all ſufficiently declare their origin in their names. The peacock was a diſh of conſiderable repute among the Romans, but was firſt placed upon the table by Hortenſius the Orator about ſeventy years before Chriſt and in a ſupper which he gave to the ſacerdotal college [15]. The rabbit was originally a native of Spain and its adjoining iſlands, and began to be brought into Italy in the days of Auguſtus [16]. It was denominated Cuniculus from its burrow by the Romans in Spain, and received therefore the appellation of Kunigl and Coniſl among the Bretoons, of Kuningen among the Welch, and of Kynin and Kuinin among the Iriſh [17]. The cuckow juſt fledged was reckoned by the Romans of the firſt century to excel every other ſpecies of birds in the fine taſte of its fleſh [18]. And its Roman name of Coccyx or Cuckow very evidently ſhews it to have been brought by the Romans into Britain. The domeſtic pigeon was once equally a ſtranger to Aſia and to Britain [19], and beſpeaks ſufficiently its introducers into the latter by the name of Klommen which it bears in the Welch, of Kylobman and Kolom in the Corniſh, and of Kulm or Kolm in the Armoric and the Iriſh. And the Phaſiana or pheaſant was originally derived from the banks of the Phaſis in Colchos, was carried over into Italy before Agricola's proconſulate in Britain [20], and appears plainly from its preſent appellation to have been brought into Britain by the Romans.

[1] Cæſar p. 89.—[2] Varro de re Ruſtica lib. ii. c. 4. and Strabo p. 293.—[3] Varro ibid.—[4] Strabo ibid.—[5] P. 58 and 145. vol. I. and p. 223 vol. II.—[6] Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—[7] Pliny lib. x. c. 50. —[8] Ibid.—[9] Martial lib. xiii. E. 63 and 64. and Columella p. 634. Geſner.—And the Romans had hen-coops. They were firſt invented in Italy, and were very common in the days of Agricola:

Pliny lib. x. c. 21. See two antient representations of a Roman hen-pen in Montfaucon's Ant. Expl. tom. ii. plates 63. N° 3. and 64. N° 1.—[10] Dio p. 1280.—[11] Ibid.—[12] Pliny lib. ix. c. 54.—[13] Juvenal's fourth Sat. and see Camden p. 236.—[14] Pliny c. 54. lib. ix.—[15] Pliny lib. x. c. 20.—[16] Varro lib. iii. c. 12.—[17] Pliny c. 55. lib. viii.—[18] Pliny lib. x. c. 9.—[19] C. 29. lib. x.—[20] Pliny lib. x. c. 48, and lib. xix. c. 4.

II.

AS the general face of the island was everywhere tufted with large woods at this period [1], so some particular districts were covered with immense forests. Three of these were distinguished over the rest by the wild extensiveness of their range. One of them was in Scotland, and lined all the hills in the central regions of the Highlands [1]. Another was the great forest of the Coritani, which contained several towns and the seats of a whole nation within it, and which straggled over the five whole counties of Lincoln Nottingham Derby Leicester and Rutland, and even such parts of Northamptonshire as lie to the north of the Nen [2]. But the third was still larger than either, and swept across the south of the island for an hundred and fifty miles together, ranging even from Kent into Somersetshire [3]. These necessarily remained the secure harbours and the great nurseries of the many wild beasts which were then produced in the country. And from these the lesser woods and the more diminutive forests of the kingdom must have been perpetually replenished with a new recruit of beasts. In this appearance of Britain, the spirit of hunting which actuated the primæval Britons would undoubtedly be kept alive in the Roman by the nearly equal frequency of the game in the woods, and by the nearly equal necessity of preventing its increase upon them. And the beasts which roamed in the British woods and were chaced by the British huntess were these.

Branching horns of a most extraordinary size have been discovered frequently in several parts of England and Ireland; and some of them were still fastened to the heads of their owners[4]. The discovery of them equally in Ireland and in England, and the great frequency of the discovery in both, shew the original proprietors to have been certainly natives of Britain. The horns have been supposed by some, and they are asserted by the tradition of Ireland, to be actually the horns of an elk. But as that animal appears plainly from its Latin appellation of Alce or Elk among us to have never been a native of Britain, so are its horns at once very different in figure and much inferior in size to these. The horns appear plainly to be the relicks of deer, and are undoubtedly therefore the antlers of a large stout breed of our British deer. The breed must have been uncommonly large. Several of the horns were so enormously tall, that the fairest antlers of our present deer would appear as insignificant in the comparison with them as the young shoots of a fawn compared with the beams of a buck. Some of the horns branched out to so enormous a width, that the tip of the one was nearly eleven feet distant from the tip of the other[4]. The breed is now lost in Britain and in Europe. But as it still seems to subsist in the Moose of America, so it seems to have been originally frequent in the north of Germany; the horns of the moose and the antlers discovered in the British isles being nearly of the same standard[4], and the American Moose and the Scythian Tarandus being described by the naturalists exactly in the same manner. The body of the former is said by the most circumstantial describers of the Moose to be about the size of a bull, and the body of the latter is declared by the one only describer of the Tarandus to be about the bigness of an ox. The former is asserted to have a neck resembling a stag's, and the latter a head greater than a stag's and not unlike it. And both are mentioned to have large branching horns, cloven hoofs, and shaggy hides[5]. These must have been denominated by the Britons Seghs, Oxen, or Savage Deer, as Segh actually signifies an ox at present, and as in an old Irish glossary it is interpreted a Savage Deer.

Deer [6]. And theſe actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century, being evidently deſcribed by an author the cotemporary of Henry the Second among the wild beaſts of the iſland, as ſtags little calculated for flight becauſe of their extreme bulkineſs, rather low in ſtature, but greatly ſuperior to all others in the largeneſs of their heads and the dignity of their antlers [7]. Theſe however muſt have been only a peculiar ſpecies of our iſland deer. The common race muſt have been the large red deer, which have horns much greater than our preſent bucks, are ſtill found wild in our own foreſt of Bowland and in ſeveral other parts of Britain, and formerly abounded in all our woods. And the latter was hunted by the Britons in all probability with that big bold dog which exiſts only in Ireland at preſent, and which is popularly denominated the Iriſh wolf-dog. The buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and well-ſcented, active enough to run down and ſtrong enough to maſter a Britiſh ſtag [8]. But very different muſt have been the original game of the Mancheſter hound. The uncommon length of its body and the conſiderable ſtrength of its jaws are both evidently uſeleſs in its preſent courſes after the hare. And the heavy bulkineſs of its frame and the conſequent ſlowneſs of its motions muſt have equally diſqualified it for the chace of the ſtag. And as the race has been long dwindling at Mancheſter, ſo from the great neglect and the gradual extinction of it in the ſouth it appears to have been there equally dwindling for ages, and in all probability before the ſtrain was introduced into Mancheſter. Large therefore and ſlow as the dog is at preſent, it muſt have been once conſiderably larger and proportionably ſlower. The ſize of the dog has been ſtudiouſly diminiſhed at Mancheſter in order to increaſe its ſpeed. And in this view of the hound, enormouſly tall and long, and uncommonly heavy and ſlow, we can find only one ſpecies of game that is properly adapted to it. The boar the wolf and the ſtag are all evidently too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object muſt have been ſome animal that was at leaſt as heavy as

itself and at least as slow. And that could have been only the British Segh or Moose. In this and only in this designation of the dog, all his remarkable qualities are properly combined together, and have all of them their proper object. The great bulk of the game required a proportionate size in the hunter, as the strength of the one must have been in some measure correspondent to the strength of the other. The formidable armoury which the segh carried about him in the spreading branches of his pointed antlers required the segh-dog at once to be animated with a very considerable degree of resolution for the attack, and to be furnished with sharp strong fangs for the hold. And as the slowness of pace in the latter resulted from the same cause with and was therefore justly adapted to the slowness of pace in the former, so was it sufficiently compensated to the latter by the exhilarating thunder of its mouth and the sure sensibility of its nose.

The wolf, which is nothing more perhaps than a wilder species of dogs and is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh or the wild dog by the Irish to the present day, is well known to have been harboured in England for ages after this period, actually continued in Scotland to the commencement of the last century, and absolutely remained in Ireland to the present[9]. The boar is equally known to have been an inhabitant of our woods, is represented on a coin of Cunobeline beneath the shade of a tree, is particularly celebrated in a Roman-British inscription, and remained with us several centuries after the wolf[10]. But our woods also bred a number of wild bulls at this period. The common cattle of the island must have frequently run wild along our heaths and forests, and have naturally a tendency to a life of savage liberty at present. The domestic cattle of Europe now range wildly in herds along the grassy levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and wild bulls of the island continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and remained even nine or ten centuries afterward[11]. These were enormously large and bulky, all milk-white in their appearance, all bristled with thick

manes

manes like lions, and almost as fierce and as savage as they [13]. Nor were these the only inhabitants of our woods. We had also a numerous breed of bears in the island. The hills of Portugal, the mountains of Spain, and the forests of Britain, all equally produced a variety of bears at this period [14]. These continued in the north of England as late as the eighth century. These continued in the south of England as late as the Conquest. When any one, says the Penitential of archbishop Egbert, strikes a wild beast with an arrow and it escapes and is found dead three days afterwards, if an hound a wolf a fox or a bear or any other wild beast hath begun to feed upon it, let no Christian touch it. The town of Norwich, says Doomsday, in the time of the Confessor furnished annually one bear to the king and six dogs for the baiting of it [14]. And all these inhabitants of our extensive woodlands must have been chaced by the dogs which still continue remarkable among us, and which still point out the original nature of their game in their present appellations of Bear-dogs Bull-dogs and Wolf-dogs.

All animals were in a great degree probably civilized at the æra of their release from the ark, and some of them were carried equally tame by the first colonies of the Noachidæ into the west, and were wafted in the same vessels with their masters into the islands of Britain. There multiplying in considerable numbers and roving into the woods for food, they were no longer daily conversant with man or subject to the uniform restraints of authority, and in the course of two or three generations sunk absolutely into the nature of savages. Such was probably the case, as the confinement in the ark for more than a year must necessarily have tamed in some degree the wilder beasts and must have civilized in a great degree the gentler. Such was more probably the case, as this explains that great difficulty in natural history which is explainable upon no other principle, the transportation of savage animals from the continent into distant islands. And such was pretty certainly the case, as we know even the most civilized of all our domestic animals, our horses, our dogs, and our kine, to have been trans-

ported into America, and there in this manner and in a short period to have gradually fallen away from their former dispositions, and to have become as wild and as savage as most of those which are peculiarly denominated wild beasts.

These beasts must have been now caught for food and baited for diversion by the Roman Britons. The bear was even transported into Italy, was hunted publicly in the Roman shews, and furnished great diversion to the Roman people [15]. And the bull the bear the boar and the wolf must have been all equally baited by the Romans in Britain and by their imitators the Roman Britons. The baitings of wild animals were the favourite spectacles among the Romans, and the baitings of the bull and the bear are still the favourite diversions of our dogs and our populace. And as amphitheaters were constructed of squared stone and in a magnificent style for these exhibitions at Rome, so were others erected within the island in an humbler stile of architecture and of the humbler materials of clay, chalk, gravel, and turf. Such are the great amphitheaters at Silchester in Hampshire and Dorchester in Dorsetshire, once ascending in several rows of seats, and still extending an arena of nearly two hundred yards in circumference [16].

But the pleasures of the chace were not the only recreations of the primæval Britons in the field. With a fondness for the exercise of hunting they had a taste for the kindred diversion of hawking. And every chieftain among them maintained a considerable number of heavogs, heauogs, or hawks for the sport. This appears decisively from a curious passage in the poems of Ossian, in which a peace is endeavoured to be gained by the proffer of an hundred managed steeds, an hundred foreign captives, and "an hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly across the sky [17]." The diversion of hawking was scarcely known even by relation to the Romans of Vespasian's days. In Thraciæ parte super Amphipolim, says Pliny, homines atque accipitres societate quâdam aucupantur: hi ex sylvis et harundinetis excitant aves, illi super-volantes deprimunt; rursus captas aucupes dividunt cum iis. Traditum est, missas in sublime sibi excipere eos;

et

et cùm tempus ſit capturæ clangore ac volatûs genere invitare ad occaſionem [18]. But the diverſion appears to have been introduced among them immediately afterwards [19]. The Thracians and the Britons were once the only followers of the ſport [20]. Among the former the recreation was purſued only by a particular diſtrict of the country [20]. Among the latter it ſeems to have been univerſally proſecuted by the chiefs, and appears to have been followed with ſpirit; as we find one of the moſt northerly chiefs, the private head of a family, and an inhabitant of a country ill adapted for the exerciſe becauſe of its numerous hills, offering no leſs than one hundred hawks to the enemy. And as the Romans adopted probably from the Britons their own uſe of the hawk, ſo they muſt have greatly improved the diverſion of the Britons by the introduction of ſpaniels into the iſland. So improved it appears among the Roman-Britons of the ſixth century. Gildas in a very curious paſſage of his Epiſtle ſpeaks of Maglocunus on his relinquiſhing the ſphere of ambition and taking refuge in a monaſtery, and poetically compares him to a dove that ſwiftly cleaves the air at the noiſy approach of the dogs, and with various turns and windings haſtily takes her flight from the deſtructive talons of the hawk [21]. And ſo improved it remained the favourite recreation of our Britiſh gentlemen beyond the middle of the laſt century, even till the predominant ſpirit of incloſure and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces baniſhed it very recently from the kingdom [22].

Such were the manly military recreations of our Britiſh anceſtors. Such the Romans found among them, and added three others to them.

The hare muſt have been never hunted in Britain before the conqueſts of the Romans. Previouſly to thoſe conqueſts, and for ſome time aſſuredly after them, the hare was a beaſt of augury among the Britons [23]. But as the Britiſh peculiarities of opinion were worn away by their commerce with the Romans, it loſt its importance in the ſcience of augury, and became as much expoſed to danger in Britain as its brethren were on the continent. This muſt neceſſarily have been the caſe with the

hare.

hare. This appears to have been actually the case from the representations of hare-hunting which are made on several of the Roman-British remains among us [24].

When the Romans introduced the rabbet into Italy, they introduced the custom of hunting it with ferrets [24]. When the Romans imported the same animal into Britain, they imported the same custom with it. The great reason for the Roman introduction of the former animal into both was the great pleasure which they took in hunting it with the latter [25]. And the Britons adopted what the Romans practised; and have transmitted to us, their successors of the present days, the Roman-Spanish hunt and the Roman-Spanish name of the animal employed in it; denominating the Viverra in the Welch dialect Guivær and in the Irish Fircad or Ferret.

And with both these the Romans must have brought in the equally remaining diversion of cock-fighting. This is a recreation which has been wildly supposed to be the native production of the British genius. This is a recreation which was known to many of the antients and was introduced by the Romans. In the first century a grand cocking was held every year in the city of Pergamus, cocks (according to the historian's expression) being there matched as gladiators and exhibited as a spectacle [26]. And cock-matches were very common with the Greeks and not uncommon with the Romans in the third [27]. They even laid considerable wagers on the issue of their battles [28]. In both centuries the breeds of cocks that were produced in the island of Rhodes, about Tanagra in Bœotia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, and in the kingdom of Media, were superior in reputation to all others for their spirit and resolution in the fight [29]. And the uncommon bravery which has always distinguished the breed of our British cocks would soon induce the Romans, ever fond as they were of barbarous diversions, to train them up for the pit, to direct their blindly flaming courage against their brethren, and to arm them with guaiuvs, gaffs, gaffles, or lances. These sorts of exhibitions were less barbarous in their nature than their execrable shews of gladiators, and were nearly the same in the scale of

humanity as their baitings of the wolf the bull the bear and the boar. And as ſome of the cities in Britain conſtructed large amphitheaters for the latter, ſo others of them would naturally erect leſſer amphitheaters for the former. One at leaſt appears to have been actually erected, and many more were aſſuredly conſtructed in various parts of the kingdom. Such was plainly the little circle of gravel and ſand, the carcaſe of a caſtrenſian amphitheater, as Dr. Stukeley calls it, which tradition points out as ſomething remarkable, and which lies remarkably placed upon a rounded eminence, directly fronting the eye as we go from Sandwich to Richborough Caſtle, and looking down upon the large original harbour of the Roman navy, the flat marſhy level of Sandwich at preſent. Evidently too ſmall to have been conſtructed for the greater exhibitions, it muſt as evidently have been conſtructed for the leſſer. Conſidered ſolely by itſelf, conſidered comparatively with the ſimilar conſtructions, it can have been only a Roman cockpit. It is not half ſo large as the amphitheaters of Silcheſter and Dorcheſter, though theſe towns were merely the capitals of ſingle tribes and ſtipendiary, and Rutupæ was actually the metropolis of Britannia Prima and a colony. The arena at Dorcheſter and at Silcheſter, as I have remarked before, is almoſt two hundred yards in circumference. And the arena at Richborough appears to the eye to be only about ſixty or ſeventy in the ſweep [30].

[1] Strabo p. 305.—Richard p. 32, and Ptolemy, and b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 2.—[2] Richard p. 26.—[3] Richard p. 18. This wood, denominated Andred, was many ages afterwards an hundred and twenty miles in length and thirty miles in breadth, commencing from the weſtern boundary of Kent and running directly eaſt. See Saxon Chronicle A. D. 893. and Richard p. 18. Anterida.—[4] Phil. Tranſ. N° 227 (2), and Leigh's Lancaſhire b. I. p. 62, and Ware's Antiquities Harris's edit. p. 168.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 34, Phil. Tranſ. N° 368 (1), and Smith's Cork vol. I. p. 139.—[6] Lhuyd under the word. And the horn of a rain deer, ſaid

by Leigh in Nat. Hist. p. 84. b. iii. to be found under a Roman altar at Chester, was most probably the horn of a moose.— [7] The passage has been astonishingly overlooked by all our writers. It is very curious and runs thus, Cervos præ nimia pinguedine minùs fugere prævalentes, quantoque minores sunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentiùs efferuntur capitis & cornuum dignitate (Topographia Hiberniæ per Giraldum p. 709 Camden).— [8] Ossian p. 4, 81, vol. I, and p. 110 vol. II.— [9] Camden c. 1279 and 1312 wolves are said to remain in Ireland at present. But it is a mistake: see Ware's Antiq. Harris p. 165. and Smith's Kerry p. 173— [10] Pegge's Coins N° 1. class 2. And on a Roman altar discovered near Stanhope in the bishoprick of Durham about 1749 was this signal inscription, Silvano invicto sacrum .... ob Aprum eximiæ formæ captum quem multi antecessores ejus prædari non potuerunt..........— [11] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. &c. — [12] Camden p. 702 and 708, speaking from some antient accounts which I have not seen.— [13] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. and Martial de Spect. E. 7.— [14] Egbricht's Penitentiale drawn up about 750, p. 138. vol. I. Concilia Mag. Brit. &c. Wilkins, and p. 777. Gale vol. I. from Doomsday.— And bears appear in Normandy nearly to the conquest of England: see Gemeticensis p. 667. Camden.— [15] Pliny lib. viii. c. 36, and Camden p. 701.— [16] Itin. Cur. p. 155 and 170, and Phil. Trans. 1748 p. 603.— [17] Ossian vol. I. p. 115.— [18] Lib. x. c. 8 — [19] Martial lib. xiv. E. 216. See also Oppian's Cynegeticks lib. i.— [20] Pliny lib. x. c. 8.— [21] Tete, ac si, *stridulo canum lapsu* aerem validè secantem, sævosque rapidi harpagones *accipitris* sinuosis flexibus vitantem,—rapuisti—*columbam* (p. 20. Gale).— [22] In maximâ Bibliothecâ patrum tom. xiii. p. 85. Ep. 40. of Boniface, Ethelbert, king of Kent in the days of Ethelbald his brother king of England, desires Boniface archbishop of Mentz to send him a brace of falcons that were bold and taught enough to fly at cranes and bring them to the ground, as there were very few such in Kent. And in Malmesbury f. 27 we see Athelstan requiring of the Welch Volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari noscerent.—See a further account of hawking in Spel-

man's Gloſſary (Acceptor), who was ignorant of the true original of the diverſion. And ſee Howel Dha's Laws lib. i. c. 15. &c., where hawking appears to have been a favourite amuſement among the Britons of Wales in the tenth century.—[23] Dio p. 1006.—[24] Batteley's Antiq. Rutup. p. 84. See alſo Dio p. 1010.—[25] Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.—[26] Pliny lib. x. c. 21.—[27] Columella (Geſner) p. 634 and 635.—[28] Rixoſarum avium laniſtæ, cujus plerumque totum patrimonium, pignus aleæ, victor Gallinaceus pučtes abſtulit (Columella p. 635.)—[29] Pliny lib. x. c. 21. and Columella p. 634 and 635.—[30] See Itin. Cur. p. 119 and 156.

III.

The face of the Siſtuntian empire muſt have exhibited nearly the ſame ſylvan appearance as the general face of the iſland. It was in moſt places tufted with woods, and it was in many overſpread with foreſts. The ſix woods which originally encircled the ſix fortreſſes of the primæval Britons now ſpread at a greater diſtance about the regular towns which had been conſtructed near them. And the ſouthern diviſion of the county contained no leſs than five or ſix very conſiderable foreſts within it. The foreſts of Pendle Roſſendale and Blackburne filled up nearly the whole circuit of Blackburne hundred, ſpread over the now ragged ſides of thoſe extended moors, capped the now naked creſts of thoſe numerous hills, and ſoftened the wildly dreary aſpect of both [1]. The foreſt of Horwich poſſeſſed all the north-weſterly region of Salford hundred, croſſed a part of Derby, and extended into the limits of Layland, and was as late as the fourteenth century no leſs than ſixteen miles in circumference [2]. And the foreſt of Derbyſhire was ſo denominated becauſe it ranged over a very conſiderable portion of Derby hundred, ſhooting out, even in the middle of the thirteenth century, from Sankey-water on the caſt to Bickerſtaff and Aughton on the north, the river Alt on the weſt, and the broad current of the Merſey on the ſouth [3].

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The leſs extended foreſt in the boſom of which the Britiſh Mancenion was originally laid out, and the Roman-Britiſh Mancunium was originally erected, was ſtill diſtinguiſhed by its primitive appellation of Ardven Arden or the Great Wood. This appellation was naturally given it by the firſt ſettlers in the vicinity of the pariſh: And this appellation was as naturally retained for it by the ſucceeding generations of their deſcendants. The name, like many of the ſame nature in the kingdom, and like the appellations of moſt of the more remarkable objects within it, the rivers, the foreſts, and the towns, continued equally the ſame through the revolutions of the Saxon the Daniſh and the Norman ſettlements among us. And the name of Arden appears therefore upon the face of our records, even in the reign of Edward the firſt, as the name of a conſiderable diſtrict in the pariſh; the boundaries of the preſent Clayton being deſcribed in our records as beginning from Hardene, paſſing along the margin of Droylſden, edging cloſely to the ground of Sinderland, and terminating at the demeſne-lands of Hardene again [4].

This Arden had now gradually receded on every ſide of Mancunium, and had given up its more contiguous regions to the dominion of the ſpade and the plough. But it muſt ſtill have curved about the town in a large amphitheater of woods, and muſt ſtill have maintained its hereditary poſſeſſions over the greateſt part of the pariſh. It muſt ſtill have covered all the northern parts of the pariſh, the gentle knolls of Chetwood and the little hills of Blakeley. The name of Blakeley is derived from the great woods which, at the period of the Saxon eſtabliſhment among us, lined the ſloping ſides of the hills and ranged along the narrow levels of the vallies through the whole compaſs of the townſhip. The Saxon Bleac Black or Blake imports the deep gloom of a conſiderable wood. Hence we have ſo many places diſtinguiſhed by this epithet in England, where no circumſtances of ſoil and no peculiarities of water gave occaſion to it. Hence we have the villages of Blackburne and Blackrode in our county, Blakeley-Hurſt near Wigan, and our own Blake-

ley near Manchester [5]. And the woods of this Blakeley were even seven miles in circuit as late as the fourteenth century [6]. On the eastern side of the parish, the same Arden remained many centuries afterward in the woods of Collyhurst and Nuthurst and in the thicket of Bradford, the last being even in the reign of Edward the second no less than a mile in circumference [7]. In the southerly regions of the parish it peculiarly retained the name of Arden for ages, as I have previously shewn, and was latterly broken into the woods that gave denomination to Openshaw to Blackbrook and to Blackstakes, into Ashton Hurst and Heaton Wood, and into the large thicket that winded along the bank of the Mersey, gave the denomination of Hard-ey or Hardy to a range of meadows upon it, and (as I shall soon shew) afforded a particular shelter for the wild beasts in the adjoining district of Barlow [8].

Thus was the parish of Manchester overspread at this period with woods, and was at the same time skirted with other woods upon every side, having the forest of Werneth on the acclivity of Hollinwood and on the hills of Oldham to the east, Drywood and Westwood on the west, and the Cheshire Arden on the south. Within the parish, no parts seem to have been free from the native oaks but the uncultivated area and the extended mosses. The latter were certainly the moss of Failsworth and assuredly others. The moss of Failsworth undoubtedly existed in the earliest period of the Roman residence among us, as the road to Cambodunum pushes boldly across the breadth of it. And others must have equally existed with it. The same physical principles that generated the moss of Failsworth must have equally generated others in the parish. And all our mosses, in the just estimate of reason, must be presumed to have been equally prior with the moss of Failsworth to the settlement of the Romans at Manchester, except any of them can adduce a convincing proof to the contrary. But only one of them can. No traces of the plow, the ridge and the furrow, have been discovered in any of them, as have plainly been found in one of the Yorkshire and many of the Irish mosses [9]. In some of the

latter

latter have been discovered even the burnt ſtump of a large tree and the remains of a wattled hedge, the hedge ſtill ſtanding upon the ground under a depth of five or ſix feet, and the cinders and aſhes ſtill lying upon the ſtump at the depth of ten [10]. Nothing has been diſcovered in any but one of our Mancunian moſſes that even diſtantly beſpoke the previous reſidence of the Romans among us. And the watery waſte of Trafford moſs has been lately channelled from end to end by the Bridgwater canal, all our moſſes are continually cut into for their turf, all of them have been for ages encroached upon by the plough, and nearly the whole circuit of Houghs and abſolutely the whole of Failſworth moſſes have been recently converted into cultivated lands.

Sometimes the light grey ſand and the ſtrong tenacious loam of a wooded dingle, or of ſome wooded hollow upon the ſide of an hill, accidentally received the waters of an obſtructed brook, or regularly drank in the falling ſhowers of the winter, till the trees were unable to ſupport themſelves upon the ſpongy ſoil. Sometimes the trees were originally thrown or cut down, as many of the trees in our Mancheſter moſſes appear to have been actually cut down, and originally obſtructed the paſſage of the waters. Thus that particular region of Failſworth moſs which was traverſed by the Roman road, and which was evidently the boggieſt diſtrict of it, being now reduced nearer to the original level of the ground, has a conſiderable deſcent to it upon either ſide; and the higheſt region of Chatmoſs about two centuries ago, upon an extraordinary diſcharge of the ſwelling waters, appeared to be a fair valley and to be watered with a little brook [10]. And many moſſes are found upon riſing grounds and upon the declining ſide of an hill. Every drain for the moiſture being thus gradually choaked up, and the ground being conſtantly ſupplied with a recruit of ſtagnated water, the principles of putrid vegetation would begin to act with vigour, and a rank harveſt would overſpread the face of the ground. This dying every year and being every year ſucceeded with a freſh crop, a coat would gradually riſe upon the ſurface, and the matted maſs would

would in a century form a conſiderable cruſt. This is found upon our moſſes two or three or four yards in thickneſs. And as the great body of ſtagnated water was fed with regular ſupplies from the original current additional influxes or both, the moſſy tract would gradually extend itſelf, deſert the natural or artificial hollow in which it was originally formed, and ſpread over the neighbouring grounds. Thus the broad embrowned waſte of Chatmoſs muſt have begun at firſt in the hollow of a little valley, and muſt have afterwards uſurped upon all the loftier grounds around it; a conſiderable region of it now lying higher than many parts of the contiguous country, and the center being ſtill higher than the reſt. In theſe efforts the impriſoned waters have ſometimes ſo violently diſtended the coat, that the texture of it has been broken, the country has been deluged with an inky torrent, and the cultivated fields have been overſpread with a deſtructive ſlime. Thus our own Hough's moſs, or as in peculiar eminence it was denominated among us The Moſs, burſt on New-year's-day in 1633, ſpread a deep bed of filth over the neighbouring lands, and poiſoned all the fiſh in the neighbouring rivulets[12]. And, upon any long continuance of rain at preſent, the cruſt of Chatmoſs is viſibly lifted up by the heaving waters below, and even riſes ſo conſiderably as entirely to intercept ſome extended proſpects acroſs it. Nor is the firmer ground of our ſable moors any thing elſe in reality than ſuch an extent of moſſy ſoil diſcharged of its ſtagnant waters, dried either by the accidental diverſion of the feeding rill, by the accidental or regular emiſſion of its current, or by both, or having all its waters exhauſted and exhaled by the demands of the luxuriant harveſt above. Thus upon the firm levels of Walkden and Kearſley moors have been found innumerable trees, firs, birches, quickens, and oaks, buried within the black ſoil; and, even four yards below the ſurface and directly under the ſoil, a long lank graſs has been diſcovered in plenty lying upon the natural mold.

Theſe active principles muſt neceſſarily have operated with more or leſs vigour from the beginning. Theſe active principles muſt neceſſarily have acted with the greateſt vigour during the woodland

ſolitary condition of the pariſh before the coming of the Romans into it. No other period of its hiſtory could have given half ſuch ſcope to the waſteful powers as the original and the British. The woods muſt have been not a little contracted in their ſize, a town had been long planted in the center of them, and the reſt of our Arden muſt have been frequently traverſed by the inhabitants their flocks and their herds, at the period of the Saxon ravages in Lancaſhire. And the woods muſt have been much more contracted in their ſize, the town that had been planted in the center of them muſt have been much more populous, and the remains of our Arden muſt have been much more frequently traverſed by the inhabitants of it, at the later period of the Daniſh ravages in Lancaſhire.

Such was the aſpect of our more immediate precincts during the period of the Roman reſidence among us, the ſofter ground of many of our vallies being converted into an impracticable moraſs, and the firmer ground of the hill and the plain being generally covered with woods. In theſe or the neighbouring woods of the county was bred nearly all that variety of wild beaſts which I have ſhewn to be the natives of Britain, the ſegh-deer, the wolf, the bull, and the boar. The large branching horns of the ſegh have been found oftener in this than in any other county of the kingdom. One of them was dug up about ſeventy years ago at Larbrick near Preſton, having the entire head of the ſtag and even the vertebræ of the neck adhering to it; a ſtill larger was found a few years before in a moſs at Meales, having equally the head adhering to it; and a third was fiſhed out of the ſea in 1727 near Cartmel [1]. The wolf was once very common in Northumberland in Yorkſhire and in Derbyſhire, has given the appellation of Wulf-crags to a long range of rocky precipices in our foreſt of Wierſdale, and within half a century before the Conqueſt was frequent in our foreſt of Roſſendale [2]. The wild bull found an agreeable reſidence in our Mancunian Arden, and even continued in one part of it, the extenſive woods of Blakeley, as late as the fourteenth century [3]. And the wild boar roved at liberty over all the woods of the pariſh for many

centuries

centuries after the Roman departure from the ſtation, conſigned the appellation of Barlow or the Boar-ground to a diſtrict in the ſouth-weſterly region of the pariſh, and retained its primæval abodes in the wilds of Blakeley to the commencement of the fourteenth century [16]. Such were the native beaſts of our woods at this period. And with them our Mancunian Arden produced a breed of hawks of herons and of eagles [17]. The hawks were reclaimed by our Mancunian fathers from their wildneſs, and taught to purſue the feathered game at the command and for the uſe of their maſters. And the beaſts were rouzed by our Mancunian fathers from their dens, and were chaced to the ſound of the horn along the ecchoing banks of the Irke the Irwell the Merſey or the Medlock.

[1] Monaſticon v. i. p. 658, and copy of Records in the Britiſh Muſeum N° 2063, E. F, p. 176.—[2] Kuerden folio p. 278. and Spelman in Leuca from Ingulphus.—[3] Kuerden folio p. 238.—[4] A record in Collins's Peerage vol. vii. edit. 2. p. 24.—[5] See a miſtake therefore in Camden p. 616. concerning the etymology of Blackburne. The river of Blackburne has no more title than the Thames to the appellation of Black becauſe of its waters.—[6] Kuerden Folio p. 278.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Records ibid.—[9] Camden c. 850. and Mortimer's Huſbandry Part II. p. 27.—[10] Mortimer's Huſbandry Part II. p. 27.—[11] Camden p. 611. and Leland vol. vii. p. 41. The words of the latter are very remarkable: In the very tope of Chawmoure [called before Chateley More] where the moſſe was the higheſt and brake, is now a fayre playn valley as was in tymes paſt, and a rill rennith in it, and peces of ſmaull trees be found in the botome of it. —[12] II's M. S. p. 26. And Leland thus of Chatmoſs: Chateley More a 6. myles in lengthe ſome way braſt within a mile of Morley Haul, and deſtroyed moche grownd with moſſe ther aboute, and deſtroyed moche freſhe watar fiſſhe theraboute; firſt corruptyng with ſtinkyng watar Glaſbroke, and ſo Glaſbroke carried ſtinkyng watar, and Merſey corruptyd carried the roullyng moſſe, parte to the ſhores of Wals, parte of [to] the

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Isle of Man, and some into Ireland (vol. vii. p. 41.)—[13] Leigh b. i. p. 62 and 63. and b. iii. p. 184 and the plate, and Phil. Transf. 1731 and 1732. p. 257.—The horns dug up at Larbrick were forty and forty-one inches and a half in length, were seven or eight inches round, twenty-three inches and a half distant from each other at the tips, but thirty-five about the middle, and had several branches shooting out in different directions from them (see the plate Tab. 5th in Leigh). And the horns found at Meales were even as large again (ibid. B. iii. p. 184). The brow-antlers in the latter were bigger than usually the arm of a man is, the beams were near two yards in height, and betwixt the two opposite tips of the horns, which was the farthest distance, were two yards likewise (ibid. B. I. p. 63). The former were soft and pliable when they were taken out of the earth, but afterwards grew hard and firm (ibid. B. i. p. 62.)—[14] Sax. Chron. p. 113, Camden p. 58 and 420, and Monasticon p. 658. vol. i.—[15] Leland vol. vii. part I. p. 42. Hearne.—[16] Leland ibid.—[17] Kuerden Folio p. 274, and Leland ibid.

V.

As the modes of Roman civility gradually prevailed among the Sistuntians, more and still more of their free villains would naturally be induced to quit the baronial villas in the remoter neighbourhood of Mancunium, and to settle with their brethren in the town. And, in the peculiar circumstances of the British states, the current of the Roman manners must have necessarily increased in its power and have expanded in its course, as it rolled down the three centuries and a half of the Roman residence among them. The dimensions of Mancunium must therefore have been enlarged by the successive accessions of inhabitants and the progressive additions of buildings. To the one original street which extended along the road of the Romans others must have been gradually annexed, and have shot out on the east, the west, and the north. Four or five years

ago

ago was diſcovered a pavement near the ſouth-weſtern extremity of the area, extending more than two yards in breadth, and ſeeming to tend nearly parallel with the original ſtreet, the line of the road to Ribcheſter. And this muſt undoubtedly have communicated with it by a croſs ſtreet. This actually communicated with it by no leſs than three croſs ſtreets. One was laid along the margin of the foſſe, and the remains of it, a narrow cauſeway about a yard in breadth, have been recently dug up for ſeveral yards by the gardiner. Another was lately found along the northern hedge of the firſt great garden; and a third about an equal diſtance from both, remaining only about half a yard in width. And five or ſix years ago was diſcovered another pavement, ſituated almoſt as much to the eaſt as the former was to the weſt of the principal ſtreet, and lying three yards in breadth and three quarters of a yard in depth. This commenced near the northern hedge of the Caſtle-field and in the middle of the private gardens, ſtretched obliquely acroſs that and the neighbouring garden, pointed leſs obliquely acroſs the neighbouring lane, and evidently carried a direction towards Aldporton Fold. And the three connecting ſtreets on the weſt of the Ribcheſter ſtreet muſt have been aſſuredly anſwered by three others on the eaſt, and the town have been modelled into a figure ſomewhat compact and ſquariſh. The great body of the buildings muſt have occupied only the ſpace which is now taken up with one great and ſeveral little gardens, which is bounded by the high bank, the ſtationary foſſe, Aldport-lane, and a [illegible] garden, and which contains about ſeven acres and a half in ex- tent. All this ground appears to be ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed f[illegible] the large garden to the north of it by the plainly factitious [illegible] ture of its ſoil and by the diſperſed rubbiſh of ancient build[illegible] along it. In the intervals formed by the interſection of [illegible] ſtreets ſome vacant area was certainly laid out for a market-place. Markets were firſt introduced into Britain by the Romans, and are therefore diſtinguiſhed by the Roman apppellation of Marchnads among the Welch, of Marchats among the Armoricans, and of Margaidhs among the Iriſh. Market-places are expreſſly declared

to have been originally laid out in the original towns of Lancashire [1]. And in the state of Lancashire under the Romans, when there were only eight towns within its ample dimensions, and when these were dispersed at a distance over the face of the county, every town must necessarily have had a market, and Manchester must have been a market-town from the first actual moment of its commencement. But the streets of Mancunium must have been all of them narrow. The first original street being constructed along the margin of the Roman road, the breadth of the latter must have been actually the width of the former. That I have previously mentioned to have been only about five yards in breadth. And the other streets of the town would certainly not be constructed of a greater, would probably not be constructed of an equal breadth. The streets even of Rome were wery narrow in general; and when Nero rebuilt the city after the dreadful conflagration in 64, many of the Romans complained of his conduct, alledging the streets to be unwarily widened and the heat of the sun to be indiscreetly let in upon them [2]. And the streets of Silchester have been measured by the evident tracks in the corn and by the evident foundations on the sides, and are found to have been generally seven or eight yards only in breadth [3]. Such therefore must have been the streets of Mancunium, and the same inconvenient narrowness has continued nearly to the present century in all the subsequent streets of Manchester. These were all certainly paved by the Roman Britons. The Romans, who frequently spread a pavement of stones over the face of their British roads, would certainly not neglect to spread it, where it was much more requisite, on the streets of the British towns. The first and principal street must actually have been paved from the beginning, as the Roman road was paved along the borders of which the buildings of it extended. And all the remnants of streets that have been discovered within the area of the town were all regular courses of pavement.

Though the streets of Rome were so narrow, yet the buildings of Rome were remarkably lofty. They generally rose six seven

or

or eight stories in height. They were permitted by Augustus, even in his restraint upon the popular humour, to mount no less than seventy feet in height. And they were permitted by Trajan, even in his greater restraint of the same humour, to mount no less than sixty in height [4]. The elevation of the Mancunian buildings must have been much better proportioned to the width of the Mancunian streets. The houses must have been raised only a single story above the ground-floor, as such was the model of the Mancunium houses for many centuries afterward. And some of them at least must have sunk another story below it, as Cellaria, the Armorican Selliers the Irish Saileirs and the English Cellars, appear plainly from this their popular appellation among us to have been first constructed in Britain under the direction of Roman architects.

Bricks were pretty certainly made by the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, and were actually used in the first ages of their surviving descendants [5]. The art therefore must have been carried away by the several parties from Babel, upon the dispersion of the whole, into all the countries which they successively planted. And it accordingly appears to have been known to the earliest inhabitants of the east and of the west in general [6], and was probably known, though it does not appear, to the colonists of Britain in particular. It was actually known to their brethren of Gaul [6]. And our present appellation of Brick is actually derived to us from our British ancestors. The Romans appear to have had a brick-kilne at every stationary town. Their clay is generally found to be finely tempered, compactly kneaded, beautifully red, and compleatly burnt. And their bricks were constantly about sixteen English inches and three quarters in length and eleven and a quarter in breadth [7]. But the Romans of the first century never raised any structures of these materials; because they wildly supposed a party-wall that was merely the length of their bricks in breadth to be unequal to the support of a superior story [8]. The Mancunian houses therefore must not have been constructed of bricks. They must have been constructed of wood. Such universally were the houses of

the

the primitive Britons, as I have shewed before. And such uni-versally remained the houses of the Mancunians below the recent æra of the Restoration. Bricks as well as stones however must have been used in the foundations of the structures and in the funnels of the chimnies. And the chimney is undoubtedly a Roman addition to the British buildings; the round hole in the roof of the British house, such as we still see in the cabins of the Irish and the hovels of the Scotch, yet continuing merely an opening in the cieling as the fire was yet kindled in the middle of the hall [8], but being elegantly altered into a cupola-chimney by the Romans. And the British names for a Caminus or Chimney, the Welch Shimnæ, the Cornish Tshimbla, the Armoric Shimilan and Sheminal, and the Irish Shimilean, are all therefore derived from the Roman language [10].

The covering of the houses in the north of Europe was universally made of long reeds about the period of the erection of Manchester [11]. But the Romans must have introduced into Britain the use of stramen or straw for this purpose. And the houses of Mancunium must have been generally roofed with a covering of it. Such was the general covering of the houses in London within these three centuries. Such was the general covering of the houses in Manchester within these two. But some of the more respectable structures must have been roofed with scindulæ, shingles, or boards. Shingles are the common roofing of the houses in all our American colonies. Shingles were the common roofing of the houses amongst ourselves in former ages [12]. And shingles were the common roofing of the houses even at Rome for the long period of nearly five centuries [13]. But either these afterwards or others at the same period must have been covered with tegulæ, the Saxon tægles, the Armorican teolen, or tiles. These were first invented in Cyprus, were after the shingles the general roofing of the houses in Rome [14], and appear sufficiently from their name to have been brought into Britain by the Romans. But there is another kind of roofing, which is now nearly universal in Manchester, and which must have been first introduced into it during this period. This is that

light-

light-coloured species of flaky stone, of which we have numerous quarries in England, and which we still denominate by its British appellation of Sglatta or slate. This is that white stone which Pliny mentions to be divided by the Celtæ more easily than wood, and to be sawed by them into thin plates for tiles [15]. This stony fossil was first divided into plates and first applied as tiles within the northern regions of Gaul, was so divided and so applied among them very commonly in the first century [15], and still retains among the French its Celtic denomination of Esclate or slate. And as this use of it must have been introduced into Britain from Gaul, so it appears to have been actually introduced during the period of the Roman stay in the island. Some Roman buildings in Britain appear from the remains that have been found about them to have been actually covered with slates. And these the Britons fastened to the roofs of their houses with nails of iron, hooked, long, and large [16].

The windows, guinedeus, or seeing-places in the Mancunian houses must have been generally composed of paper [17]. Properly prepared with oil, this forms no contemptible defence against the intrusions of the weather, and makes no contemptible opening for the admission of the light. This is still used by our architects for the temporary windows of unfinished houses, and is not unfrequently used in the precincts of Manchester for the regular windows of our workshops. And this is even used for the houses of many of the towns of Italy to the present moment. But some of the principal houses must have been windowed in a superior manner. None of them however were fitted with glass. No windows in Europe were formed of glass at this period. The Romans the Britons of this period never once thought of the seemingly obvious and certainly very agreeable application of this metal to windows. And that regularly laminated and brightly transparent fossil, Lapis Specularis or Ising-glass, which was first used in the windows of Rome about the reign of Augustus [18] and became very common before the close of the first century [19], was assuredly never introduced into the buildings of Britain. The superior windows of Mancunium

must

must have been furnished merely with lattices of wood or sheets of linen, as these two remained the only furniture of the windows even in our cathedrals nearly to the eighth century [20]. And the former continued in some of our meaner towns of Lancashire absolutely to the eighteenth, and continue in many parts of Wales and in many the adjoining parts of England even to the present moment. But the paper the lattices and the linen must have been fixed in frames and partitioned into squares. The frames were called Capsamenta, Kaismeints, or Casements. The squares were denominated Quadræ or Quadrellæ, Quarries or Quarrels. And both were distinguished by the general appellation which still remains popular among us at Manchester, of a Transenna or Transom [21].

One or more wells must have been sunk in or near the town for the necessary supply of water to the inhabitants. One has been actually discovered, placed immediately on the outside of the town, and sunk for several yards in the rock. This was discovered about six or seven years ago upon the erection of the little alehouse which stands opposite to the gate of the Castle-field. Upon opening the ground to form the cellar of the house, an hole appeared in the rock about six feet in the square and entirely filled up with loose rubbish. This was made so soft and sludgy by the spring below, that a staff was easily thrust into it to the depth of four or five yards, and gave a temporary vent to the waters beneath. And three coins of brass were found in it and a piece of thick short gold-wire. The latter had not the happiness to meet with any man of taste, and was sold to an unknown person for thirteen shillings. And of the former two appeared to be lost when an inquiry was first made concerning them, and the third was in great measure ruined by the rust. No inscription could be perceived upon it, and even no traces of an inscription discerned, except such as fancy will perpetually suggest to the judgment upon the examination of faded remains. Wells so squared as this was in the opening, and so lined with hewn stones at the sides as this was with the native rock, have been discovered at Durnomagus or the town of Caster near Peter-

 borough,

borough, at Procolitia or Carrabrugh in Cumberland, and at Derventio or Littlechester near Derby [22]. And the excellent water of this and the other wells must have been raised out of them either by the assistance of a pole playing upon a transverse beam and loaded with a weight at the handle, by a common wheel, or by a little windmill. All these machines appear to have been early in use among the Romans [23]. And all seem to have been equally simple and obvious in their construction.

To mark the flight of time by external and sensible representations, and so to distinguish the passing hours into stated periods and regular stages, was first the work of HIM who appointed the revolutions of the night and the day, the returns of the Sabbath, the variations of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the courses of the sun. But to ascertain the uniform progress of the day by the uniform motion of shades or substances, is an invention that is as curious in its nature as it was probably late in its discovery. It was certainly invented before the days of Ahaz the monarch of Judæa [24], and above two hundred years previous to the first inhabitation of Lancashire. This primitive dial seems to have been merely a simple diagram, which was described upon the steps of Ahaz's palace, and which marked the advance of the day by the shade of some neighbouring body gradually sweeping over the face of it. And this contrivance seems to have remained the only dial of the eastern nations for a couple of centuries afterward, and first received the addition of a regular gnomon from the hand of Anaximenes the Milesian at Lacedæmon [25]. But the knowledge of this or of the other was introduced very late into the west. The Romans distinguished the day only by its two natural periods of sun-rise and sun-set even for some time after the promulgation of the twelve tables. And the first artificial division of the day was by the obvious distinction of noon. This began a few years afterward, the crier of the consuls being ordered to proclaim the noon in their court when he saw the sun appear betwixt two particular points of the forum. But the Grecian dial passed with the Grecian colonies into Sicily. And the first that was ever seen

at Rome was brought from the conquered Catana in Sicily during the first Punic war, and was fixed upon a pillar by the rostrum. This dial however was inaccurately made, the lines not answering with precision to the hours. But it remained the irregular standard of the Roman hours for the period of no less than ninety-nine years. And five years after it was reformed Scipio Nasica invented an horologe which could be serviceable on the frequent occasions in which the other was useless, and marked the several stages of time as well under a cloudy as under a sunny sky and as well in the night as in the day. This was a large vessel which measured the course of the hours by the trickling of water, and which Scipio set up under cover for the use of the public [26]. But the Britons must have been undoubtedly as ignorant of both at the period of the Roman invasion as the Romans were at the commencement of the first Punic war. And the first of the latter that was ever brought into the island must have been introduced into it by Cæsar and his army at his first or second attempt upon the country [27]. Both must have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. Both must have been for ages the only registers of the day in Mancunium. And the one therefore received the appellation of Horarium or an Hour-thing, and the other assumed the name of Diale a Dial or Day-thing, among the Roman Britons.

The town of Mancunium must have contained within it the mansion of the baron, the dwellings of his immediately attendant villains, and the numerous houses of the artisans. The many occupations that had been pursued by the baronial villains before in the neighbourhood of the parish must have been equally pursued by the baronial villains now within the precincts of the town. The many mechanical professions that had been occasionally practised by single individuals before about the houses of the chiefs must have been now generally appropriated to particular persons and now regularly followed as particular occupations. The brazier the tinman the glazier the ironmonger and others, artists all existing before the erection of Mancunium, must now all have existed in it. They were necessary to the

mutual

mutual accommodation of the baron and the townſmen, and they muſt have been actually ſettled in it with the chief. The buſineſs of the Plumbarius or plumber, of the Ferrarius or farrier, of the Tornator or turner, of the Apothecarius or apothecary, of the Barbarius or barber, and the like, often exerciſed occaſionally before by any of the chief's ambacton, appears from the Roman appellations of the artiſts to have been now firſt converted into a diſtinct occupation. And to theſe the Romans muſt have added the reſt, the mercer the fuller the tavern-keeper and the like. The barber was entirely unknown at Rome for four hundred and fifty years, and was then firſt introduced by P. Ticinius Mæna from Sicily [8]. The knowledge of medicinal herbs and of their influence in medicinal applications would naturally be cultivated in a military nation and was greatly attended to in the Britiſh. Thus we ſee a Britiſh chief in the Poems of Oſſian, who "had ſearched for the herbs of the "mountains, and gathered them on the ſecret banks of their "ſtreams," and whoſe "hand had cloſed the wound of the "valiant." Thus alſo it is particularly declared of another, that "to cloſe the wound was his, he had known the herbs of "the hills, and he had ſeized their fair heads on high as they "waved by their ſecret ſtreams." And an acquaintance with the virtues of ſimples and a ſkill in the application of them to the body were till theſe later days univerſal among the Britons of Scotland [10].

[1] Agricola induced the new ſubjects of the empire (ſays Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21.) ut Templa, *Fora*, Domos, extruerent.— [2] Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. 43.— [3] Phil. Tranſ. vol. xlv. p. 603.— [4] Tacitus Ann. lib. xv. c. 4. and the Note in variorum edit.— [5] Geneſis ch. xi. ver. 3.— [6] Exodus c. v. and Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 14, and Varro de Re Ruſt. lib. i. c. 14.— [7] Pliny ibid.— [8] Pliny. ibid.— [9] Accenſo foco in *medio*, et calido effecto cœnaculo (in the year 627), Bede lib. ii. c. 13. See alſo lib. iii. c. 10.— [10] From the Corniſh Tſhimbla the mode of pronouncing the word which

now popularly prevails at Manchester, and which turns Chimney into Chimbley, appears to have descended to us from the antient Britons of Mancunium.—And see Suetonius in Vitellio c. 8. for Caminus a Chimney.—[11] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[12] Shingler is used in an antient statute as an appellation synonymous with Thatcher. So in 5 Eliz. sect. 30. *Tiler*, *Slater*, or *Helier*, and *Thatcher* or *Shingler*.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 10.—[14] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. The Germans on the continent had no tiles; Ne—apud illos—tegularum usus (Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 16).—[15] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—[16] Hearne's Stunsfield Pavement in Leland vol viii. p. 30. —[17] Guinedeu is undoubtedly derived from the verb Guened to see, a verb in Lhuyd under the article Candle. And this supersedes at once the many forced etymologies of the word. The final part of the word is most probably Aduy; and both together, Guined-aduy or Guined-duy, signify literally the Seeing-holes.—[18] Seneca Ep. 90.—[19] Pliny lib. xix. c. 5. and Martial lib. viii. E. 14.—[20] See b. II. ch. viii. s. 3. The Lapis Specularis however seems plainly to have been used for those eye-glasses which we oddly distinguish at present by the Roman name of Spectacula or Spectacles, the Irish calling them to this day by the Roman name of the ising-glass window, Speculare or Speaklair.—[21] In Lancashire we still pronounce the word in the British manner, changing the M into P, and calling it Transop.—[22] Moreton's Northamptonshire p. 511, Stukeley's Itin. p. 79, Horsely p. 145 and 146 and Stukeley's Itin. p. 51.—[23] Pliny lib. xix. c. 4. E Puteo Perticâ [or, as the context requires and some copies read, Rotâ] organisve neumaticis, vel tollenonum haustu. And see a Tollenon described in Vegetius lib. iv. c. 21. —[24] 2 Kings ch. xx. ver. 11.—[25] Pliny lib. ii. c. 76.—[26] Pliny lib. vii. c. 60.—[27] Cæsar p. 89.—[28] Pliny lib. vii. c. 59.—[29] Ossian vol. I. p. 247. and vol. II. p. 148. and Note.

V.

THE primitive Britons are charged by two of the most respectable historians among the Romans with the gross barbarisms of a community of wives, incestuous loves, and unnatural mixtures [1]. And the accusation is too surely as just in itself as it is enormous in its nature [2]. A community of wives is the principal point in the charge; and the incestuous and unnatural cohabitations are mentioned merely as the result of the other. And this is not, as at first sight it may seem to be, repugnant to the British principles of gavelkind in private inheritances and to the British modes of succession in public. A particular provision was made, that the children of every wife should be reckoned as the progeny of the genuine husband [3]. Nor is this community at all contradictory, as at first it may seem to be, either to some particular notices in the Roman accounts or to the general tenor of the Poems of Ossian. In the former indeed Boadicia is mentioned as the appropriated wife of Prasutagus, another person is spoken of as the peculiar consort of Caractacus, and Cartismandua is named as the particular spouse of Venutius [4]. But the marrier of the maid was always esteemed as the husband of the wife [5]. And though in the Poems of Ossian we see the principle of matrimonial fidelity considered with delicacy and observed with religion among the British wives, yet this is very compatible with the accounts of the Romans. That principle might consist in a fidelity not to one but to several, to all the individuals that were incorporated into the society, who were generally ten or twelve in number, and who agreed among themselves to a community of wives [6]. And an habitual a national association of ideas will soon render any grossnesses agreeable to delicacy and will soon make any impurities compatible with religion.

The British females, after the introduction of spinning, so constantly employed in the gentle labours of the distaff the many hours of leisure which the want of literary amusements must have left particularly vacant to the sex in all ages, that the spindle became the symbol of the sex, and an estate devolving

to

to the female line was formally said by the law to descend to the distaff. And thus engaged the British virgin was declared by the laws marriageable at fourteen[8]. The lover regularly addressed himself first to the father of the maid, and requested his daughter in marriage. If the father agreed to the overture, he opened the hall of the maid, the apartment in which she generally sat retired from the men of the family, and introduced the suitor to his daughter[9]. The period of courtship among the British women appears to have been generally as short as it was among the Patriarchal[10]. A few days concluded the suit. The absolute authority of the father over the child took away all power of refusal from the daughter[11]. If she disliked the lover whom her father recommended, she had no other resource than the tears of entreaty or the dangers of flight. The British wife, like the modern, brought generally a portion or Argyfrey with her[12]. And the British husband, like the modern, as generally made a settlement or Egweddi upon her previous to the marriage[13]. This did not however, like the modern, supersede her rights incident on survivorship; and she was intitled, if there were no children, to the full half of her husband's property[14]. And the ratio of this Egweddi was not left, as it is left among ourselves, to be determined by the indiscretion of the lover, the expectations of the lady, or the contests of over-reaching relations. It was absolutely ascertained by the law, and was twenty-four pounds for a king's daughter, three for a noble's, and one for a villain's[15]. This settlement differed essentially from the modern and coincided exactly with the Saxon in its import, as it took place immediately upon the marriage, and the wife was immediately invested with the property[16]. And the rite of marriage was celebrated by the father in the short form of giving up the maid to the suitor[17]. But after the marriage was another settlement, which was denominated Chowyll and answered to the Morgengife of the Germans, being made the morning after the marriage and actually before the couple arose from bed[18]. In such a situation the man must have been in peculiar danger of acting indiscreetly with his fortune: and the law which so strangely exposed him to the danger was obliged in equity to protect him from

from it. It settled the chowyll decisively at eight pounds for a king's daughter, at one pound for a noble's, and at one hundred and twenty pence for a villain's [19]. And so ludicrously was the whole process of the chowyll adjusted by the law, that if the bride did not gain the settlement before she arose she had no title at all to it afterwards [20]. And after she had gained it, if she did not declare before she rose the particular use to which she intended to apply it, the husband enjoyed it afterwards in common with her [21]. The husband was entitled either corporally to chastise his wife or to require a legal satisfaction from her for three crimes, for infidelity to his bed, for embezzling his goods, and for abusing his beard [22]. Either of the parties, as was equally the custom among the Jews, might require a divorce from the other [23]. The itch or a foul breath were legally reckoned as good reasons for a divorce as impotence [24]. And the divorce was sufficiently ratified by a mutual agreement in private. Thus Cartismandua the queen of the Brigantes divorced herself from her husband Venutius the monarch of the Jugantes [25]. And thus Deugala, the wife of a Briton in Ireland, demanded and obtained an immediate divorce from her husband Cairbar [26]. The whole substance of the family was regularly divided betwixt the parties, and, though two thirds of the children were consigned to the husband, one half only of the property was retained by him, and the other was carried away by the wife [27]. And by a very sensible prescription of the law the parties were not restrained, as even in cases of adultery they are ordinarily restrained among ourselves, from an engagement in a second marriage [28]. But, at least after the introduction of Christianity, if the bride was accused of any previous incontinence and could not clear herself by the rite of compurgation, her shift was torn up before and behind and she was dismissed by the husband, he putting previously into her hands the soaped tail of a young heifer, and if she could retain it by her hold allowing her to keep it for her portion [29]. And, at least after the introduction of christianity, adultery was punished with very great severity, the wife losing all her Egweddi as well as all her Argyfrey for the act, and even forfeiting the former for the mere wantonness of an indulged salute [30]. When the wife was pregnant,

nant, she was bound about with a sanctified girdle. This was supposed to alleviate the pains and to expedite the birth. Such girdles are particularly mentioned in a remarkable passage of the British Poems, in which an hundred of them are promised by a chief as useful "to bind high-bosomed women" and as the "friends of the birth of heroes." Such girdles have been preserved nearly to the present times in many families of the northern Britons [31]. The parental appellations among the primitive Britons were exactly the same as they remain among the inferior ranks of our people at present, Tat or Dad being the British name for a father, and Mam being the British term for a mother. And the parental appellations among the Roman Britons were exactly the same as they still remain among the superior orders of our people at present, the Tat and Mam of the British being changed into the Tata, Papa, and Mama of the Roman language.

The mode of interment among the primitive Britons and the primitive Gauls was either by consigning the remains entire and undefaced to the ground or by previously reducing them into ashes [32]. The former is undoubtedly the most natural and obvious and must therefore have been the original form of sepulture in the world [33]: The latter is evidently a refinement upon the other, introduced at first in all probability to prevent any accidental indignities or to preclude any deliberate outrages upon the venerable remains of the dead. Thus introduced, the latter became frequent among the Britons, as the ashes that have been discovered in the British sepulchers upon Salisbury Plain abundantly testify [34]. But the primitive rite of burial was still generally retained in the island. In this manner pretty certainly was the illustrious Boadicia magnificently interred [35]. In this manner undoubtedly were all the heroes of Ossian buried [36]. And under both forms the body was either reposited in a cavity or was laid upon the surface of the ground, and a barrow was constructed over it. Thus formed are all the British burying-places upon the downs of Wiltshire, the moors of Cornwall, and the plains of Ireland [37]. And thus formed in Ireland was the grave of Lamdarg in particular, which composed a considerable knoll

on the margin of the northern ſea[38]. Theſe barrows were ſometimes made of the common ſoil around them, and were ſometimes formed of three or four large ſlabs ſet upon an edge, cloſed with another ſlab above, incloſing a cavity for the body, and covered with cairns or heaps of little ſtones. Of the former ſpecies are all the barrows that have been opened upon Saliſbury Plain[39]. But the latter appears to have been far the commoneſt among us, and is found very frequently in Britain in Scotland and in Ireland. This model of a barrow appears to have been very antiently uſed among the provincials[40]. And this model of a barrow continued very late among the Britons. It ſurvived the introduction of chriſtianity. It continued beyond the departure of the Romans. Many Roman coins have been diſcovered in one of theſe ſtone-barrows among the Corniſh[41]. And the Bedn Guortigern or grave of Vortigern in the mountains of Carnarvonſhire was a large collection of ſmall ſtones covering a Kiſt-vaen, a ſtony incloſure or cheſt, and protecting the body of the king repoſited in it[42]. In theſe barrows it was the practice of the Gauls and of the Britons to bury many particulars with the bodies which the deceaſed regarded in his life[43]. Hence in the grave of a young Britiſh woman upon the plains of Sarum were found ſome years ago beads of amber, globules of glaſs, and the head of a ſpear, the ornaments of the girl and the weapon of the heroine[44]. Hence the warriors in Oſſian ſo frequently order their bow, their ſword, the horn of their hunting, and a boſs of their ſhield, to be laid with them at their death in the dark and narrow houſe of the grave[45]. And hence the broken remains of ſwords, ſome half melted by the funeral-fire, have ſo frequently been found within the barrows of the Britiſh warriors in Cornwall[46]. This practice, a practice reſulting from a juſt but wildly devious belief in the immortality of the ſoul, was carried to ſo great a length, that favourite animals were ſlain in honour of the deceaſed and their remains were buried in the ſame grave with them. The cuſtom was obſerved univerſally in Gaul to the days of Cæſar[48]. And the cuſtom was obſerved occaſionally in Britain, ſome few of our bar-

rows upon Salisbury Plain disclosing these distinguishable remains, and the Poems of Ossian presenting us with a remarkable instance of it, the burnt bones of horses dogs and other animals being found mingled with human in the Wiltshire sepulchers, and Luath the dog of Cuchullin in the north of Ireland being actually interred with his master in the third century[39].

[1] Cæsar p. 89. and Dio p. 1007. In p. 1002 and the speech of Boadicia the children are said to be equally in common with their mothers. But this is certainly false (Cæsar p. 89).—[2] Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherson have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, History p. 71, and Crit. Diss. p.140 ; and all equally in vain.—[3] Cæsar p.89.—[4] Tacitus Ann. lib xiv. c. 31. and lib. xii. c. 36, 37, and 40.—[5] Cæsar p. 189.—[6] Cæsar p. 89.—[7] Howel Dha lib. II. c. xv. a. 5.—[8] Lib. II. c. i. a. 93.—[9] Ossian vol. I. p. 50. and 115.—[10] Ibid. and Gen. c. xxiv.—[11] Cæsar p.121 of the Gauls.—[12] Lib. II. c. i. a. 48. And see Cæsar p. 121. for the portion of the Gallic women.—[13] Lib. II. c. i. a. 89.—[14] Lib. II. c. i. a. 13. and c. xxvii. a. 16.—[15] P. 300.—[16] Lib. II. c. i. a. 40. and lib. II. c. i. a. 73—[17] Ossian p. 50 and 77. vol. I.—[18] Lib. II. c. i. a. 37. and Hickes's Pref. to Thesaurus p. 9—[19] Howel p. 300.—[20] Lib. II. c. i. a. 74. [21] Lib. II. c. i. a. 75.—[22] Lib. IV. c. 5.—[23] Ossian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1.—[24] Lib. II. c. i. a. 12.—[25] Tacitus Ann. lib. XII. c. 40.—[26] Ossian vol. i. p. 31.—[27] Ossian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 3 and 5.—[28] Lib. II. c. i. a. 6, 11, and 16. [29] Lib. II. c. i. a. 42. This is somewhat similar to the custom so well known in one or two manors of the kingdom, by which a widow that had forfeited her copyhold by incontinence was restored to it on coming into court mounted upon a black ram, holding the tail in her hand, and professing penitence.—[30] Lib. II. c. i. a. 36 and 35.—[31] Ossian vol. I. p. 115.—[32] Mela for the Gauls c. ii. lib. 3.—[33] See also Gen. c. xxiii.—[34] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 10.—[35] Dio p. 1011.—[36] Vol. i. p. 140. &c.—[37] Stukeley c. 10. and Borlase c. viii. l. 3.—[38] Ossian vol. i. p. 42.—

[39] Stonehenge

[39] Stonehenge c. 10.—[40] Ossian passim. And see Crit. Dissert. p. 315. —[1] Borlase's Cornwall p. 299.—[2] Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 698. And Carte p. 196. corroborates this account with the express testimony of the old Welch bards, who assert this to have been the place of Vortigern's sepulture.—[4] Cæsar p. 122 of the Gauls. —[41] Stonehenge p. 45.—[5] Ossian vol. i. p. 55. &c.—[6] Borlase p. 238 and 239.—[47] Mela c. ii. l. 3—[48] Cæsar p. 122.—[49] Stonehenge p. 46, Borlase p. 237, and Ossian vol. i. p. 153.

VI.

THE art of drawing out our ideas into vision and declaring the sentiments of the mind by the speaking imagery of characters could never have resulted perhaps from any principle of human reasoning, and must have been first suggested probably by the wisdom of the Deity. Such an art became absolutely necessary for a being like man, who required the extraordinary assistance of moral revelations to point out to him the line of his duty, and who needed the extraordinary interposition of consolatory prophecies to encourage him in the practice of it. The divine declarations of duty and the divine predictions of redemption would necessarily be committed to writing for the same reason for which they were originally given, to preclude the fatal inconveniencies of mistakes, and to instruct or confirm the future ages of the world. And one prediction we know to have been actually entrusted to writing even as early as the seventh generation only from Adam. This is that remarkable prophecy of Enoch which is formally cited by St. Jude, and of which a very solemn passage is transmitted to us by him [1].

The use of letters therefore is certainly prior to the æra which is commonly fixed for the introduction of them, the age of Moses. As many divine revelations were certainly made to man, so many divine declarations were certainly committed to writing, before the period of the Mosaical works. And all the various combinations of the Noachidæ at Babel must have

a regular alphabet away with them to the places of their various dispersions. This most of them afterwards forgot. They must first have neglected and lost the code of divine laws and divine promises, as wishing not to be controuled by the discipline of the one, and having no longer therefore any satisfaction in the hope of the other. And they must afterwards have gradually forgot the letters which had been taught to their fathers entirely for those ends, and the knowledge of which had been preserved among them entirely by those writings. The Gauls in particular had assuredly lost the use of their original alphabet, and in the days of Cæsar had adopted the Græcian from the neighbouring Greeks of Marseilles [z]. The Britons also had forgot the knowledge of their original characters, and in the days of Tiberius had borrowed the Roman alphabet from the neighbouring Romans of Gaul. That the Britons were for ages before the invasion of Claudius not possessed of any British alphabet at all, we need no other argument to show, than that even in the days of Cunobeline and before the first settlement of the Romans among them the British coins exhibit constantly a foreign alphabet and present us perpetually with Italian characters. In the flourishing state of the British commerce during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and in the frequent intercourse of the Britons with the Romans and Romanized natives of Gaul, the former adopted the letters which they found universal among the latter, and first introduced the Roman alphabet amongst us. This was the first perhaps that had ever been brought into the island. This was assuredly the first that had ever been introduced into Lancashire. And this useful invention which embodied thought and personified matter was instantly carried over the island, and appears from the coins of Durinum Eburo and Eisu to have reached into the region of the Durotriges in the west, and into the dominions of the Brigantes in the north, before the victories of Vespasian in the one and the conquests of Agricola in the other. We find even the most northerly states of Caledonia a little afterwards possest of an alphabet, and the celebrated Ossian in the third century making use

use of the Roman characters for his poems. From the shore of Caledonia letters must have been soon wafted over into Ireland. A continual intercourse was maintained betwixt the inhabitants of the two countries[3]; and Ireland must certainly have received an alphabet before the period which is constantly assigned for the introduction of it, even one or two centuries at least before the days of St. Patrick[4]. And the Cornish the Welch the Scotch and the Irish languages have from that period to the present invariably used the characters of the Romans in writing.

The want of a British alphabet naturally gave a ready admission to the Roman. The long residence of the Romans in Britain as naturally gave a free admission to the Roman language. And the latter became nearly as familiar to the British ears as the former to the British eyes. The Roman language seems to have been generally spoken by the Britons. Hence we find the sepulchral inscriptions of the Britons even after the departure of the Romans all uniformly inscribed in the Roman language. Such is Pabo's, such is Enecon's, and such is Cadvan's, all three in the isle of Anglesey only[5]. And though the Roman could never have been likely to supersede the genuine language of the island, yet it appears to have been greatly incorporated with it, and to have furnished it with a sixth or a seventh of its present terms.

[1] This remarkable passage has been imagined by the generality of our critics not to be cited by St. Jude from any book of Enoch's existing in the days of the apostle, but to have been merely suggested to his mind by the power of inspiration. But this supposition, however general, is obviously an idle piece of critical refinement. The passage is as formally cited by St. Jude from the book of Enoch as the well-known line and half-line are quoted by St. Paul from Epimenides and Aratus. And these quotations may as justly be referred to the mere suggestions of inspiration as that. Reason is often obliged to appeal from Criticism to Common Sense.—[2] Cæsar p. 120.—[3] Ossian passim. [4] See Ware, &c.—[5] Mona plates 9 and 10.

WHEN

VII.

WHEN Claudius subdued the more southerly Britons, he prudently deprived them of their arms [1]. But when Ostorius took possession of his government over the conquered regions of Britain, he found the natives not disarmed at all by the preceding governors, and he disarmed such only as he particularly suspected of turbulent designs [2]. And on the peaceable settlement of the country and its chearful submission to the Romans all the Britons appear to have recovered their arms again. Hence, even on the doubtful confines of the north and in the dangerous neighbourhood of the Caledonians, we see the Britons indulged with their arms and constantly prepared for war [3]. And hence some British Celts have been actually discovered in Cornwall wrapt up in a covering of linen [4], a species of cloth (as I shall afterwards shew) introduced into Britain by the Romans, and others have been found both in Cornwall and in Yorkshire accompanied with Roman coins [5]. Many of the Britons were levied for the foreign service of the Romans, and were sent in different bodies to different parts of the continent [6]. Many of the Britons were equally levied for the service of the Romans at home, and were sent in bodies to the armies in action or to the garrisons on the borders. For these purposes only could the Romans have allowed any arms at all to the Britons. And several bodies of them are mentioned in Tacitus and in inscriptions to have been actually engaged in battle against the northern Britons or actually stationed upon duty along the northern wall [7]. These must have been demanded of the states in rotation by the Romans. These must have been raised among the subjects in rotation by the monarchs. Each body must have marched to the place of destination commanded by the monarch or his deputy, and marshalled under the standard of the kingdom; and each subordinate chief in it must have commanded his own ambacton under the general,

and have ranged them under his own ſtandard. Such was the general diſpoſition of the Britiſh forces [8]. And theſe bodies muſt have been all armed after the Britiſh mode, with braſs ſwords, braſs Celts, the ſpear, the dagger, the ſcythed chariot, and the bow. Theſe Britiſh implements of war would be fully ſufficient in themſelves againſt the ſimilarly armed Britons of the north. The Roman auxiliaries conſtantly retained their own weapons of war [9]. And the copper ſwords and the braſs Celts of the Britons have been found folded up in Roman-Britiſh linen and attended by Roman-Britiſh coins.

The military diſcipline of the Britons was greatly ſuperior to the ideas which are univerſally entertained concerning it. They commonly encamped behind a ſtream for fear of a ſurprize by night [1]. They lighted their fires and poſted their centinels about the camp [11]. They even had regularly what they denominated "The troop of the night," which was ſtationed at ſome diſtance from the camp, to deſcry the remoter approaches of an enemy, and to guard the more effectually againſt a ſudden attack [12]. Their commanders frequently walked the rounds in the night, and perſonally inſpected the order and diſpoſition of the men [13]. And they had certain appointed ſignals for the day or the night, the ſeveral "voices of their kings, which the war-"riors received from the wind and marked over all their tribes [14]." Theſe were given either by the general's horn, by the beating of his ſhield, or by the exertion of his voice [15]. The ſhield of the commander was fitted with ſeveral hollow boſſes, each of which was occaſionally beat upon with his ſpear and emitted a loud and a different ſound [16]. As the general ſtruck the ſhield of his alarms, the warriors of the night moved on to their poſts [17]. As another boſs was ſounded, the bards acknowledged the ſummons and immediately attended his perſon [18]. By one ſignal from the ſhield the troops were ordered inſtantly to advance and begin the fight, as by a ſecond they were commanded to diſcontinue the fight and to retreat [20]. The troops marched up to the attack beneath the ſounds of their military ſongs, the bards beginning the chaunt and the troops taking it from them, till the

the whole army re-echoed with the ſtoried deeds of their fathers and with the predictions of ruin on their enemies [1]. And the bards conſtantly attended upon the general in the hour of battle. As his aids in the field, they were ready to carry occaſionally his orders to the chiefs [22]. As the poets of the ſtate, they were uſeful to invigorate occaſionally the fainting courage of the men with ſongs [23]. And, as they ſung the ſong of peace, the battle ceaſed along the field [24].

Though the Romans modelled the Britiſh troops into cohorts, they left them, as they left all their auxiliaries, to follow their own diſcipline in war [25]. But from the conſtant intermixture of the Britiſh and the Roman forces the officers of the former neceſſarily learnt, and ſometimes occaſionally introduced into their armies afterwards, the Roman diſpoſition in battle [26].

Thus muſt all the Britons have been ſucceſſively called out into ſervice. Thus muſt a military ſkill have been continually cultivated among the Britiſh gentlemen. And thus muſt a military ſpirit have been continually kept alive among the Britiſh villains.

[1] Dio p. 959.—[2] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 30.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 130.—[4] Camden p. 137.—[5] Borlaſe p. 283.—[6] Vit. Agric. c. 13. and Gruter.—[7] Agric. V. c. 29. and 32, and Horſeley N° 20 Scotland and 76 Northumberland.—[8] Oſſian vol. I. p. 57.—[9] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—[10] Oſſian vol. II. p. 39.—[11] Vol. I. p. 235.—[12] Vol. I. p. 18.—[13] Vol. II. p. 39.—[14] Vol. II. p. 128.—[15] Vol. I. p. 66, 77, &c.—[16] Vol. II. p. 85, 87, 129, and 130.—[17] Vol. I. p. 19.—[18] Vol. II. p. 130.—[19] Vol. II. p. 85 and 87.—[20] Vol. II. p. 56 and 106.—[21] Vol. II. p. 50, and Dio p. 1010.—[22] Vol. I. p. 54.—[23] Vol. I. p. 56.—[24] Vol. I. p. 118 and 140, and Diodorus p. 354, for Bards. See alſo Cæſar p. 90 for Addreſs in war.—[25] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—[26] Huntingdon f. 180 and 181. at the battles of Beranbury and Wodneſbury.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the foreign principle of shame into the human mind, and had made the foreign covering of cloaths requisite to the decencies of the human body; when vengeance had charged the seasons with inclemency and had armed the elements with unkindness against the votary of sin, and had made an artificial warmth often necessary to the health of his frame; the skins of beasts must naturally have been the first clothing of man. The flocks and the herds around him presented their wooly or their hairy garments to his hand. And the Mosaical records demonstrate him to have used them [1]. This species of cloathing continued regularly among the descendants of Adam for a long succession of ages. And our own Britons in particular retained it to the days of Cæsar [2]. But this must have been prepared in various manners and modelled into various shapes. And even in skins elegance must have naturally succeeded to convenience.

The next improvement in the drapery of man would be to separate the fleece from the hide, to consign the latter to the covering of tents or the lining of couches, and to combine the former by itself into vests. And this considerable improvement appears to have been actually made within few ages after the dispersion [3]. Made originally in the east, it must have afterwards taken its course into the west. But the mere refinements of dress will always spread very slowly through nations military and roving. This in particular appears not to have made its entrance

into Britain till fourteen or fifteen ages at leaſt after its original commencement, and till an hundred or an hundred and fifty years before the period of Cæſar's invaſion. At the æra of that invaſion, the uſe of woolen veſtures was nearly confined to the Belgic colonies in the ſouth. And moſt of the original Britons ſtill retained the original dreſſes of their fathers [4].

When the county of Lancaſter ſtooped with a forced ſubjection to the arms and bowed with a chearful ſubmiſſion to the virtues of Agricola, many woolen manufactories were then carried on with ſucceſs within the circuit of the Roman empire [5]. A very conſiderable one was particularly eſtabliſhed in Gaul. This was a manufactory of that plaided drapery which I have mentioned before [6]. And this had been long proſecuted by the inhabitants of Gaul [7]. This therefore, in the open commerce that was carried on betwixt the Gauls and the Britons, muſt have been neceſſarily wafted over into Britain, and was actually introduced into the iſland by the commercial coloniſts upon its coaſts. Theſe coloniſts appear equally to have uſed the drapery among them and to have not imported it from the continent [8]. Such muſt have certainly been the original commencement of a manufactory in Britain, which has ſince been of ſuch political conſequence to the nation, the ſource of all her accumulated wealth, the baſis of all her extended power! But this manufactory could not long have been confined within the pale of the Belgic ſtates. Even in the days of Cæſar ſeveral of the Britiſh monarchs ſeem already to have introduced it into their own kingdoms [9]. And from them it muſt have been eaſily diffuſed and appears to have been actually ſpread over the whole face of the iſland [10]. Such muſt have certainly been the original commencement of a woolen manufactory in Lancaſhire, which has ſince been of ſuch conſiderable importance to it, the kind origin of all its commerce, the beneficial occaſion of all its greatneſs!

But this manufactory muſt have made little progreſs in Lancaſhire before the epoch of the Roman advance into the county. The Siſtuntian monarch muſt have invited artiſts and imported implements from the ſouth; and each Siſtuntian baron had pro-

 bably

bably a loom in the offices of his house, worked by some of his own retainers, and furnishing himself and his own family with this agreeable clothing. But the manufactory of the Britons must have been greatly improved by the Romans. And the woolen manufactory of Lancashire in particular was probably carried by the Romans nearly to all that standard of mixt perfection at which it was prosecuted about two or three centuries ago among us.

The woolen manufactory must necessarily have been prior in its origin to the linen. The fibrous plant from which the linen threads are produced seems to have been first noted by the eye, and first worked up into cloth by the hand, of the inhabitants of Egypt. That at least is the first kingdom which we find possessed of the drapery. And there the origin of the manufactory must have been remarkably early, as even at the æra of the ministry of Joseph it had risen to a very considerable degree of refinement [11]. For many centuries afterwards, the Egyptians had large plantations of flax among them, and Egypt remained the great staple of the linen manufactory [12]. From this kingdom it was probably carried with every other art into Greece, and plainly appears from the use of its Greek appellation among the Romans to have been brought by the Greeks into Italy. And Italy must have carried her military settlements and her linen manufactory together into Spain, Gaul, Germany [13], and Britain. That this was really the case, is sufficiently shewn by the German the French the Spanish and the British appellations for flax or linen, all these nations having originally adopted the Roman Linum for it, and all of them retaining it almost without any variation at present.

Flax must have been originally a native of the east, the western flax being evidently a degenerate species of the eastern, and the eastern being still constantly imported among us. It must have been first planted in the soil of Britain by the Romans, and the present manner of working it into cloth is evidently Roman. Being plucked up by the roots and formed into bundles for the hand among the Romans, it was hung up to dry in the sun and

was afterwards ſteeped in a river or a pool. When the plant was ſufficiently macerated in the water, it was dried in the ſun and was beaten upon a ſtone with a mallet. The interior and finer filaments being extracted, and fifteen pounds of filaments being deduced from fifty of bundles, it was carried to the diſtaff and wound into thread. This was ſoftened and ſmoothed by being frequently taken out of the water and daſhed againſt flints, was woven into cloth, and was beaten with keys [14].

This linen or flaxen manufactory muſt have been introduced into the iſland with the firſt ſettlements of the Romans in it. And the coarſer manufactory of hemp muſt have been equally introduced by the Romans. Hence the Roman appellation for hemp, Cannabis, is ſtrongly reſounded in the Kanab of the Armoricans and the Kannaib of the Iriſh, and is ſoftly echoed in the Saxon Hænep and the Engliſh Hemp. The plant ſeems equally with flax to have been brought from the eaſt. In the firſt century, the beſt European hemp was imported from Aſia, and the plant was not very common in Italy [15].

The naval cordage of the firſt ages was in all probability thongs of leather. The hide which covered the tent, formed the bed, and cloathed the body, would naturally offer the moſt obvious ſupply of cordage to the mind of man. And as the northern inhabitants of Britain actually retained theſe primitive ropes in the third century [16], ſo the nations to the north of the Baltic retained them to the ninth or tenth [17]. In other nations theſe had been early ſuperſeded by the uſe of vegetable threads and the arts of combining them into ſtrength. In this manner the Grecks appear to have uſed the common ruſhes of their country. In this manner the Carthaginians appear to have uſed the ſpartum or broom of Spain [18]. And as all the cordage of the Romans was made of theſe materials at the æra of their laſt deſcent upon our country [19], ſo muſt the art of forming then into cordage have been neceſſarily introduced with the Romans at the period of their ſettlements among us. Beneath the direction of the Roman artiſts, our thongs of leather muſt have been laid aſide, and the junci or ruſhes of our plains have been worked up into

cordage.

cordage. And hence, and hence only, the remnants of old cables are still distinguished among our sailors by the popular appellation of old junk.

The nations of Roman Britain and the tribes of Caledonia and Ireland had inherited from their earliest ancestors many of the ruder arts of navigation [20]. Their ships were large open boats, framed of light timbers, ribbed with hurdles, and lined with hides [21]. In these vessels they transported small armies from South-Britain to Gaul, from Caledonia to Ireland, and from Ireland to Silley [22]. These were furnished with masts and sails. The sails must have consisted of hides, as the tackle was composed of thongs. The sails were never furled, and were only bound to the mast [23]. The sails were actually composed of hides among the commercial Veneti upon the continent and as late as the days of Cæsar [24]. But these slight sea-boats and their rude furniture must have been soon dismissed by the provincials for the more substantial vessels and the more artificial sails of the Romans. The sails of the Romans were composed of flax in the days of Agricola [25]. These however must have been afterwards superseded by the stronger sheets of hemp; and our sails are therefore denominated by our mariners to the present moment cannabis or canvass. And about the same period assuredly must the junk of the British cordage have given way to the same materials, the use of hempen ropes upon land and of hempen nets for hunting being both very common among the Romans in the first century [26].

The commencement of letters I have already shown to have been considerably previous to the flood. These letters were first inscribed perhaps, according to the tradition of the heathens, upon the broad leaves of the palm [27]. The leaves of the palm, the bark of various trees, sheets of lead and linen, and tables of wax, were successively used as the paper of the antients. The famous reed of Egypt which furnished the first materials and gave the present denomination to paper was discovered immediately before the æra of the demise of Alexander, and was for a long time supposed to be peculiar to the banks of the Nile. And the ex-

portation

portation of it being occasionally prohibited by one of the Egyptian monarchs, Ptolemy king of Egypt and Eumenes king of Attalia contending with each other in the growing magnificence of their libraries, and the sagacity of the human understanding being excited by the force of emulation, a new species of paper was invented at Pergamus in Attalia, and was denominated Pergamenum or Parchment from the city [a]. Of the reed Papirus, which was afterwards found equally in other regions of the east, all the paper of the Romans was made at their first entrance among us and for many ages after their departure from us [9]. The Britons, who had no letters, could have no paper. And the Romans must have introduced both paper and parchment into the island. Hence the former is denominated Pappyr among the Welch, Paper and Pabaur among the Armoricans, and Phaipear among the Irish. Hence the latter has received from the Roman Pergamenum the appellation of Parshemin among the Armoricans, and from the Roman Membrana [o] has derived the denomination of Memrun among the Welch and of Meambrun among the Irish. And a coarse manufactory of paper and parchment must have been certainly introduced into Britain with the knowledge of them.

The primæval inhabitants of Britain were equally unacquainted with the making of salt. This agreeable and useful article in our food during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius was imported by foreign merchants into the south-western regions of Britain [1]. And had it been made at all in the kingdom, it must have been made within that region of it particularly, and in such quantities as under the circumstances of the island would have absolutely prevented any importation at all. The Romans had long been acquainted with the art [32]. And they introduced it very early into Britain. The first attempt would naturally be the easiest, and confined to the margin of the sea. And a very considerable quantity of the finest and the firmest salt in Europe appears to have been made upon the shores of Britain in the fourth century [33]. But the Romans had been long instructed to search for the springs of brine in the ground, and

to

to boil the water into glebes of salt[14]. And they actually opened some Salinæ, Salainnans, or salt-pits before the middle of the second century. The first that were opened seem to have been the salinæ which were situated in the country of the Cattieuchlani or Cassii and have given denomination to the present Salndy in Bedfordshire[15]. About the same period or very soon after it other salinæ were sunk at Droitwich in Worcestershire[16]. And posteriourly to both must the Romans have discovered the salt-springs of Cheshire and have opened the requisite wells to them[17]. These new salinæ lay near to the Roman-British Condate, and must have been the present brine-pits of Northwich. The salt-spring at Condate lies sixteen or seventeen yards below the surface: but at Northwich it rises into light. The latter therefore would naturally be discovered long before the former, though the spring at Northwich was at the distance of three or four miles from the station, and the spring at Condate flowed actually within the area of it; as the mines of solid salt at the same Northwich lay concealed beneath the ground and unknown to us all till the year 1670. And the towns of Salndy Droitwich and Northwich arose successively in consequence of these saltpits, and were constructed immediately in the vicinity of them[18].

[1] Gen. xxxi. 21.—[2] Cæsar p. 89.—[3] Gen. xiv. 23. and xxxvii. 12.—[4] Cæsar p. 89.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48.—[6] Pliny ibid. and Strabo p. 301.—[7] Strabo ibid.—[8] Cæsar p. 89. Interiores pellibus sunt vestiti, and Strabo p. 305 and 307. for imports.—[9] Cæsar p. 89. Plerique interiores pellibus sunt vestiti.—[10] Ossian vol. i. p. 140. and 156. In the latter page we have the robe of an Irish or extra-provincial woman mentioned. And in the former we have the robe of a provincial woman opposed to it.—"She is "seen, Malvina, but not like the daughters of the Hill; her "robes are from the strangers land."—[11] Gen. xli. 42.—[12] Exodus ix. 21. and Pliny lib. xix. c. 1.—[13] See Pliny ibid.—[14] Ibid.—[15] Pliny lib. xix. c. 9.—[16] Ossian vol. i. p. 106.—[17] See Alfredi vita.

vita per Spelmannum p. 205. for king Alfred's preface to his version of Orosius.—[18] Pliny lib. xix c. 2.—[19] Ibid.—[20] Cæsar p. 240. and Pliny lib. iv. c. 16.—[21] Cæsar and Pliny ibid. and Solinus c. 22.—[22] Ossian vol. i. p. 106 and 41, and Cæsar p. 73. And Cæsar transported troops in such boats across a great river in Spain (p. 240).—[23] Ossian vol. i. p. 41, 45, and 75—[24] Cæsar p. 55. and Dio p. 212. From this account of the state of navigation among the Caledonians of the western coast Solinus appears certainly to have been mistaken in c. 22, where he represents the passage across the Irish sea to have been so dangerous in these curroghs. And in the isle of Sky they used these leathern boats upon all ordinary occasions within these hundred years (Crit. Dissert. p. 325).—[25] Pliny Procm. and c. i. l. 19.—[26] Pliny c. ii. and ix. l. 19.—[27] Pliny c. xi. l. 13.—[28] Ibid.—[29] Ibid.—[30] Ibid. [31] Strabo p. 265.—[32] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[33] Camden p. 194.—[34] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[35] Ptolemy and Camden c. 339. and Itin. Cur. p. 74.—[36] Richard's tenth Iter and Ravennas.—[37] Ravennas, Derventione, Salinis, Condate.—[38] Mines of rock-salt were known to the antients. Sunt et montes nativi salis, says Pliny, ut in Indis Oromenus, in quo Lapidicinarum modo cæditur renascens. lib. xxxi. c. 7.

II.

THE first foreign commerce of the Britons was occasioned by the resort of the Phœnicians to their coasts. These bold adventurers in navigation and traffic, having planted colonies at Carthage and at Cadiz, and ranging along the borders of the great untraversed ocean on the west, reached the south-western promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correspondence with the inhabitants of it. The real singularity and the commercial consequences of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer who conducted it, and have occasioned the name of Midacritus to be transmitted with honour to posterity. Midacritus brought the

the first vessel of the Phoenicians to our coasts. And Midacritus opened the first commerce of the Phoenicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with tin, a metal that was equally useful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it. And he returned home with a cargo of the silvery metal [1].

Such was the first faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the vessels of the island to the shores of Cadiz of Carthage and of Tyre, and even to raise the Britons superior in boldness and in skill to the Phoenicians! Such was the first faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which has since displayed such a variety of powers, has since opened such a variety of channels, and has diffused the overflowing tide of the British commerce into all the quarters of the globe! This effort was first made some years before the time of Herodotus and about the period of the first inhabitation of Lancashire, about five hundred years before the æra of Christ [2]. The Belgæ were not yet landed in the island. The original Britons still possessed all the southern regions of it [3]. And the trade was opened with the Britons of the Cassiterides or Silley islands [4]. These islands were then only ten in number, though they are now more than an hundred and forty; and only nine of them were inhabited as late as the reign of Tiberius [5]. But one of them was greatly superior in size to the rest, and was therefore distinguished by the general appellation of the whole, being denominated Cassiteris Insula or the one Tin-Island [5]. This was the first land of Britain which the Phoenicians reached and with which Midacritus began the traffic for tin [6]. This was known amongst the Britons by the appellation of Silura, and must have communicated the still-remaining name of Silley to its contiguous isles [7]. And this was then a very considerable island, being separated only by a dangerous strait from the shore of Cornwall [7], and reaching beyond the present uninhabited islet of Silley. The present isles of Brehar, Guel, Trescaw, St. Martin's, and St. Sampson's, the rocks and islets adjoining

joining to all, and St. Mary's and the Eastern isles, must all have composed this original island. And large banks still extend from St. Martin's nearly to St. Mary's and the Eastern isles, which are all uncovered at low water and have only a depth of four feet at high. The isles of Guel and Brehar, now half a mile distant from the rock of Silley, appear plainly to have been once connected with it. And Trescaw, Brehar, St. Martin's, St. Sampson's, and their adjoining islets, were once evidently united together. Sands extend from Brehar to Trescaw, and may sometimes be crossed on foot. Betwixt Trescaw, Brehar, and St. Sampson's the flats are laid entirely bare at the recess of a spring-tide, and a dry passage is opened over the sand-banks from the one to the other. In these banks, over which the tide rises ten or twelve feet in depth, hedges and walls of stone are frequently disclosed to the view by the shifting of the sands. And from the general remains of stone-hedges stone-walls and contiguous houses, and from the number of barrows which are dispersed over the face of these islands, the whole appears to have been once fully cultivated and thoroughly inhabited [8].

This island was peculiarly replenished with mines of tin, though the present unburied remains of it exhibit no vestiges of the antient works and scarce carry any appearances of the antient metal. But in the month of May 1767 a rich vein of tin was discovered in St. Mary's, which bore directly into the sea and pointed towards the shore of Cornwall. And the cargo which Midacritus brought from the island, and the account which he gave of it and its contiguous isles, occasioned a regular resort of the Phœnicians to the coasts of Silley. The trade was infinitely advantageous to the state. And the track was most solicitously concealed by the public [9].

Thus continued the trade of Britain for nearly three hundred years, being esteemed the most beneficial commerce in Europe, and being carefully sought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean [10]. The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the track of the Phœnician voyagers, and some time before the days of Polybius and about two hundred years before the

the age of Christ began to share with them in the trade of tin [11]. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Massylian commerce increased. And in the reign of Augustus the whole current of the British traffic had been gradually diverted into this channel [12]. At that period the commerce of the island was very considerable. Two roads (as I have formerly mentioned [13]) were laid across the country, and reached from Sandwich to Carnarvon on one side and extended from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the coasts must have been carried along them into the interior regions of the island. The great staple of the tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Silley, and was fixed in the isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangement of the trade [14]. Thither the tin was carried by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the winding shores of Spain and of Gaul. It was now transported over the neighbouring channel, was unshipped on the opposite coast, and was carried upon horses across the land or by boats along the rivers to Marseilles and to Narbonne [14].

The Isle of Wight, which as late as the eighth century was separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel no less than three miles in breadth, was now actually a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the tide and united to it always at the ebb [15]. And during the recess of the waters the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land, and carried their loaded carts of tin directly across it [1]. Such also were many other islands on the southerly shore of Britain, appearing as islands only on the tide of flood, and becoming peninsulas at the tide of ebb [15]. It is curious to mark the different operations of the sea upon the different parts of the English coast. The sea has gained considerably upon the shores of Yorkshire Norfolk Suffolk and Essex, the eastern coast of Kent, and the coasts of Sussex Hampshire Dorsetshire and Cornwall [16]. With-

in these forty years it has greatly usurped upon the Silley islands in general [17], and even from May 1766 to May 1767 it encroached near forty inches upon one of them in particular. And these gradual and successive depredations, these and these alone, must assuredly have been the cause that has been so vainly explored in the annals of history, and that has reduced the Silley islands to their present condition. These, and not the violence of an earthquake or a tempest, must assuredly have widened the narrow turbid strait of Solinus into an ample and calm expanse of thirty or forty miles, have covered half the great island of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and have left only its mountains and its promontories rising like so many islets above the face of the waves. These appear from the experience of the recent ravages in the islands to be a cause too unhappily adequate to the effect. And the same cause has greatly plundered the coasts of North-Devonshire Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire [18]. But the sea has resigned a part of its original domain on the southern shore of Kent in Lincolnshire and in Lancashire. In Kent it has retreated from the shore of Sandwich, has sunk the small æstuary of Solinus into an insignificant current, and has converted the fine harbour of Rhutupæ, where the Roman fleet was regularly laid up, into an expanse of rich pastures and a valley watered with a rivulet [19]. In Lincolnshire it has added a considerable quantity of ground to the coast, shrinking from the original boundaries, and leaving many thousands of acres betwixt the old bank of its waters and the present margin of its shore [20]. And in Lancashire the sands which originally formed the beach of the sea and were originally covered every tide with its waters are now regularly inhabited. These are still distinguished among us by the appellation which they received from the Britons, and which is equally common to the sea-sands of Lincolnshire Norfolk and Wales, the appellation of Meales or loose quaggy lands [21]. But loose as they once were by nature, and quaggy as they were once made by the overflowing of the tide, they are now annually cultivated, a parochial church has been erected, and a village has been constructed upon them.

In

In this ſtate of the Britiſh commerce, the articles imported into the iſland were earthen-ware, ſalt, and braſs both wrought and in bullion [22]. In this ſtate of the Britiſh commerce, tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the iſland. It ſtill remained the principal article of our foreign trade [23]. But with it were exported gold, ſilver, iron, and lead, hides, cattle, corn, ſlaves, and dogs, gems and muſcle-pearls [24], poliſhed horſe-bits of bone, horſe-collars, amber toys, and glaſs veſſels [25].

Such was the nature of our foreign commerce when the Romans ſettled among us. And it inſtantly received a conſiderable improvement from the Romans. This appears ſufficiently from that very remarkable particular in the interior hiſtory of the iſland, the ſudden riſe and the commercial importance of London within a few years after their firſt ſettlement in the iſland [26]. But the trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads to the ſouthern ſhore, and the ſtaple was no longer ſettled in the Iſle of Wight. The principal trade ſtill appears to have been confined to the ſouth in general and to the regions of Middleſex Kent Suſſex and Hampſhire in particular. But the commerce was diffuſed over the whole extent of the Roman conqueſts, and was carried on directly from the weſtern and the eaſtern ſhores as well as from the ſouthern. Thus new ports were opened on every ſide of the iſland, moſt indeed about the ſouth-eaſtern angle of it, but ſome along the eaſtern and the weſtern coaſts. Thus Middleſex had the port of London, Kent the ports of Rhutupæ Dubris and Lemanis, Suſſex had the ports Adurnum Anderida and Novus, and Hampſhire had the port Magnus [27]. And thus Yorkſhire had its port Felix on one ſide, and Lancaſhire had its port Siſtuntian on the other [28]. Theſe were evidently the commercial ports of the Roman Britons. Had they been merely the uſeful harbours upon the coaſts, as they muſt certainly have been much more conſiderable in number, as they muſt certainly have been mentioned upon every part of our coaſts, ſo muſt they have been equally noticed upon the coaſts of Caledonia and the ſhores of Ireland. They were all of them harbours

harbours first used by the Romans, they had all of them cities first raised by the Romans upon them, and under the Romans they must all have become considerable ports for commerce [29]. And the articles introduced into the island at these ports were the many particulars which I have previously mentioned to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans, and sugar, pepper, ginger, writing-paper, and other similar articles perhaps, besides them. The saccharum or sugar of the Romans, like our own, was the extracted honey of a cane, was brought from Arabia or from India, and was used only for medicinal purposes [30]. And all these spices appear plainly from their Roman-British appellations to have been actually imported among us by the Romans. And the articles exported from the island must have been partly the same as before, and partly the additional particulars of gagates or jet, the British jet being the best and the most copious in Europe [31], bears for the foreign amphitheaters, baskets, salt, corn, and oysters [32].

Such was the foreign commerce of the island in general during the residence of the Romans among us. And such must have been in part or in whole the foreign commerce of our own port in particular. This was not merely the port of a single county. It was the only commercial harbour along the whole line of the western coast, and had no rival from the Cluyd to the Land's-End. And the exports of the neighbouring region, the lead of Derbyshire and the salt of Cheshire, the corn the cattle and the hides of the whole, must have been all shipped at the port of the Ribble. The British dogs in general were a very gainful article of traffic to the Romans [33]. And as all the interior countries of Britain, then first turned up by the plough, must have produced the most luxuriant harvests at first, so the whole island freighted no less then eight hundred vessels with corn every year for the continent [34].

Thus was a foreign commerce first introduced into Lancashire, where it now flourishes in so vigorous a state, and where it has now branched out to so large an extent. And thus was the first

scene

ſcene of its reſidence upon the banks of the beautiful Ribble. There Ribcheſter enjoyed all the varied emoluments of it. The voice of tradition aſſerts and the diſcovery of ruins evinces the village of Ribcheſter to have been once a very conſiderable city, to have been ſuperior to Mancheſter in grandeur, and to have excelled perhaps all the towns of the north in wealth. And the commerce of the Siſtuntian port is the only aſſignable reaſon, the commerce of the Siſtuntian port was undoubtedly the genuine cauſe, of all its particular importance.

Ribcheſter was not, like Freckleton, neceſſarily planted upon a diſagreeable ſite, and had not, like it, a large extent of low marſhy grounds ſweeping for ſeveral miles on both ſides of the river, overflowed with the waters at every tide, and loading the air with rank exhalations at every receſs. Ribcheſter, like London, was fixed at a diſtance from the ſea and upon an agreeable ſite, and enjoyed, like it, the advantage of a fine air from the dry nature of the ſoil around it and from the lively flow of the river before it. And the Roman town at the Neb of the Neſe was only as the Greenock of Glaſgow the Shields of Newcaſtle or the Freckleton of Preſton at preſent. It muſt have been inhabited ſolely by ſuch as were retained in the more immediate ſervice of the veſſels. All the traders muſt have reſided, and all the commercial buſineſs muſt have been tranſacted, at Ribcheſter. The exports of the neighbouring diſtricts muſt have been carried to Ribcheſter, have been lodged in the warehouſes of the town, and have been ſent in boats to the veſſels in the harbour. And the imports for the neighbouring diſtricts muſt have been unſhipped in the harbour, have been ſent in boats up to Ribcheſter, and have been diſperſed from it over the country.

[1] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. — [2] Herodotus p. 254, Weſſelingius.— The teſtimony of Herodotus carries the Phœnician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progreſs of population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been already and will hereafter be deſcribed (b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 4.), forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500. —[3] Richard

—[3] Richard p. 50,—[4] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—[5] Strabo p. 265.—[6] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—[7] Solinus c. 22. What this author has said concerning the island Richard has strangely applied to the Silures of Wales, deceived by the likeness of the name, p. 21.—[8] Borlase's Scilly Islands p. 53, 58, 59, 62, 63, and 85.—[9] Herodotus p. 254. and Strabo p. 265.—[10] Strabo ibid.—[11] Polybius, who lived about 180 years before Christ, p. 290 and 291. Amstel. 1670.—[12] Strabo p. 305.—[13] Ch. iii. s. 3.—[14] Diodorus p. 347.—[15] Bede's Hist. lib. i. c. 3. and lib. iv. c. 16, and Diodorus ibid.—[16] Camden c. 899, 467, 411, 211, 237, 199, 205, &c.—[17] Borlase p. 88.—[18] Camden c. 47. and 757.—[19] Richard p. 17. and Solinus c. 22.—[20] Itin. Curios. p. 5, 11, and 15.—[21] Itin. Cur. p. 119, Camden c. 468, and Mona p. 14 and 115. There is also a large plain on the edge of the sea near Hyll-lake in Cheshire, which is equally called Mels or Meals, where General Schomberg encamped his army before it was embarked for the reduction of Ireland in the reign of King William (Leigh's N. Hist. b. I. p. 29.)—[22] Strabo p. 265. and Cæsar p. 88.—[23] Diodorus p. 347.—[24] Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[25] Strabo p. 265, 305, and 307.—[26] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[27] Tacitus ibid., Antoninus's Iter 3 and 4. and Richard's Iter 15, Notitia, Richard Iter 15, and Ptolemy.—[28] Ptolemy and Richard p. 27.—[29] Antoninus and Richard ibid., Richard p. 27. and 18, and Iter 15.—[30] Pliny lib. xii. c. 8.—[31] Solinus c. 22.—[32] Martial lib. Spect. Ep. 7. and lib. xiv. E. 99, Camden p. 194, Juvenal Sat. 4, and Camden p. 2.—[33] Gratius p. 26.—[34] Camden p. 2.

III.

THESE were the multiplied advantages which our British ancestors received from the settlement of the Romans among them. The mechanical arts that had been previously pursued in the county were considerably improved. And arts previously

unknown

unknown were brought into it. The varied treasures of our soil were now first discovered or were better collected. Our societies were combined into cities, our manners were refined into politeness, and our minds were enlightened with learning. And agriculture manufactories and commerce were introduced among the natives of Lancashire and of Manchester.

These were very considerable advantages resulting to the county. But they were attended by another which was far superior to them all, and in comparison of which all these united together must absolutely sink into nothing. This was that great that momentous event, the introduction of Christianity among the Sistuntii. Beneath the government of the Romans, and speeded by the communication which their empire had opened betwixt Judæa and Britain, was Christianity introduced among the natives of the north. Beneath that government and speeded by that communication did this Sun of Righteousness arise upon the benighted inhabitants of Lancashire. The religion of an atoning Jesus was now proclaimed in the streets of Manchester. The religion of an accepting Jehovah was now proposed to the inhabitants of Mancunium. And they were called upon to turn away from that deep night of ignorance, and to shake off those heavy chains of depravity, in which they had unhappily continued from their first settlement among the woods and mosses of this district.

When by the dread sin of our great representative in paradise corruption was first admitted into the moral world, ignorance was equally admitted with it into the intellectual. And as corruption proceeded in her work, gradually tainting the principles of the moral life, ignorance followed regularly behind, and as gradually clouded the powers of the moral discernment. In this state of the human constitution, the heart fuming up to the head, and viciousness in the one diffusing darkness over the other, the original religion of man must soon have been coloured with folly. The mind, chained down to sensitive gratifications and brooding perpetually over sensitive ideas, must soon begin to lose the remains of its native elasticity of spirit in the consideration

of religion, and all its religious ideas must have begun to grow bodily and sensitive. The soul of the generality could no longer rise of itself to the contemplation of the spiritual world with which it was so intimately connected, and to the adoration of the spiritual Lord to whom it was so immediately subjected. It required some material representation, some substituted and imaginary resemblance, to be planted before the eye, in order to assist its ideas and to call out its devotions. Hence the spreading tree was selected and the lofty pillar was raised as an emblem of God and an object in prayer. And the dread Majesty of heaven and earth was regularly worshiped through the medium of the one or the other.

Such probably was the first introduction of images into the worship of the Heathens! Such certainly was the first introduction of images into the worship of Christians since! And associated vice and folly must soon have molded religion into a more corporeal system. Accustomed to sensible objects in devotion and weakened in her faculties by sin, the mind must soon have lost all the spiritual ideas of worship and have retained only the exterior and the bodily. Such we have since seen to have been unhappily the case among the Christians of the Roman church, in a less vitiated state of the human mind and under the advantage of a greater illumination. Among the gross intellects of the generality, the worship in both soon ceased to be directed to God, and rested absolutely and entirely in the image of him.

Thus in all probability was the adoration of the pillar and the tree introduced at first into the world. And the Britons adopted the idolatry. They worshiped the flourishing oak [1]. They adored the massy column [2].

Matter being once made universally the object of prayer, the mind would naturally wander over the creation, and select such parts of it as appeared most splendid and important. The sun and the moon therefore would first engage her attention, and for the same reason appear to have been more the general objects of worship than any other parts of our material system. The planets.

nets, the elements, mountains, rivers, and rocks, imaginary intelligences, and departed spirits, would next rise in succession to the world the senseless deities of abused reason. And all of these probably, and most of these certainly, were the national divinities of Britain [3].

Amid these wild wanderings of disordered religion, the two original institutions of God, priests and sacrifices, and the three original doctrines of a superintending Providence, of the world's final destruction, and of the soul's continuance in a future period of existence, were all carefully retained by the Britons [4]. The great incident of the fall must have originally occasioned the institutions. And the great incident of the fall must still have been pointed out by the observancies. If the Deity had not known man to have fallen from his original perfection, if heathenism had not believed a taint of corruption to have stained his original purity, the former could not possibly have enjoined and the latter could not possibly have retained these particular observancies at all. The appointment of interceding ministers and the institution of conciliating sacrifices must certainly have been made on account of, and must as certainly have pointed out in their observance, some fixed but erazeable principle of impurity in man and some permanent but appeasable principle of anger in God. And these were retained by all the Heathens in general. But the doctrines of a Providence, the soul's immortality, and the world's destruction, were almost confined to the Britons in particular. They remained among them the peculiar incentives to moral actions. In that vitiated tone of the human mind however the united force of all these was very weak. The doctrine of the soul's immortality had the abusive notion of transmigration engrafted upon it [5]. The priests were polluted with human sacrifices [6]. And, as I have shewed before, the people were guilty of the grossest impurities and the most abominable mixtures [7].

There was something however in the Druidical species of heathenism that was peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention and to impress the mind. The rudely majestic cincture of stones

in their temples, the huge enormous Cromlech, the massy tremulous Logan, the great conical Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheater of woods, all must have very strongly laid hold upon that religious thoughtfulness of soul which has been ever so natural to man amid all the wrecks of humanity, the monument of his former perfection.

In this state of the Sistuntian religion the Romans entered the country. Their religion was fully as wild a combination of human vice and human folly, more splendid and less cruel, yet less retaining the illustrious doctrines of God's superintendance, the eternity of the soul, and the transitoriness of matter, and less adapted to touch the religious string of the heart. But the Britons, on their adoption of the Roman manners, must have naturally adopted the Roman Theology, and must as readily have classed the Roman with the British deities as the Romans incorporated the British with their own[8]. This strange conduct of exchanging divinities, so common to them and to all the other heathens, was plainly the natural result of a conscious want of satisfaction in a right worship, and a mis-directed desire of supplying the want of the one by multiplying the objects of the other. This strange conduct however must have been made subservient to the more ready introduction of both within the pale of the Christian religion. Both must in consequence of it have become less addicted to either. The Britons half-romanized and the Romans half-britonized in their idolatry must necessarily have lost all that attachment to their national religion which is merely the servant of prejudice, and which is generally the strongest barrier against a conversion.

Under the government of the Druids, the learning of the island consisted in the knowledge of astronomy geometry geography metaphysics botany and mechanics[9]. And with these the Britons seem to have acquired a competent degree of acquaintance. In mechanics they were particularly learned, as the great temples of Abury and Stonehenge and the various Cromlechs and Logans in the kingdom sufficiently testify. With the mere tackle of leathern thongs they raised such enormous loads

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as would ſtrain the ſtouteſt tackle of the preſent times. And all this learning was confined entirely to the Druids [9]. But, upon the arrival of the Romans among us, the Roman learning was carefully cultivated and ſucceſsfully ſtudied by the Britons [10]. This muſt have greatly affected the dignity of the Druids and have conſiderably wounded the authority of Druidiſm. This muſt have particularly taken away all that reverence for the former which ignorance will ever render to knowledge.

But the introduction of the Roman manners in general and the conſtruction of Roman-Britiſh cities in particular directly broke in upon, and muſt have gradually deſtroyed, the whole wild ſuperſtructure of Druidiſm itſelf. The religion of the conquered Britons began early to yield to the religion of the victorious Romans. Even as early as the firſt century, the Britons of the north deſerted the leading principles of the Britiſh religion in the form and the ſite of their temples. The original temples of the iſland were all raiſed in the depth of woods, were all conſtructed with great rude obeliſks of ſtone, and were all abſolutely open to the ſky above. Such we ſee on the plains of Sarum, on the edge of Rollright-heath, in Cornwall, and in Scotland. But eſſential as ſuch a form and ſituation muſt neceſſarily have been ſuppoſed to religion in any country that had immemorially retained them, the Britons of the north deſerted them before the reign of Trajan. They conſtructed their temples of hewn ſtones. They erected their temples in towns. And they covered their temples with roofs [11].

Thus early did Druidiſm decline in the iſland, not rooted up, as has been univerſally ſuppoſed, by the violence of a proſcription, but undermined by the progreſs of Roman learning and overborne by the irruption of Roman manners. And in this ſtate of the national religion Chriſtianity was brought into Britain. This ſtate had happily prepared the Britons for a more favourable attention to it. And it was a religion that drew aſide the thick curtain of heathen ignorance, and laid open to the view the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature of man, and the duties and rewards reſulting from both. It placed a true and ab-

ſolute

solute Divinity at the head of the creation, eternal in duration, unlimited in power, and unconfined by space, an Intelligence unerringly wise and unweariedly provident, and a Will infinitely just, unspeakably kind, and inconceivably pure. It represented man to have been once exactly fitted to his sphere of action, all moral harmony within, all natural order without, the central point of this lower creation, and a probationer for an happy eternity in an higher. It then reversed the glass, and shewed him no longer moving in the fair orbit of duty and receiving light and warmth from the sun-beams of Divinity, but voluntarily stooping to sin and necessarily subjected to wretchedness; his body ravaged by diseases, his understanding veiled in darkness, and the little empire of his passions and appetites all risen in rebellion against the sovereignty of his reason. It found his mind perplexed with doubts and his soul distracted with fears, conscious of weaknesses that required the assistance of some kind intercession, sensible of guilt that needed the aid of sme friendly atonement, but vainly casting a wishful eye for the one and the other through all the compass of created nature, sinking therefore in melancholy under the weight of sin, and shuddering with horror at the world unknown. And it displayed this kind interceder, it pointed out this friendly atoner, to the eye of despairing man; One fully qualified to mediate from the purity of his will, One absolutely enabled to atone from the dignity of his nature; a man interceding for the ruined manhood, a God appeasing the offended Godhead; a Friend descending from the Throne of Heaven, a Saviour conducting us to the happiness of it. Such a system of religion, sanctioned as it was by precedent prophecies and authenticated by accompanying miracles, must carry conviction of its divinity to the soul, must melt even the obstinacy of prejudice, and must proselyte even the profligacy of guilt.

This the genuine religion of our nature, which echoes the sentiments of every seriously feeling heart and reflects the ideas of every seriously thinking mind, was introduced into Britain as early as the period of the apostles, and some little time before

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the insurrection of Boadicia in 61 [11]. And it was favourably received. It was embraced by many. It was persecuted by none [12]. The Britains the Romans listened to the voice of revelation, and were incorporated into the church of God. And about the middle of the second century it must have reached the confines of Lancashire [13]. The genius of Sistuntian idolatry and the dæmon of Sistuntian impurity fled before it; and the sons and daughters of Mancunium commenced the disciples of Christ. Thus was the only religion that could administer real comfort to the wildly wandering soul of man first brought into the parish of Manchester. There has it ever continued since, exalting the intellect and refining the passions, the parent of many a genuine saint. And there may it ever continue, the enlivening ray of our reason, the purifying principle of our conduct, till creation shall sink in the final flame and probation be succeeded by the final allotment.

[1] M. Tyrius Dissert. xxxviii. p. 401. Cambridge.—[2] Gildas c. 2, Lucan. lib. iii. lin. 412, Borlase's Cornwall b. iii. c. 2, and Gale's Antoninus p. 16, 17 and 39.—[3] Gildas c. 2, Borlase c. 16, b. ii, Cæsar p. 121 and Tacitus Agric. V. c. 11, and Warc (Harris) p. 122. And the numerous circles of stones that remain in the island, the well-known temples of the Britons, were assuredly fanes in honour of the sun. We have a Roman-British inscription Appollini Granno (Horseley p. 206), Grannus being the Irish word Grian or the sun (Crit. Diss. p. 314). And a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenock and Strath-spey and on the banks of the Spey, having many of those circles upon it, is called Slia-grhannas or the heath of the sun to this day (Crit. Diss. p. 314).—[4] Strabo, p. 302, A. Marcellinus lib. xv. c. 9, Mela lib. iii. c. 2, Cæsar p. 120, and Agric. V. c. 11.—[5] Cæsar p. 120.—[6] Ibid.—[7] C. x. s. v.—[8] Horsely, Apollo Grannu, p. 206, Belatucadro Westm. N°. 3 and Cumberland 31, Cocidi Cumb. 17, Setlocenie Cumb. 69, and Matuno, Mogonti, Vitiri, Tanaro, and others.—[9] Cæsar, p. 120, Mela lib. iii, c. 21, Pliny

Pliny lib. xvi. c. 44, lib. xxv. c. 9, and lib. xxiv. c. 11, and Stukeley's Stonehenge.—[10] Agric. V. c. 21.—[11] Ibid.—[12] Eusebius Dem. Evang. l. iii. c. 7, Clemens Romanus Ep. 1. s. 5, and Gildas c. 5 and 6 (Interea)—[13] Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[14] Tertullian adv. Jud. tom. 1. p. 212, Lutetiæ, 1634. Writing about the year 200, he says that many even of the Caledonians were then Christians—loca—Romanis inaccessa—Christo subdita.

IV.

A RELIGION like the Christian, once firmly footed in the island, was certain to gain speedily upon the remaining heathens of it. And though it combated the native tendencies of the animal passions and proselyted only by an appeal to the rational, it actually gained very speedily upon them. Early in the third century the Roman Britons were generally settled in the profession of the Christian faith [1]. Idolatry indeed was still the national religion both of Romans and of Britons. But Christian temples were publickly opened in the island, and the Christian faith encountered scarcely any of that opposition within it which it regularly met upon the continent. It suffered no persecution at all till the conclusion nearly of the third century. And this opposition was succeeded by a great encouragement from the worthy Constantius and by an open profession from the glorious Constantine. Then the standard of Christianity was displayed victorious over Roman Britain. Then the ruined churches were repaired and new temples were constructed. And then the great rites in the œconomy of Christian worship were universally celebrated with devotion, the principal transactions in the history of the Christian redemption were formally commemorated with gratitude, and the church of Britain was established in piety and in peace immediately after the commencement of the fourth century [2].

When the Christians were first formed into a society, they must necessarily have been subjected to a regimen. They could

not have been left by the Divinity to examine the various models of government and to settle the best for themselves. He who molded the frame and therefore knew the springs of the human heart would never have referred a point to the determination of man, which from the vanity of mere speculation and the necessary want of sufficient experience has always been so variously considered by man, which from the greatness of its object engages most strongly the two ruling passions of the soul, pride and selfishness, and which for both reasons must certainly have embroiled the church with the wildest dissensions, and have assuredly torn up the infant establishment from its base. The God of wisdom could not thus have instituted his church in folly. As a society, as a society modelled in wisdom and founded on peace, the individuals of it must certainly have been retained in their proper spheres by a concentrating principle of obedience in some and by a regulating power of government in others. But the Christian was not modelled merely like a common society. It had this peculiarity in the frame and texture of its constitution, that it could not have begun to exist at all without a previously instituted platform of government. It began to exist at first by the baptismal administration of the apostles. And the apostolical power of introducing proselytes into it must have necessarily included in its idea a power of government over the proselytes afterwards. The first Christians were actually admitted into the pale by apostolical ministration. The first Christians were actually subject in the pale to apostolical government.

The mode of polity that was first delivered to the apostles for the present government of the church must have been the same that was continued over the church in the days of the apostles. The mode of polity that was either then or afterwards appointed by Christ for the regimen of his church in all ages must have been the same that was carried with Christianity into all nations and has continued with Christianity in all ages. And both were indubitably the monarchical or episcopal. This was the model of ecclesiastical polity that was

 observed

observed in the age of the apostles [4]. This was the model of ecclesiastical polity that was observed in all the Christian nations of the world. No other ever made its appearance in the church till the year 1541. And this was the model of ecclesiastical polity that was particularly erected in Britain. The best platform of government in itself, it appears to have been early introduced into the island. And the Roman conquests among us were regularly partitioned into dioceses as early at least as the year 314 [5].

The first bishopricks of the church would naturally be commensurate with the provinces of the state. The first sees of the bishops would naturally be settled at the capitals of the provinces. In consequence of the former, the bishopricks assumed the general denominations of Provinces and Dioceses. In consequence of the latter, the bishopricks adopted the particular appellations of the *Provincial* Capitals. The first dioceses in Britain therefore must have been the same as the provinces of the Romans, and must have been, like them, only four in number within the compass of the present England and Wales [5]. And three of these provincial bishops appear as subscribers to the Council of Arles in 314; Eborius Episcopus, de Civitate Eboracensi, Provinciâ Britanniâ; Restitutus Episcopus, de Civitate Londinensi, Provinciâ supra-scriptâ; and Adelphius Episcopus, de Civitate Coloniâ Londinensium [6]. These were all of them indisputably bishops in Britain. And two of these were evidently the bishops of the provinces Maxima and Flavia. Eborius had his seat at York, the metropolis of our Maxima. And Restitutus had his residence at London, a city probably superior in grandeur to all the other cities of Flavia and the capital of them and of the province [7].

But where shall we fix the seat of Adelphius? Where shall we find the site of his Colonia Londinensium? The enquiry has long engaged the busy efforts of conjectural criticism. But the difficulty is not yet removed. Camulodunum, Isca Silurum, and Lindum, have all three been supposed by different critics to be the particular residence of Adelphius [8]. The interior con-

dition

dition of Roman Britain was very imperfectly known to the critics, and a mere community of nature or the smallest similarity of name was therefore naturally thought a sufficient reason for such a supposition. About sixty years ago the MSS. of Ravennas being found to exhibit the kindred appellation of Colonia Lindum, and both these reasons being united together, the hint was eagerly caught by the antiquarians, and the see of Adelphius has ever since been authoritatively fixed at Lincoln [9]. But the Lindum Colonia of Ravennas and of Richard is certainly not the Colonia Londinensium of the Council. No authority of manuscripts permits us with these critics to change Londinensium into Lindinensium. No proprieties of language allow us with these critics to deduce either Londinensium or Lindinensium from Lindum [10]. And, if both the one and the other could be permitted, Lincoln could not possibly be the see of a bishoprick, being actually in the same province and consequently in the same diocese with London.

The genuine name is Civitas Colonia Londinensium. And we have no right to suppose a corruption merely because we meet with a difficulty. The site of the colony must certainly be sought in a region of Britain remote from Lincolnshire and in a province or diocese distinct from Flavia. And a few observations will actually lead us to it.

The second Augustan legion, which was stationed at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, was equally stationed at London. The head-quarters of the legion, once settled at Caerleon, were afterwards transferred to London. Hence in the last century a sepulchral inscription was discovered upon the declivity of Ludgate-hill addressed to the memory of one of these legionaries [11]. And hence Augusta, the legionary name of Caerleon at first, became early in the fourth century the legionary appellation of London [12]. At London the head-quarters of the legion continued for some time [13]. And while the two or three principal cohorts that must have composed the colony continued stationary at it, they might easily acquire the appellation of Londinenses. The legionaries might as naturally receive the title of Londi-

nenſes as London obtain the title of Legio Auguſta. And the Roman troops in general pretty frequently received appellations from the names of their quarters, ſix or ſeven legions of Roman citizens (as I have previouſly ſhewn [13]) being denominated from the places of their reſidence, and a body of Nervii ſtationed at Dictis being called Dictenſes, another body lodged at Longovicus being named Longovicarii, and the garriſons of Petriana and Derventio aſſuming the titles of Ala Petriana and Derventionenſes [14]. Thus denominated, the principal cohorts were afterwards removed from London to Rhutupæ [15]. And the new colony might properly obtain and would naturally receive the title of Colonia Londinenſium. Rhutupæ was certainly the only colony in the kingdom that could poſſibly have received this appellation at all. Rhutupæ was certainly a colony of the ſecond legion and the metropolis of the province. And Rhutupæ appears certainly in the earlieſt period of the Saxons to have actually been diſtinguiſhed among them by the very ſame denomination of London, London Port, and Lundenwic [16].

Thus were three biſhops appointed as early as the year 314 over the three provinces of Britannia Prima, Flavia, and our own Maxima. Thus did three biſhops fix their reſidence as early as the year 314 at the three capitals of the provinces, Rhutupæ, Londinium, and our own Eboracum. The biſhop of Britannia Secunda, whoſe ſee was at Caerleon the Roman metropolis of Wales, was either abſent from the council of Arles or ſubſcribed not to the decrees of the biſhops [17]. And the county of Lancaſter in general and the pariſh of Mancheſter in particular were now ſubject equally to the civil authority and to the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy of York.

Thus was Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed at firſt coeval with Chriſtianity in Britain. Thus did Epiſcopacy flouriſh afterwards coequal with Chriſtianity in the iſland. And Epiſcopacy and Chriſtianity have continued inſeparably united among us to the preſent moment.

[1] Origen on Ezek. tom. iv.—Britannia—consensit, and Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[2] Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[3] Ignatius's Epist. ad Smyrnæos s. 8. and ad Polycarpum s. 6 &c. (Russell.)—[4] Sirmondus's Concilia Gallica Lutetiæ 1629, tom. I. p. 9.—[5] Richard p. 15—[6] Sirmondus tom. I. p. 9.—[7] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[8] Usher, Selden, Spelman, Stillingfleet, &c.—[9] Gale's Antoninus, Baxter, Carte, &c.—[10] Bede calls the region Lindissis and the town Lindo-colina lib. ii. c. 16.—[11] Wren's Parentalia p. 265.—[12] Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8. Lundinium vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit.—[13] Ch. vi. s. 4.—[14] Notitia.—[15] Ibid.—[16] Somner's R. Forts in Kent p. 9 &c.—[17] Richard p. 22. and Carte p. 214. a Note. And the bishop of Valentia was equally absent, whose see was at Leucophibia or Whitern in Galloway; a see being settled there in the times of the Britons, and Nynias a Briton being bishop of it multo tempore before 565, Bede lib. iii. c. 4.

The story of king Lucius, which has been so greatly canvassed by our historical critics, can be true only in the manner in which it is represented by Mr. Carte vol. I. p. 137. And I have already evinced that there were kings in Britain beneath the Roman government. But the two coins impressed with a cross and the letters LVC, first mentioned by archbishop Usher and more or less depended upon by all, must certainly be spurious. Usher's manner of mentioning them renders the fact infinitely precarious. He had seen two coins, he says, which were marked with the sign of the cross and Literis *obscurioribus* quæ LVC denotare *videbantur* (p. 22, 1687). And no British king, as I have already shewn from Gildas, was allowed to mint money after the Roman conquest.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

I.

IN the two military municipies and the seven military colonies which were planted by the Romans in the island, the lands assigned to the legionaries must have regularly descended to their heirs. This the nature of such assignations necessarily requires. This the continuance of the same legions in the same municipies and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the case particularly with the sixth, very evidently demonstrates. Thus inherited, the lands were undoubtedly military feuds in themselves, and were undoubtedly enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male descendants from the original legionaries must have been all legionaries by birth, at the military age must have all engaged by turns in the regular duties of the garrison at home, and must all by turns have been draughted out for the occasional duties of the island abroad.

In the revolution of three or four centuries the males of the municipies and colonies must have been considerably multiplied, and the number of legionaries in each of them have been considerably augmented. In the revolution of three or four centuries the original three or four thousand perhaps of each garrison, merely by the natural effect of a successive propagation, and only by a single duplication of the whole in each successive generation, must regularly have dilated themselves into a very considerable number. Each of the nine cities must at least have decupled the full amount of its original inhabitants in that long

period

period of time; and the native Romans of the island must have been nearly half a million of men at the conclusion of it. And history remarkably coincides with the reasoning, actually mentioning the Roman inhabitants of the island as a distinct nation of themselves, and considering them equally with the populous nations of the Britons the Angles the Picts and the Scots within it[1].

In this gradual multiplication of the Roman legionaries, and in that gradual increase of the Roman power which must have been the natural result of it, the necessity of maintaining so many troops in the island must have been regularly taken away. And about the close of the third or the commencement of the fourth century several of the legions must have been nearly superfluous in Britain. Hence we find the twentieth Valerian Victorious the tenth Antonian Augustan and the seventh Twin Claudian to have been recalled from the island before the fifth century[2]. And hence we find the first of them in particular to have not been recalled nearly till the middle of the fourth century, till some time after the date of Antonine's Itinerary and the construction of the famous Constantinople[3]. Having very large bodies of native legionaries in her municipies and colonies, the island was sufficiently able to dismiss three of her five legions, and was sufficiently defended against her enemies by the remaining two.

The full legionary complement of men must have been draughted out of the military citizens that respectively belonged to each of the three legions, must have marched away under the legionary standard, and must have embarked with their wives and children for the continent. The rest remained behind. And these, together with the military citizens that were afterwards left by the two other legions upon the final departure of all, must have necessarily formed a very considerable figure in the island, the amount of their dispersed numbers entitling them to the collective appellation of a nation, and the Romans being denominated as one of the five tribes that divided the island betwixt them. Thus Bede declares the Divinity to

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have been worſhiped among us in the languages of five different nations, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins. Thus the Saxon Chronicle mentions five ȝeðeode or nations to have inhabited Britain, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Boc-ledene[a]. And what deciſively evinces the Boc-ledene and the Latini of theſe authors to be actually and abſolutely the original Romans, they both immediately after the mention of theſe ſeveral nations endeavour to aſcertain the periods of their primary introduction into Britain; and referring the firſt advent of the Britons the Picts and the Scots to certain dark and ſucceſſive æras, they fix the firſt arrival of the Angles in the time of Hengiſt, and they ſettle the firſt arrival of the Latins in the days of Cæſar[1].

In this interior condition of the iſland, Mancunium and the Siſtuntii enjoyed in peace all the various advantages of the Roman reſidence among them, employed in the proſecution of commerce, engaged in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and bleſt equally in the feeling of preſent and in the proſpect of future happineſs. But alas! the period was now haſtily approaching when the general happineſs of the iſland was to ceaſe. War was now ready to enter the five provinces of Roman Britain, to deform the fair ſcenes of Roman cultivation and Britiſh refinement, to ravage her rich vallies, and to deface her gay cities. Miſery was now ready to be let looſe upon the five dioceſes of Roman Britain, to diſtinguiſh by the teſt of ſufferings the mere votary of the eſtabliſhment from the cordial embracer of the religion, to give the genuine Chriſtian the honourable privilege of retaining his faith under the weight of diſcouragement and the eſtabliſhment of idolatry, and to call out all thoſe ſtronger graces of the ſoul which ſhoot active through the breaſt in the trying period of calamity, and which more particularly exalt the ſentiment invigorate the mind and dignify the man.

The Caledonians the Saxons the Scots were all preparing to deſcend upon Roman Britain, united by the bond of intereſt and impelled by the hope of conqueſt. This was the ſad commencement of an æra of ſorrows to her. And this it is re-

quiſite

quiſite to explain at large, to remove the thick cloud which ignorance has raiſed before the hiſtory, to clear away the wild whimſies which folly has incorporated with the facts, and to give a brief authentic detail of the whole. In theſe momentous particulars the citizens of Mancunium were very deeply intereſted. Theſe deprived them of their friendly protectors in the adjoining caſtrum of the Caſtle-field. Theſe broke for ever the chain of connection that had ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between Mancunium and Rome. And theſe brought the ravages of war into our borders, introduced the natives of North-Germany into our pariſh, and even planted a colony of barbarians from the Elbe in our ſtreets.

[1] Bede's Hiſt. c. i. l. 1, and Sax. Chron. p. 1.—[2] Notitia.—[3] Antonini Itinerarium p. 9. Bertius's edit. & Iter Brit. 1, 2, and 12.—[4] Bede's Hiſt. l. i. c. 1.—[5] Sax. Chron. p. 1.—[6] Bede l. i. c. 1-15, and Sax. Chron. p. 1—11.

II.

THE Britiſh nations beyond the Vallum of Antoninus were ſixteen in number. Of theſe ſome had once been entirely reduced by the Romans. Of theſe others had ever remained independent of them.

[1] The former conſiſted of ſix tribes and had about twenty ſtations among them [2]. The Horeſtii lived immediately beyond the wall, in Sterling and in Fife, in the South-eaſtern parts of Strathern and Menteith, and in that ſmall portion of Perth which is to the ſouth of the Tay; being bounded by the Tay on the north, and having the towns of Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria in their dominions. Before the coming of the Romans the Horeſtii had been attacked and ſubdued by the Damnii,

nii; and their towns are therefore afcribed to the Damnii by Ptolemy. But, after that coming and the erection of the forts or the wall, the Horeftii were entirely feparated from the Damnii, became a part of the new province Vefpafiana, and were fubjected to the new capital Victoria. The Vecturones refided in the reft of Perth, in all Gawry, Angus, and Merns, and in the narrow region of Mar which is to the fouth of the Dee; having the towns or ftations Orrea, Ad Hiernam, Ad Tavum, Ad Eficam, and Ad Tinam [3], and acknowledging the firft of them for their capital. The Taixali lived beyond the Dee, in the reft of Mar and in Buchan, owning Devana or Old Aberdeen in the former for their metropolis, and giving their own name to Buchan Nefs or Kinnaird's Head upon the margin of their fhore. Adjoining to thefe on the Weft along the retreating line of the coaft, and feparated from them by an arm of the Grampian hills about the North-weftern limits of Buchan, the Vacomagi poffeffed the regions of Bamff, Murray, Invernefs to the town of Invernefs, nearly the whole of Badenock and Argyle, and the fmall part of Broadalbin that lies to the North of the Tay; having the towns of Tueffis, Rothes upon the Spey in Murray, Banatia [1] or Bane-caftle, Varis, Far upon Nairne river, and Ptorotone or Invernefs, in the diftrict of Invernefs, Ad Tueffim or Ruthvan upon the Spey in Badenock, and Tamea or Brumchefter in Athol [4]. To the South of the Vacomagi were the Damnii Albani, a tribe totally omitted by Ptolemy and therefore certainly fubjected to another, a tribe actually fubjected to their neighbours the Damnii, receiving the former half of their appellation from their conquerors and the latter from the Alben or heights among which they were fituated, and confidered as confifting of two gentes or tribes, which inhabited the fmall part of Athol and Broadalbin that is to the fouth of the Tay, and the remainder of Strathern and Menteith [5]. And, to the South of thefe, the Attacotti refided in Lenox [6], extending only along the fide of the Cluyd and a part of the Roman Vallum, and having Al-cluith or Balclutha [7], the town upon the Cluid, Dun-Briton or Dun-Barton, the town of the Britons, for their capital. Such were the once fubjected Britons of the North, formed into

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the province of Vespasiána, and owning Ptorotone for their provincial capital [8].

[9] The unconquered Britons consisted of ten tribes, and inhabited the large remainder of Scotland. To the south [10] of Murray Frith were placed the Proper Caledonians, possessing the interior regions of Inverness, the western of Badenock and Broadalbin, the eastern of Lochaber, and the north-eastern of Lorn, reaching in a long line across the island from the Frith of Murray in the North-East to the head of the Sinus Lelamnonius, Lelannonius, Lelanus, or Loch Fyn, in the South-West [11], and having all the western parts of their country quite covered over with the Caledonian forest [12]. But along the eastern coast of the island, and to the north of these and of Murray Frith [13], the Cantæ enjoyed all the eastern parts of Ross, having the river Loxa or the Frith of Cromarty passing through the center of their possessions, the promontory Penoxullum, Uxel Pen, or the High Head, the Lofty Bank of Ptolemy, and the present Tarbeath Ness, on one side of them, and the river Abona or the Frith of Dornock to the North of them. Beyond the Frith were the Logi or the maritime people, inhabiting the sea-coast of Sutherland, and reaching to the river Ila or Ale in Caithness. And the Carnabii inhabited the rest of Caithness, being the most north-easterly of all the Britons, and having the two promontories of Viruedrum and Berubium [14], the Dungsby and the Ness Heads, to the East and North-East of them. To the West of these were the Catini, spreading along the whole sea-coast of Strathnavern to the west; as to the south of the Catini, in the interior districts of Strathnavern and Sutherland, and adjoining on the East to the Logi [15], were the Mertæ. The Catini had been subdued by the Carnabii, who thereby extended their dominions along all the northern shore of the island from the river Ila on the South-East to the promontory Tarvidum, Orcas, or Faro Head on the North-West [16], and to the river Nabæus or Loch Assynt beyond it on the South-West. To the South of the Nabæus, the Carnonacæ extended along the shore of Ross, having the Promontorium Ebudum or the headland of Row Stoir Assynt on one side of their country and the Volsas Sinus or Loch Breyn

to the south of it. Bounded by Loch Breyn on the north and by the river Itys on the south, a river placed by Ptolemy two degrees to the south of the Volsas Sinus and probably the Sheyl in Invernesshire, were the Cerones; as the Creones were limited by the Itys on the north and the river Longus or Loch Long on the south, a river placed by Ptolemy three or four degrees to the south of the Itys [16]: these two nations possessing all the remainder of Ross, of Inverness, of Lochaber, and of Lorn, and the whole of Argyle [17]. And the Epidii inhabited the little residue of Scotland, the narrow chersonesus that is formed by the ocean on the west and Loch Fyn on the east, which contains Cantire and Knapdale, and which terminates in the Epidium Promontorium or the Mull of Cantire [18].

All these in the days of Agricola were united together under one monarch and combined into one monarchy [19]. This monarch was a Pendragon or dictator, one king exalted into a pre-eminence over the rest upon the alarming invasion of the country by Agricola, and, like the Pendragons that had been previously created in the south, invested with a military authority over them. The Pendragonship must certainly have been instituted at first among the Southern Britons upon the first invasion or the subsequent encroachments of their first common enemies, the Belgæ, and was therefore first instituted in all probability after Divitiacus had obtained the command of all Belgic Britain [20]. The united Belgæ appear to have gained very considerable advantages over the disunited Britons [21]. The Cantii, who had previously seized the south of Middlesex and the fortress of London [22], and who, as Novantes or new-comers in Middlesex, had their fortress distinguished by the appellation of Tre-Novantum or the abode of the Novantes [23], and afterwards received or assumed the discriminating title of Trinobantes, at that period in all probability enlarged their dominions, as I have formerly shewn their possessions to have been actually extended, over all Middlesex and all Essex. The Regni, who were previously confined, I suppose, to the county of Sussex, now pretty certainly obtained their dominions in Surry, and (as appears from the namo

name of their town, Novio-magus[24]) there acquired the appellation of Novieu or strangers. And it was at this period most probably that the Damnonii subdued the Carnabii of West-Cornwall and the Cimbri of North-Cornwall and South-Somersetshire, and that the Proper Belgæ conquered the Segontiaci in the contiguous parts of Hampshire and Berkshire, and reduced the Hædui in the north of Somersetshire the north-west of Wiltshire and the south-west of Glocestershire. Such successes must have greatly alarmed the native Britons, and must have strongly solicited them to copy the beneficial practice of their enemies, and to unite, like them, under one common governour. And accordingly we soon find all the southerly tribes combined together under one head, and jointly prosecuting the war against the Belgæ[25]. This head was the famous Cassi-vellaunus or Cassibellinus[26], the Belin or king of the Cassii[27]. He was created the Pendragon or the head of the kings, the whole military authority over the combined tribes was committed to him, and under his conduct the war was carried on with vigour[28]. The Cassii recovered all the country which had been seized by the Trinobantes, and which must pretty certainly have been previously taken away from themselves, the whole tribe of the Trinobantes being reduced into subjection[29]. And the Bibroces recovered from the Regni what as certainly had been their own before, the county of Surry, even pursued the Regni into Sussex, and absolutely subdued the kingdom[30]. Such successes would strongly recommend the new model of government to the Britons. And at the second and more formal descent of Cæsar upon the island both the Belgæ and the Britons very prudently united together for their common safety, and the Pendragon of the latter became equally for a short period the dictator of the former[31]. And this dignity was not merely temporary, created for the emergency and expiring with it. It was a dignity that continued for life in the possessor, and that seems even to have descended at his death to his male heir. Thus Cunobeline and Caractacus, the two successors of Cassivellawn in the monarchy of the Cassii, seem also to have been his heirs in the Pendragonship of the island.

island. This the first introduction of a mint from the Roman continent by Cunobeline, though as the king of the Cassii he was with relation to them only an inland monarch [32]; this the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though he lay at a distance from the southern coasts [33]; and this the appellation of Cunobeline, Cuno Belin signifying the Head King; all concur to render highly probable with respect to the former. And Caractacus, the Charatic of Dio and the Caradoc of the Triades, was undoubtedly the Pendragon of the Britons, as is equally implied in the name Cara-tac, Cara-tog, or Head King [34], as is expressly asserted by Tacitus, and as is demonstrated by the whole tenour of his history [35]. Thus also, as I shall afterwards shew, the same office was lineally hereditary among the Britons of Caledonia and among the Britons and the Belgæ of Ireland [36]. Among the Caledonian Britons the dignity must have been first instituted upon the advance of the first common enemy which had hitherto attacked them, the Romans under Agricola. Then, wisely providing against the general danger by a general union, all the unconquered tribes of the island solemnly confederated together, and put themselves under the authority of Galgacus [37]. This was the monarch of one of their tribes, superior to the rest in descent and valour [38], and perhaps, as Pendragon, denominated Gal-gac, Gal-cog, or the king of the Gauls. In the family of Galgacus the Pendragonship most probably remained till the middle of the second century. Then the royal house of the Creones was nominated to it, and Trenmor, Trathal, Comhal, and Fingal succeeded each other as regularly in the public command as in the private monarchy [39].

All these tribes were first called by the general appellation of Caledonians or Caledonian Britons [40]. And this appellation was not derived, as the learned Macpherson imagines [41], from the two words Cael and Don, and signifies the Gauls of the Hills. It was the denomination of the inhabitants equally in the Lowlands of the eastern coast and on the mountains of the northern and western Highlands [42]. This appellation, originally peculiar to the tribe that ranged in a long line across the island and inhabited the hills in common

with the Cerones the Creones the Carnonacæ and others, was derived from the great forest that swept across all the western regions of their country. The woods of Britain in general and the three greatest of them in particular were distinguished among the natives by the simple denomination of Caledon or the Woods [43]. Residing almost entirely within the precincts of an extensive forest, the tribe was originally denominated the Caledon-ii or the Woodlanders, and equally communicated its name to all the tribes that lay to the north of the Friths. But this communication appears not to have been made, as we have previously seen the name of one tribe imparted to another in South-Britain, by the reduction of the people in war. It was occasioned, as is most probable, and as we shall hereafter find the case equally in Ireland, merely by the superiority of the Caledonians to the rest of the tribes in extent of dominion and in greatness of power. And the other tribes of the north were as certainly inferior to the Caledonians in political dignity as they were partakers with them in their national appellation [44].

These about the close of the second century, when all the level regions of Sterling and the eastern coast were now no longer dissevered from Caledonia, were very naturally and occasionally distinguished by the two general appellations of Caledonians and Maiatæ [45]; the latter inhabiting the marshy plains that lay the nearest to the wall of Antoninus [46], possessing equally without doubt the lowlands of the eastern coast [47], and being therefore denominated the Mai Aitich or the Dwellers on the Plains [48]; and the former residing in the wild mountains behind and on one side of them [49]. Among the former, the tribes that lay along the western ocean were called from their situation Deu-caledones, the Water or Maritime Caledonians, and gave to the neighbouring sea the name of the Deucaledonian Ocean [50]. And all these were afterwards known by the one comprehensive appellation of Picts, which commenced about the close of the third century [51], and which finally superseded the rest. This name has been invariably supposed by the critics to be derived from the Roman language [52], and was equally supposed to be derived from it by the more ig-

norant

norant even among the Romans[52]. The word appears evidently at the first view to be as little Roman in its origin as the very same appellation of Pictones in Gaul, Pict in the singular forming Pict-i or Pict-on-es in the Plural; which is equally seen in the names of Allo-Brig-es or Brig-ant-es, Fris-ii or Fris-on-es, Cang-i or Cang-an-i, Cen-i or Cen-om-es, and a thousand others. The name was not confined at all to the Romans and Roman Britons. It was used equally by the natives themselves. The name was not peculiar to the Caledonians. It was the appellation equally of them and of the Irish. The name is therefore absolutely Celtic, and was pronounced by the Britons of Scotland and Ireland Fict or Vict, the Caledonians calling themselves the Fict-ied, and the Hibernians denominating themselves the Gathel Fict-ied. The name is evidently derived from the British Guith or Guict, the divorced or separated. Hence arose the appellation of Vectis or the separated region for the Isle of Wight[53]. And as the labials M, B, P, V, and F are constantly substituted one for another in the British language[54], Guict would be variously formed into Mict, Bict, Pict, Vict, and Fict. Thus we have Vent in the Venta Icenorum of Norfolk, Gwent in Caer Gwent the antient Venta Silurum, Wint in Winchester the Venta Belgarum, Bint in the Bindogladia of Ravennas the Venta-Geladia of Richard, and in Vindovium or Bintchester, all four exactly the same word with Pend or Pent an Head. Thus we have Aval an Apple, Papyrus Papir or Pabaur, Populus Poball or People, Durobrovis or Duroprovis, Menapia St. David's or Menevia, Brydhain Frydhain or Prydhain for Britain, and an infinite variety of others[55]. And names like these, names signifying a separated people, were very common among the Celtæ in general; appear (as I have already shewed[56]) even in the name of the island, Britain; appear also in the original and general appellation of all the islands around it, which were all equally denominated Britains; and are found in Vectis and Mictis, the names of one or two of these islands in particular, in the Vect-uriones of Scotland, in the Pictones of France, and in the Vettones of Spain[57]. And the name of Fict or Pict in our own country, being common to the Caledonians

and

and the Irish, must have been derived from some separation that was common to them both, and must therefore have denoted the separation of both from the tribes of the Roman Britons and the position of both without the pale of the Roman-British empire".

It is one of the most singular events in the Roman annals, and reflects a peculiar honour upon the bravery of the Britons, that in the long course of more than three centuries the Romans could never make an entire conquest of the island. This was the only country in the world in which the Romans reduced the greatest part of the natives, and yet were for ever beat off by the small remainder of them. The conquest was attempted by some of the greatest generals that were produced in the armies of Rome, was prosecuted with the greatest vigour and conduct, and yet was never accomplished. All the efforts of the Romans, however successful at first, were finally baffled by the Britons. They still lived independent in their native mountains, and looked down with pity upon the rest of their brethren, stooping to the power and adopting the manners of the Romans. When the gallant Silures had submitted to the Romans, and the equal highlands of Wales had suffered Roman stations to be planted among them; when even the hills of Athol and the mountains of Badenoch had been scaled by the Roman armies and were traversed by the Roman roads; still with a resolute obstinacy of soul did the Caledonians maintain their liberty, at last drove the enemy back to the friths, and even pursued them into the provinces.

When Agricola invaded the country, though he came recent from the conquest of Half-Britain, they opposed his advance and encountered his army. Though he came attended by a gallant fleet and at the head of a powerful army, though he gained more than one victory over them, and though he spent no less than three years in his expedition, they bravely persisted in their own defence and defeated all his attempts to reduce them". They were not, as the Britons of Valentia and Maxima seem to have been before, a number of independent tribes unconnected

by union and uninformed with vigour. They were embodied together under one common government, and their operations were actuated with one common spirit. But when Lollius entered the country, they appear to have been distracted with dissensions. The pendragonship was then vacant, and the kings contended for the honour[60]. In these circumstances defeat naturally succeeded to defeat; the Romans gained greatly upon the regions of Caledonia; and, additional to their old conquest of the Horestii, the five whole tribes of the Vecturiones the Taixali the Vacomagi the Damnii Albani and the Attacotti were fully reduced by Lollius[61]. The fever of private ambition was extinguished by the fear of public destruction. And the monarch of the Creones, distinguished from the rest by the only success in the war, was nominated to the pendragonship[62]. His dominions extended along the coast of Lochaber Lorn and Argyle; and his capital fortress was constructed towards the upper end of the country, was entitled Selma, and was planted in the great wood of Morven[63]. A part of Lochaber near the point of Ardnamurchie still indicates the site of the capital, retaining to the present period its antient denomination of Morvain[64]. As the king of the Creones, he was called the Sovereign of Selma or the Monarch of Morven[65]. As the pendragon of the Caledonians, he was called Trenmor, Teyrn or Tren Mor, the Great King, or was denominated the King of Ardven[66]. Ardven was the general name of the country, and is synonimous with Caledonia. And as the dominions of Ardven extended up to the friths and the vallum in particular[67], so they also took in the whole compass of the peninsula of Caledonia in general[68]. And in all probability the new pendragon preserved the remainder of Caledonia from the Romans. They had now victoriously carried their arms to the great chain of mountains that commences near the town of Dunbarton, ranges across the western side of Athol and Badenoch, and extends beyond the Frith of Murray. And this, as the natural the long-continued barrier of the unconquered tribes of Caledonia, which it certainly was, does for twenty miles together in the regions of Badenoch and of Athol

retain

retain the significant appellation of Drum Uachtur, the Ridge of the Vecturiones, or the Mountains of the Picts, to the present period[69]. Having therefore conquered all the eastern and north-eastern shore, and having successfully reduced the mountaineers of Badenoch and Athol, Lollius would certainly not have discontinued his conquests if he had found it practicable to extend them. Lollius had made a progress which none of the Romans had made before him, and must have eagerly wished to have crowned his successes and to have completed his glory by the absolute and entire subjection of the stubborn islanders. And the Caledonians afterwards burst from their mountain-barrier and attacked the Romans in their new conquests with so much vigour and perseverance, that in less than thirty years after the expedition of Lollius the Romans were entirely beaten out of them all, were dislodged even from the conquests of Agricola in the country of the Horestii, and were forced to shelter themselves behind the vallum of Antoninus[7].

The next and the last great attempt to reduce the Caledonians was made by the Roman emperor in person, by Severus and by the whole collected power of the empire under him. The Caledonians were then subject to Fingal, the Vind-Gall or Head of the Gauls, the son of Comhal, the grandson of Trathal, and the great grandson of Trenmor, a pendragon worthy to be the antagonist of Severus, a chief worthy to be the hero of Ossian[1]. Severus passed the two walls[72], and entered the country. The Caledonians perpetually hung unseen upon his army during their march, attacked him vigorously at every advantageous turn, and frequently drew his parties into artful ambuscades[73]. Thus continually harrassed by a bold and watchful enemy, the Romans were reduced to considerable distress. They were obliged to put all their sick and wounded to the sword that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy, and actually lost no less than fifty thousand men in the expedition[74]. And though the Britons at last ceded a considerable tract of ground to the Romans for peace, a part of the country undoubtedly that had been previously subdued by Lollius[75], all the conquered Mæatæ imme-

 diately

diately revolted, were immediately joined by the Caledonians, and the Roman power was once more confined to the five provinces[76]. The Romans re-entered the country, conducted by Caracalla and commissioned to exterminate the natives[77]. Fingal met him in the county of Sterling and on the banks of the Carron[78]. "The son of the King of the World, Caracul, "fled from his arms along the fields of his pride[79]." He resigned up the contested dominions, and hastily retired to the south of the wall[80].

Thus unsuccessful were all the attempts of the Romans to subdue the Caledonians! Thus did the Caledonians perpetually rise more vigorous from every repeated attempt! And they had no sooner dislodged the Romans from their settlements on the north of the Wall in the year 170, but they attacked them "behind their gathered heap[81]," passed the Wall, cut the Romans in pieces, and ravaged the province of Valentia[82]. And though they were finally repelled they ever persisted in their attacks, still ready to break into the province, and still eager to retaliate upon the Romans and Roman Britons all the woes which they had brought upon Caledonia[83]. And the moment the Roman forces relinquished the island they even broke through both the walls, they even invaded both the provinces of Valentia and Maxima, and instantly began the complicated calamities of Roman Britain.

[1] Richard p. 30.—[2] Iter 9 and 10 of Richard, and Ptolemy.—[3] Iter 9 of Richard.—[4] Iter 10 of Richard.—[5] Infra Taum (Richard).—These Damnii Albanii (as Richard says) were intra lacuum montiumque claustra planè reconditæ—[6] Unde [a civitate Aleluith] lineas ad ostium fluminis Varariæ ducta terminos ostendit [Vespasianæ], Richard p. 15.—[7] Richard p. 51. Bede l. i. c. 1. and Ossian vol i. p. 140.—[8] Richard's map of this province is very inaccurate. The Vecturones or Venricones are carried to the south of the Tay and into the country of the Horestii, and in such a manner as if they had the Horestii in subjection to the Roman

Roman invasion. But the Horestii were then actually subject to the Damnii. And as the Damnii are placed immediately to the south of the Tay, in the little portion of Broadalbin and in Strathern, the Albanii are transfered to the west of Loch Fyn and into Argyleshire. And Vespasiana and the Attacotti are carried quite up to Loch Fyn. Dr. Stukeley has in some measure corrected the two first mistakes, has retained the third, and has fallen into others. The Vespasiana quæ et Thule of Richard's map he has strangely mistaken, annexing the Quæ et to Taixali, and with both forming Taixali Aquæ. And the Vacomagi he has brought to the south of the Tay.—[9] Richard p. 32.—[10] Richard says, ad *Occidentem* Vararis; here, and here only, copying the grand mistake of the Romans as to the position of Scotland, which has put the East for the North and the West for the South, the North for the West, and the South for the East. And instead of a course right Northerly and Southerly the Romans have given Scotland a direction full Eastern and Western. This is the case with Ptolemy in particular. And thus Strabo p. 307 places Ierne or Ireland to the north of Britain; and the Scotch writers have idly caught at the position in order to make Ierne stand for the north of Scotland (see Macpherson vol. i. Ossian p. 5, &c.)—[11] Ptolemy and Richard p. 15.—[12] Ptolemy places the Caledonian wood *ὑπὲρ*, above, or to the north, that is, to the west, of the Caledonians; and Richard in a part of their country. It was therefore in the western part of their country. And Ptolemy places the Vacomagi *ὑπὲρ* or above, to the West of, the Caledonians. But this *ὑπὲρ* should certainly be *ὑπὸ*, below, or to the East of, the Caledonians. And Horseley and Bertius, who both read *ὑπὲρ*, both translate it as if it was *ὑπὸ*.—[13] Ptolemy.—[14] Ibid. Richard has confounded these two promontories and made them one and the same.—[15] Ptolemy.—[16] Ibid.—[17] The lands of Etha, the country upon Loch Etyff (or Etha in Lorn), were in the dominions of the Creones and the kingdom of Morven (Ossian vol. i. p. 168 and 170). And Richard accordingly says p. 15, Unde [a civitate Alcluith] linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos ostendit [Vespasianæ].

sianæ]. The Creones therefore came up nearly to Dunbarton, as the Attacotti inhabited only the banks of the Cluyd, Clottæ ripas incolebant (p. 31). And as the river Longus was the southern boundary of the Creones, it must be the present Loch Long, and Ptolemy's Epidian promontory and river Longus must have been transposed. Such transpositions we find in the fourteenth and twelfth Iter of Antoninus compared with the 11th of Richard.—"Richard's map is again inaccurate. The Proper Caledonians are all fixed to the north of the Varar, when they all lay to the south of it. The Carnabii are extended over all the north of the island; and the Catini are placed to the south of them. And the Creones and the Cerones are transposed. Ptolemy has equally transposed them. But Richard's description is more authentic than either. Dr. Stukeley's map has repeated all these mistakes, and added others, omitting also all the dotted boundaries of the kingdoms. The Caledonian wood, to which Richard's map seems not to have given any particular position, the Dr. has planted to the north of the Proper Caledonians, and even to the west of the Mertæ and the Logi. The Carnabii are placed to the south of the river Nabæus. And the Catnonacæ, who should begin immediately to the south of the Nabæus, are pushed down to the south of the Straba fluvius, and have the whole body of the Catini interposing betwixt them and their northern barrier.—[19] Agric. V. c. 25 and 29.—[20] Cæsar p. 34. Britanniæ Imperium.—[21] Richard p. 50.—[22] Ptolemy.—[23] Richard p. 25.—[24] Ptolemy.—[25] Cæsar p. 88 and Richard p. 50.—[26] Richard p. 25.—[27] Richard p. 51: and Nennius calls him only Rex Bellinus (c. 14.)—[28] Cæsar p. 88. [29] Cæsar p. 92.—[30] See b. I. c. iii. s. 2.—[31] Dio p. 227. Cæsar p. 88.—[32] B. I. c. ix. s. 1.—[33] Suetonius in Calig. and Dio p. 957 and 959.—[34] See Baxter in Cartism. Taximagulus and Togidumnus.—[35] Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 33, Caractaci—quem multa—extulerant ut cæteros Britannorum Imperatores Præemineret.—[36] See a mistake therefore in Richard p. 7.—[37] Agric. V. c. 25, 27 and 29.—[38] Ibid. c. 29.—[39] See hereafter.—[40] Agric. V. c. 25 and Martial l. x. E. 44.—[41] Ossian pref. to vol. ii. p. iv.—[42] Agric. V. c.

25, Richard p. 29 and 30, and Dio p. 1280. See alſo ſ. 4.—[44] Richard p. 18 and 26.—[44] Minôres Populi, Richard p. 32. See ſ. 4. And thus the Iſraelites have been long denominated Judæi or Jews from the name of their principal tribe.—[45] Dio p. 1280.—[46] Ibid.—[47] The real name of the people that merely lived next to the wall of Antoninus was Horeſtii and Attacotti. But the Mæatæ were ſeveral nations, Dio p. 1280 συ[illegible]κεχωρηκεν.—[48] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 219, the *ch* being quieſcent as in Cromla for Cromlach (Oſſian vol. i. p. 4.) in Cuneda or Cunedag (Nennius p. 102 and 142) and a thouſand other words.—[49] A. Marcellinus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Ptolemy. So Dubana now the river Ban in Ireland. So ſeveral places in Wales are denominated Deu-draeth or the ſea-beach. So the inhabitants that range ſucceſſively along the ſhore of Scotland in Roſs Sutherland and Cathneſs are ſometimes called by the Highlanders An Duaghael, and their country is ſometimes denominated An Duaghaeldock, to the preſent moment (Crit. Diſſ. Pref. p. viii). And as Dy or Du are the ſame word, Ammianus's Di-caledones is a good reading and needs no alteration. The prefacer to Dr. Macpherſon's Critical Diſſertations (p. viii) derives Deu-caledones from their northerly poſition, as Baxter had before derived it from their ſoutherly. But their poſition was neither in the north nor in the ſouth of Caledonia. They lay along the weſtern coaſt, as appears from the weſtern ocean being denominated the Deucaledonian in Ptolemy.—[50] Eumenius's Paneg.—[51] Except by Verſtegan, who ridiculouſly derives the word from the Saxon Fight and Fighter, and by Dr. Macpherſon in Crit. Diſſ., who idly deduces it from Pictdich a robber, p. iii.—[52] Claudian, Nec falſo nomine Pictos. But in c. vii. ſ. 5. I have already ſhewn the Provincials to have certainly retained the cuſtom of painting as well as the Caledonians.—[53] Nennius c. 2.—[54] Mona p. 261 and 262. and Lhuyd p. 19 and 20.—[55] See Lhuyd ibid.—[56] Ch. i. and ſ. 1.—[57] See Pliny l. iv. c. 16. Albion ipſi nomen fuit, cum Britanniæ vocarentur omnes.—[58] And the name was accordingly communicated at laſt to the inhabitants of Veſpa-

ſiana,

ſiana, as they were in the third and fourth centuries equally with the other Caledonians without the pale of the Roman empire: See b. II. c. 1. Such of the Caledonians as we now call Highlanders ſtill denominate themſelves by the equivalent appellation of Al-ban-ich, the inhabitants of the Alb-an or Hills. The whole body of the Caledonians was alſo denominated Cruithnich (Baxter and Macpherſon's pref. to vol. ii. p. v.). And this name has been generally derived from Craith, a cut or wound, the Picts making little inciſions in their bodies in order to impreſs the painting, Ferro Picta genas (Claudian). This name has been recently interpreted to ſignify the Eaters of corn or wheat, the Picts being ſtrangely ſuppoſed to live only along the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, and to be diſtinguiſhed from the other Caledonians by the knowledge of Agriculture (Macpherſon, ditto). Both etymologies are obviouſly abſurd. The provincials (as I have ſhewn c. vii. ſ. 5) equally painted their bodies as the Picts. And the Picts actually lived on the weſtern and northern as well as on the eaſtern coaſt. And, whatever is the etymon of the name, the appellation was certainly not peculiar to the Caledonians. One of the Iriſh tribes was ſometimes denominated Crutheni, Cruthen making Cruthen-ich as Gael is lengthened into Gaelich and Erin into Eirinach (Carte p. 158). And in Patricii Opuſcula a Wareo, Londini 1656, their country is ſaid to be in the northern parts of Ulſter (p. 114). The name is obviouſly nothing more than Cruth-en-i or the Harpers, a name by which all the Iriſh have been diſtinguiſhed in the title of Citharœdi, the harp having been as much the national inſtrument of muſic to all the Britons as it is the national enſign of the Iriſh at preſent. — [t] Agric V. c. 24, 25, 26 and 29. — [u] Oſſian V. ii. p. 194. — [x] Richard's Itinerary. — [y] Ibid. Fingal was the great grandſon of this Pendragon by Trathal and Comhal, and, when he was yet young, oppoſed Caracalla in 211 (p. 87. v. i.). Allowing therefore 20 years or thereabouts to Fingal, and 30 to Comhal and as many to Trathal, we come very near to the only period of the ſecond century, in which *the ſtrangers* or Romans invaded

invaded the country, and fought many battles with the Caledonians (v. ii. p. 195 and 196). And as Comhal died the day on which Fingal was born (v. i. p. 114), the requisite deduction of 9 or 10 years from Comhal's 30 will bring us exactly to the period.—[63] Ossian p. 195. v. ii.—[6] In Ossian we find frequent mention of the towers of Selma and the oaks of its shaded walls (v. i. p. 104), as Selma was, like the towns of the old Britons, in the middle of a forest. The stream of Cona flowed along the fortress or palace (v. i. p. 113), and on its entrance into the sea formed a bay for ships (p. 112). And the country was watered with five other rivulets, Balva (p. 97 and 98) Strumon (p. 230) Lora (p. 84. vol. ii) Duthula (p. 155. v. ii) and Carmona, the latter, like Cona, forming a bay (p. 229). And the isle of Mull must have belonged to the Creones, as the ships of Fingal are sometimes called the ships and his warriors the sons of the lonely isle (p. 29 and 36. v. i.), and as upon the western side of it and at the head of Loch Levin is still a place denominated Bingael or Fingal.—[65] Ossian v. i. p. 132 and 222.—[66] Ossian.—[67] Ossian v. i. p. 95 and 96.—[68] "Ardven's sea-surrounded rocks". So Lochlin or Jutland is said to be surrounded with waves (p. 22. v. i.). So Tacitus, summotis velut in aliam Insulam hostibus (c. 23. Agric V.)—[69] See preface to Crit. Diss. p. ix. for the fact. And the bounding line of Caledonia and Vespasiana is drawn by Richard exactly along this chain of hills: Vespasiana autem a Bdoræ Æstuario ad civitatem Alcluith, unde linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos ostendit (p. 15).—
Richard p. 52.—[71] Ossian v. i. p. 87. expressly mentions Fingal to have opposed Caracalla in 211. And as Fingal had then been in Lochlin and loved Agandecca, the first of his loves (p. 42), and therefore prior to Comala (p. 87), he must have equally opposed Severus, who came into Britain only in 207 (Richard p. 52). —[72] Herodian l. 3. c. 48.—[73] Dio p. 1281 and Herodian ibid. —[74] Dio p. 1281.—[75] Richard p. 53. Mæatis, and Richard p. 22. Citerior pars [Caledoniæ] alio atque alio tempore ab illis [Romanis] possessa fuit, and Dio p. 1282.—[76] Dio p. 1283.—[77] Ibid. —[78] Ossian v. i. p. 92.—[79] Ossian v. i. p. 91 and 92.—[80] Dio

p. 1287

1287 and Richard p. 53. —[81] Ossian v. i. p. 96. — [82] Richard p. 59, Dio p. 1209 and 1260, and Herodian l. iii. c. 46. —[83] Ammianus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Richard p. 53.

III.

THE Saxons have been derived by our critics from various regions of the globe, from India, from the north of Asia, and from the forests of Germany. And their appellation has been equally referred to various causes, to the name of their Indian progenitor, to the plundering disposition of their Asiatic fathers, and to the short hooked weapons of their warriors. But the genuine origin of the Saxons and the genuine derivation of their name seems clearly to be this.

In the earlier period of the Gallic history, the Celtæ of Gaul crossed the Rhine in considerable numbers and planted various colonies in Germany [1]. Thus the Volcæ Tectosages settled on one side of the Hercynian forest and about the banks of the Neckar, the Helvetii upon another side of the forest and about the Rhine and the Maine, the Boii beyond both, and the Senones in the heart of Germany [2]. Thus we see the Treviri, the Nervii, the Suevi, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Venedi, and others, in Germany, all plainly betrayed to be Gallic nations by the Gallic appellations which they bear, and all together possessing the greatest part of Germany [3]. And thus, even as late as the conclusion of the first century, we find one nation on the eastern side of this great continent actually speaking the language of Gaul, and another upon the northern side of it actually speaking a language nearly related to the British [4]. But as all the various tribes of the Germans are considered by Strabo to be γνησιοι Γαλαται or genuine Gauls in their origin [5], so those nations particularly that lived immediately beyond the Rhine, and that are asserted by Tacitus to be indubitably native Germans [6], are expresly denominated Γαλαται or Gauls by Diodorus, and are expresly declared

clared by Dio to have been diſtinguiſhed by the equivalent appellation of Celtæ from the earlieſt period [7]. And the broad line of nations which extended along the ocean and reached to the borders of Scythia were all known to the learned in the days of Diodorus by the ſame expreſſive appellation of Γαλάται or Gauls [8].

Of theſe nations the moſt noted were the Si-Cambri and the Cimbri [9]; the former being ſeated near the channel of the Rhine [10], and the latter inhabiting the peninſula of Jutland [11]. The denominations of both ſufficiently indicate their original, and evince both to have been derived from the common ſtock of the Celtæ, and to have been of the ſame Celtic kindred with the Cimbri of our own Somerſetſhire and with the Cymri or Cambrians of our own Wales. The Cimbri are accordingly denominated Celtæ by Strabo [12]. The Cimbri are accordingly aſſerted to be Gauls by Diodorus, to be the deſcendants of thoſe Gauls who ſacked the city of Rome, who plundered the temple of Delphos, and who ſubdued a great part of Europe and ſome regions of Aſia [13].

Immediately to the ſouth of the Cimbri were the Saxons, and extended from the iſthmus of the Cherſoneſus to the current of the Elbe [14]. Theſe were equally Celtic in their origin as their neighbours. Theſe were equally denominated Ambrones as Saxones [15], and as ſuch are included by Tacitus under the general appellation of Cimbri [16], and are comprehended in Plutarch under the more general appellation of Celto-Scythæ [17]. And this denomination of Ambrones appears to have been undoubtedly Gallic in itſelf, being common to the Saxons beyond the Elbe and to the Ligurians in Ciſalpine Gaul, as both found to their ſurprize on the irruption of the former into Italy with the Cimbri [18]. Theſe Saxons or Ambrons compoſed a body of more than thirty thouſand men in that irruption, and were principally concerned in cutting to pieces the large armies of Manlius and Cæpio [19]. And the appellation of Saxons muſt be equally Celtic as the denomination of Ambrons. It muſt originally have been the ſame with the Belgic Sueſſones of Gaul, the capital of

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the Sueſſones being now entitled Soiſons by the French, and the name of the Saxons being now pronounced Saſſen by the Netherlanders, Saſon by the Scotch, Saiſen by the Welch, and Saſenach or Saxſenach by the Iriſh. And the Sueſſones or Saxones of Gaul very plainly derived their appellation from the poſition of their metropolis upon a river, the ſtream at Soiſons being now denominated the Aiſne and being formerly denominated the Axon[20], Ueſſ-on or Ax-on importing only waters or a river, and S-ueſſ-on or S-ax-on ſignifying only the waters or the river. The Sueſſones are therefore actually denominated the Ueſſones by Ptolemy. And the Saxones are therefore abſolutely entitled the Axones by Lucan[21].

Theſe Sueſſones, who with their brethren and allies the Cimbri had been more formidable enemies to the Romans by land than the Samnites the Carthaginians the Spaniards the Gauls or the Parthians[22], in the ſecond century applied themſelves to navigation, and became nearly as formidable to the Romans by ſea. They ſoon made themſelves known to the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſles by their piracies in the northern ſeas[23], and were denominated by them Lochlyn or Lochlynach, Lucd Lyn ſignifying the People of the Wave, and the D being quieſcent in the pronunciation[24]. They took poſſeſſion of the Orkney iſlands, which were then merely large ſhoals of ſand, uncovered with woods, and overgrown with ruſhes[25]. And they landed in the north of Ireland and ravaged the country[26]. Before the middle of the third century they landed a ſecond time in Ireland, diſembarked a conſiderable body of men upon the iſland, and deſigned the abſolute ſubjection of the country[27]. Before the concluſion of the third century they carried their naval operations to the ſouth, infeſted the Britiſh channel with their little veſſels, and made frequent deſcents upon the adjoining coaſts[28]. And in the fourth and fifth centuries, acting in conjunction with the Picts of Scotland and the Scots of Ireland, they ravaged all the eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern ſhores of Roman Britain, began the formal conqueſt of the country, and finally

settled their victorious soldiery in the kingdom of the Sistantii and in the possessions of the Mancunians [29].

[1] Cæsar p. 123 and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 28.—[2] Cæsar and Tacitus ibid., Livy l. v. c. 34, and Ptolemy. Tacitus therefore is inconsistent with himself in thinking the Germans to be unmixed c. 2 and 4.—[3] Tacitus c. 28, 38, 42, and 46.—[4] Tacitus c. 43 and 45.—[5] P. 444.—[6] C. 28.—[7] Diodorus p. 350 and Dion p. 216. See also Dio p. 704—[8] P. 355. See also Plutarch's life of Marius p. 495. v. ii. Bryan.—[9] Strabo p. 451.—[10] Strabo p. 444 and 447.—[11] Ibid. p. 449.—[12] P. 449 and 450—[13] P. 355.—[14] Ptolemy.—[15] Αμβρωνες in Plutarch and Αμβρονες in Dio; Nennius (Bertram) p. 140 and 143.—[16] C. 37, compared with Plutarch p. 506 vol. ii. concerning the defeat of Manlius and Cæpio.—[17] P. 405 compared with p. 501.—[18] Plutarch p. 506. Ambron in Celtic signifies fierce. Hence Ambrones lupi in Gildas c. 13. And so also Ambrones in Bonifacii epist. i. p. 70. tom. 13. Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum. But in all probability this is only the secondary idea of the word, as Cimber latterly signified a thief and Briganticus a turbulent man. The original word is probably the same with Camber, the aspirate being omitted as in Umbri or Cumbri &c., and Camber making Cambri or Cambrones in the plural. And they are actually called Cimbri by Tacitus.—[19] Plutarch p. 506.—[20] See Cæsar p. 34.—[21] Ptolemy p. 53. Bertius, and Lucan l. i. 423.—[22] Tacitus c. 37.—[23] Ossian v. i. p. 6.—[24] Ibid. They are therefore called the Sons of Ocean (vol. i. p. 17). And the Norwegians and Danes in the ninth century were called Lochlonnach or Mariners (Ware's Ant. of Ireland by Harris p. 60.). So in Ossian vol. i. p. 3, 7, and 14.—[25] Ossian vol. i. p. 14. and Solinus c. 22.—[26] Ossian vol. i. p. 17.—[27] Ibid. vol. i. p. 26 and 16. Fingal was then a middle-aged man, all his sons being then adults.—[28] Eutropius l. ix. c. 21.—[29] For the further account of the Saxons the Angles and the Jutes, see b. II. c. vi. s. 2. And more may be expected in b. III. c. 1.

IV. Con-

IV.

CONFEDERATED with the Picts and the Saxons was another nation, that equally occasioned the Roman departure from our own Mancunium, and equally caused the complicated calamities of Roman Britain. These were the Scots, a nation that has been wildly derived from Scythia from Spain and from Caledonia, whose real origin has for a century and an half engaged two whole nations of contending antiquarians in war, and whose real history has hitherto remained involved in the obscurities of tradition and the dreams of conjecture. But the origin of the Scots, I presume, may now be clearly ascertained. And the history of the Scots, I think, may now be authentically detailed.

[1] The isle of Ireland was inhabited by eighteen tribes, by one upon the northern and three upon the southern shore, by seven upon the western and six upon the eastern coast, and by one in the center. Along the eastern shore and the Vergivian or Internal ocean were ranged the Damnii, the Voluntii, the Eblani, the Caucii, the Menapii, and the Coriondii. The Damnii inhabited a part of the two counties of Antrim and Down, extending from Fair-Head the most north-easterly point of the island to Isamnum Promontorium or the point of Ardglas haven in the county of Down [2], and having the Logia or Carrickfergus Bay within their possessions and Dunum or Down-Patrick for their capital. The Voluntii possessed the coast from the point of Ardglass haven to the river Buvinda or Boyne, the remainder of Down, the breadth of Ardmagh, and all Louth, having the river Vinderus or Carlingford river in their dominions, and the town Laberus near the river Deva, Atherdee in the county of Louth, for their metropolis [3]. The Eblani reached from the Boyne to the Læbius, Læv-ui, or Liffy, residing in East-Meath, and in the large porti[illegible]f Dublin county which is to the north

of the Liffy, and acknowledging Mediolanum, Eblana, or Dublin for their capital [4]. The Caucii spread from the Liffy to the Letrim, the Oboca of the antients, over the rest of Dublin county, and over such parts of Wicklow as lie to the north of the Letrim, and owned Dunum or Rath-Downe for their principal city. The Menapii occupied the coast betwixt Letrim river and Cancarne Point, all the rest of Wicklow, and all Wexford to the Point; their chief town, Menapia, being placed upon and to the east of the Modona, Slanus, or Slane [5]. And the Coriondii inhabited at the back of the Caucii and Menapii, to the west of the Liffy and the Slane, in a part of Wicklow county, in all Kildare and in all Catherlogh, being bounded by the curving Boyne and the Barrow on the west, by the Eblani on the north, and by the Brigantes on the south. Upon the southern shore and along the verge of the Cantabrian ocean lay the Brigantes, the Vodiæ, and the Ibernii. The Brigantes owned the rest of Wexford and all Waterford, extending to the Black Water, Aven-More, or Dabrona on the south-west, having the great mouth of the Barrow within their territories, and Brigantia, Waterford, or some town near it, for their first city, giving the name of Brigas to the Swire, their limitary stream on the north, and leaving the appellation of Bergie to their own part of the county of Wexford. The Vodiæ possessed the county of Corke from the Black Water to the Ban, the river of Kinsale and the Dobona or Dubana [6] of the antients, and gave the name of Vodium Promontorium to the Point of Balycotton island [6]. And the Ibernii possessed the remainder of Corke and all that part of Kerry which lies to the south-east of Dingle Sound, having Rufina or Ibaune for their capital, the Promontorium Austrinum or the Missen-Head about the middle of their dominions, and the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound for their northern barrier, and leaving their names to the three divisions of Ibaune, Beare, and Iveragh [7]. Upon the western shore of the island and along the Great Britannic or Atlantic ocean were the Lucanii or Lucenii [8], the Velaborii, the Cangani [9], the Auterii, the Nagnatæ, the Hardinii [10], and the Venicnii. The Lucenii inhabited the

the peninsula of land that lies along the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound, and perhaps some adjoining parts of Kerry. The Velaborii ranged along the small remainder of Kerry, and over the whole of Limerick to the Senus or Shannon, having the river Durius or the Cathceen flowing through their dominions [r], and owning Regia, Limerick, or some town near it [r], for their metropolis. The Gangani lived in the county of Clare, Macolicum near the Shannon [u], perhaps Feakle, being their principal town, a point in the Bay of Galway near Glaniny being denominated Benisamnum Promontorium, and the adjoining isles of Arran being called from them Insulæ Ganganæ [r]. The Auterii were settled in the county of Galway, winding along the deep recesses of the Sinus Ausoba or Bay of Galway, stretching towards the north as far as the Libnius or the river that bounds the county of Galway in part, and possessing the small portion of Mayo county which lies to the south of that river; were subject to Auterium, Atterith, or Athenree; and have left their name to the division of Athenree. The Nagnatæ occupied the rest of the large county of Mayo, all Sligo and all Roscommon, all Letrim as far as Logh Allin on the south-east, and all Fermanagh to Balyshannon and Logh Erne; being bounded by the Rhebius or the river of Balyshannon and the Lake Rhebius or Logh Erne, having a deep bay, called Magnus Sinus, curving along Mayo Sligo and Letrim counties, and acknowledging Nagnat, Necmaht, or Al-necmaht [12], the town of the Nagnatæ, for their capital. And the Hardinii and the Venicnii were two tribes confederated together under the title of the Venicnian nations, extending from Balyshannon to the North-Cape, and possessing all Donegalle except the two whole divisions of Raphoe and Enis-Owen and the eastern part of Killmacrenem division; the Venicnii lying along the immediate margin of the shore, giving name to the Promontorium Venicnium or Cape Horn and to the Insula Venicnia or North-Arran Island, and their metropolis Rheba being seated upon the Lake Rhebius and in the country of the Hardinii on the south-east [r]. Upon the northern shore and along the margin of the Deucaledonian ocean were only the Robogdii, inhabiting the rest of Donegalle,

Donegalle, all Derry, and all Antrim to the Promontory Fair-Head and the Damnii, giving their own name to the Fair-Head and to the division of Raphoe, having the rivers Vidua or Ship-harbour, Argita or Logh Swilly, Darabouna or Logh Foile, and Banna or Ban in their territories, and acknowledging Robogdium, Robogh, or Raphoe for their chief city. And the central regions of the island, all Tyrone, the remainder of Fermanagh and Letrim, all Monaghan, the remainder of Ardmagh, all Cavan, all Longford, all West-Meath, all the King's and all the Queen's County, all Kilkenny, and all Tipperary, were planted by the Scoti; the Shannon, Logh Allin, and Logh Erne being their great boundaries upon the west, the Barrow, the Boyne, and Logh Neagh upon the east, the rivers Swire and Blackwater on the south, and a chain of mountains on the north; the two greatest of their towns being Rheba, a city seated, like the Rheba of the Venicnians, upon the lake and river Rhebius, but upon a different part of them and somewhere in the north of Cavan, and Ibernia, a town placed a little to the east of the Shannon and somewhere in the county of Tipperary [13].

When the Belgæ first landed upon the southern shore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra, and took possession of Kent Sussex Hampshire Dorsetshire and Devonshire, the native Britons, dislodged from their antient settlements, transported themselves into the neighbouring isle of Ireland [14]. This fine island was then entirely unoccupied, and now first received a colony of inhabitants [15]. This fine island was then denominated Er-in, Ierne, Ierine, or Ivernia, Er, Ier, or Iver, signifying the Western, and Inis, Ine, or In importing the Island [16]. And this colony was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally dislodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This second colony of Britons was wafted over into Ireland about two hundred and fifty years after the first, when Divitiacus reduced the Bibroces of Surry, the Cassii of Middlesex and Essex, the Segontiaci, the Hædui, the Cimbri, and the Carnabii [17]. And both the colonies, flying equally from

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the dominion of the Belgæ, very naturally incorporated themselves into one and the same society, and were as naturally distinguished among the Britons by one and the same denomination, the apposite appellation of the Scuites, the Wanderers, or the Refugees of Britain [18].

The next colonies that were settled in Ireland were in all probability the Damnii and the Robogdii, the name of the former indubitably evincing its origin from the Damnii of Valentia, and both pretty certainly crossing the narrow strait from Galloway and Cantire. The Epidii and the Damnii lying the nearest of any Britons to the isle of Ireland, they must therefore be supposed, after the extraordinary embarkation of the Scuites, to have been the first of all the Britons that planted colonies within it. And the Damnii, who once owned all the sea-coast from the borders of Galloway to the wall of Antoninus, and who had even subdued both the Horestii and the Albani beyond it, must once (I apprehend) have undoubtedly possessed the whole extent of Galloway, and must have willingly resigned it up to the tribe of the Nou-ant-es or the New-comers. This appears from its appellation to have been a nation of foreigners, and from its situation must in all probability have been derived from the neighbouring shores of Ireland. And this was very probably a body of the Irish Damnii, that upon some rencounters betwixt the Robogdii or the Voluntii and them had retired from the island about the period of Agricola's entrance into Lancashire, had re-crossed the sea to the directly opposite coast of Galloway, and had been allowed to settle peaceably in the country. They were nearly related enough to the Damnii to be admitted into a participation of their territories, and they had been absent long enough from the country to be denominated Nouantes or strangers. And, what seems a striking confirmation of the opinion, an Irish Regulus appears expressly from Tacitus to have been expelled from the island in some internal commotion of it, who was treated with a very artful friendliness by Agricola, who gave the Romans a very just and a very encouraging information concerning the weakness of the state, and with whom Agricola

had

had once resolved to make a descent upon Ireland, and actually to land in the region of the Damnii [19].

These two embarkations were most probably occasioned by the mere populousness of Britain, crowded as it now began to be with inhabitants, and by the mere vicinity of Ireland, very plain as it appeared to the eye from the shores of Cantire and Galloway. But the succeeding colonies were certainly occasioned by the wars of the Britons among themselves and of the Romans against the Belgæ and the Britons. And to these causes are the settlements of most of the colonies expresly attributed by Richard [20].

About half a century before Christ the Carnabii of Cheshire, as I have formerly shewn, entered the country of the Ordovices and subdued the county of Shrewsbury. Upon this invasion the Ordovices that lived in the north of Shropshire and the neighbourhood of Mediolanum seem to have passed over into Ireland, and to have retained the memorial of their origin in the name of their capital, Êblana or Mediolanum [21]. The former name evidently affixed the new appellation of Eblani to the tribe; and the latter seems as evidently to point out the old appellation of its city. Thus the colony of the Cantii, which spread from Trinovantum or London over the rest of Middlesex and the whole of Essex, carried the name of their original city in their appellation of Trinovantes. Thus the Rhemi of Gaul in the neighbourhood of Bibrac-te, coming over in a colony to Britain, and settling in the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, constructed the new city of Bibrac-te and formed the new tribe of the Bibroc-es. And thus we shall find the Menapii and others to have come over from particular towns in Britain, and to have retained the name of their original city in the present denomination of their tribe. And the Guetheling or Watling Street must have been constructed about fifty or sixty years after the settlement of these Mediolanenses upon the coast, and must have been carried from the Rhutupæ of the Cantii to the Segontium of the Ordovices in order to traffick with these the transplanted Ordovices of Ireland.

About the commencement of the Christian æra, the Brigantes of Yorkshire and Durham, as I have shewed before, invaded the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland Lancaster and Chester; and three new tribes seem to have settled in the island. These are the Voluntii, the Caucii, and the Coriondii. The name of the Voluntii is a sufficient indication of their origin. And the name of the Caucii seems equally to indicate theirs, and to evince their derivation from the Coccium of the Sistuntii and the metropolis of Lancashire. When the names of any towns upon the western coast of Britain are retained, in the appellations of any tribes upon the eastern shore of Ireland, we must naturally conclude the one to have given denomination to the other. And that the nation of the Caucii and the tribe of the Menapii were not, as Richard asserts them to be, two colonies from the Cauchi and Menapii of Germany, we have positive reasons to conclude. All the tribes of the island must undoubtedly have come originally from Britain [22]. All the tribes of its eastern shore in particular must undoubtedly have come originally from the opposite coast of Britain. And we find the names of places in the countries which both of the nations possessed clearly and invariably Gallic, as Modona, Slanus, Clone-gall and Scare-walch, Ballinacur, Ballinderry, Rathdurm, Kilkenny, Kilnemore, Ballifoyle, Kilrush, Killenagh, and Balageene among the Menapii, and as Dunum the metropolis and Oboca the limitary stream, Rathmines, Rathgar, Rathfarnum, Dundrum, Killininy, Kellgobbin, Killternan, Rath-Downe, Killcooli, and Killtemen among the Caucii. The Caucii and Menapii therefore must be as little Teutonic in their origin as the Damnii and the Voluntii, must as well as they have descended from the opposite coast of Britain, and must as well as the Bibroces of Britain be derived from some town of a kindred appellation with themselves. The Caucii in particular must be derived from the Coccium of the Sistuntii, a town the only one upon the coast that bears a similar appellation, a tribe the most likely of all others to have settled immediately to the south of the Voluntii; and Lanca-

shire

ſhire muſt have ſent a colony of her children to plant the eaſtern ſhore of Ireland [23]. And the Coriondii (I apprehend) were equally derived from the Carnabii of Cheſhire, the name being written either Carnabii, Corinavii, or Corion-dii, and the laſt appellation being exactly the ſame with the firſt, and only Diu being ſubſtituted for Ab or Av [24].

Thus far the Britons had lived unmixed with the Belgæ in Ireland, now conſiſted of ſeven tribes, and now poſſeſſed all the northern eaſtern and central parts of the iſland. And thus inhabited only by the genuine Britons, the iſland naturally received an appellation additional to its original name. This was not, like that, deduced merely from its poſition with reſpect to Britain, but was borrowed from the one common denomination of its poſſeſſors. This was the appellation of Inis-Fael or Inis-Fallin [25], the iſland of the Fael, Faell-in, or Gauls. The F, V, and W in the Celtic language are equivalent letters [26], and Fael, Vael, and Wall all equally expreſs the one denomination of the Britons. Thus among the Britons of Wales we have Cad-Fael-Hydr or Cad-Wal-adr, Hy-Fael or Ho-Wel, and Di-ofna-Fael or Dyfn-Wall [27]. And the denomination of the Britons among their own tribes and in all the neighbouring nations was popularly Gall or Wall: Hence the Saxon Chronicle mentions frequently the troops under Hengiſt and under Ælla, ſoon after the commencement of the war with the Britons, to have routed the Wealas, Wyliſhe, or Welch in Kent and in Suſſex [28]. And hence the Britons of the Highlands denominate themſelves the Caelic or Gallic, and the Britons of Ireland entitle themſelves the Eirinach or Iriſh Caelic, even to the preſent period. This appellation, which extended over all our iſlands and over a conſiderable portion of the continent, has been frequently explained by the critics both at home and abroad, but ſtill lies hid in its own original obſcurity. The genuine import of the word however ſeeems pretty obvious to an attentive mind. And I ſhall endeavour to throw a ſtronger light upon it. The Iriſh and the Highlanders, as I have already remarked, reciprocally denominate

minate themselves by the general title of Gael, Cael, or Gauls. But they also denominate themselves, and the Welch equally denominate them both and originally denominated themselves [29], by the general title of Guidhyl Guethel and Gathel. And this appellation is certainly the origin of the other. The intermediate *th* being left quiescent in the pronunciation, Gathel is immediately formed into Gael. Such a quiescence in general appears from the Irish language at present to have been once very frequent in the British. And this quiescence in particular appears actually in use among the Britons. That the intermediate *th* in general was actually melted away in the pronunciation, is plain from the British appellation of a fortress, Kadair and Kathair, which is now resolved into Kaer and Gaer, and from the names of Cathbait Cruthgall Sithfadda and the like, pronounced Cabait Crugall and Sifadda in the Highlands at present. And this British mode of pronunciation is even retained in the provincial English of the present day, Burthen being equally in Wales and in Lancashire contracted into Burn, the names of Rauthmell and Withnell being popularly pronounced Raumell and Winell in Lancashire, and Them Boatswain Southwold-Bay Northwood and Southton being everywhere colloquially reduced into 'Em Boson Sole-Bay Norwood and Sutton. That this intermediate *th* in particular was antiently melted away in the pronunciation, is more plain from the antient appellation of a district in Caledonia, which was antiently written Ar-Gathel, but is now written because it has been always pronounced Ar-Gael or Ar-Gyle. And the *th* is actually lost in the pronunciation both of the Irish and of the Highlanders to the present moment, and Gathel is actually sounded by both to the present moment similarly to the other appellation of Gael [30]. The Celtic name of Guidhyl Guethel or Gathel therefore was originally the same with the Celtic appellation of Cael Gael or Gaul, and the actual parent of it. But this is not all. The quiescent letters are frequently transfer-

red

red from the middle to the conclusion of the word, where the letters are no longer quiescent; and as Needle is changed into Neeld in Lancashire, as Kathair is formed into Carth and Garth, so Gathel is changed into Galath. And we see the fact directly exemplified in the Gael of the continent being so frequently denominated Galatæ by the antients. Gathel Gael and Galath therefore are all one and the same flexible and varying appellation. And the appellation signifies merely the Woodlanders. Guedh and Goed import a wood among the Armoricans and the Welch, and Guylh-t and Guel-z signifies a man of the Guylh Guel or wood; all of them the evident remains of the antient Guidhil or Guethel a wood. Coil, the same with the Cuyllt of the Welch, and answering to Gael and Cael, is the customary term for a wood among the Irish and the Highlanders at present. And Gulad occurs in Gulad-ædh the Welch for a woodlander, and Kelyd appears in Kelydhon the British for woods, corresponding to Galath and Galat, and signifying with them a wood. The celebrated appellations therefore of Gathel-i Gall-i Galat-æ Calet-es An-Calit-es and Celt-æ signify merely a wood. And bearing the Celtic prefix before them which is used in the antient history of Ireland to the present period, as Fir-Bolg and Fir-Damnon, and which must have been previously used in more than half the national appellations of Britain, as Fir-Cant, Fir-Trinovant, Fir-Carnab, Fir-Volant, Fir-Sistuntiu, and various others, all these appellations, Fir-Gathel, Fir-Gael, and Fir-Galat, must have imported merely the Man of the Wood. But in one national denomination of the very same origin the termination is a little different, because the word is in the plural number, Kelyd or Caled lengthens into Kelyd-on or Caled-on woods. Thus Caledon became the antient appellation for all the extensive forests of the Gatheli and the Galli in the provinces of Britain. Thus Fir-Caledon or Caledon-es became equally the antient appellation for the Gathel and the Gael of the Highlands. And thus Caledonius became occa-

sionally

sionally among the Romans an appellation equivalent to Britannicus, and was applied equally with it to all the Gathel and Gael of all the island *.

But about forty-five years after the Christian epoch, when Vespasian attacked the Proper Belgæ, the Durotriges, and the Damnonii, fought thirty battles with them and took more than twenty of their towns [31], many of the Belgæ would naturally put to sea from the coasts of Dorsetshire Devonshire Somerset and Cornwall, and steer for the southern coasts of Ireland [32]. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg were settled in several colonies upon the southern shore of the island, is sufficiently evident upon the face of the Irish history. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg came generally from the coasts of Devonshire Cornwall and South-Somersetshire, or the extended dominions of the Damnonii, is equally evident from their other appellation of Fir-Damnon among the Irish.

The first body of the Belgæ that landed in Ireland was a small embarkation from Inis-huna or the green-island [33]. This is supposed by Macpherson to be some part of the great island of Britain and somewhere upon the south-western coast of it. But as the name demonstrates it to have been an island, so the circumstances mentioned concerning it evince it to have been a considerable island at the point of Cornwall. It is plainly implied to have been an island eminent for its arts of navigation, and is expressly declared to be separated from another land by a narrow tempestuous frith and to stand at the meeting of two seas [34]. It must therefore have been one of the Silley islands,

* Many instances might be given. But one will be sufficient. In an address of Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian, he says thus,

Tuque o Pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, *Caledonius* postquam tua Carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Here we see the word Caledonius applied even to the British or southern channel, to the sea which is said to have disdained the yoke of Julius Cæsar. And even at the death of Vespasian the Romans had not yet entered into the real Caledonia at all.

the Cassiteris of the Phoenicians, and the Silura of Solinus, the island that I have shewn to have once existed near the western point of Cornwall, to have been divided from it by a dangerous strait, and to have been since broken into a variety of shoals islets and rocks [35]. The embarkation was made under the conduct of Larthon, the sovereign of the Damnonii or the subject Cassiterides [36]. And the Vodiæ, as we shall directly perceive, must have been the first colony of the Belgæ in Ireland.

These must have been immediately followed by the Velaborii, the Lucenii, and the Ibernii, all equally Belgic as the Vodiæ, and with them the only Belgic colonies that appear to have landed upon the island. The Velaborii, Velaberi, or Veliberi [37], must have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Voliba or Voluba in Cornwall [38], Volub-er-ii signifying the men of Voluba. The Lucenii must have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Cenia in Cornwall [35], Lucd Cenia importing the people of Cenia, and the D (as I have shewn) being quiescent among the Irish. The Ibernii must have been derived from the Ibernio of Ravennas and the present Beare in Dorsetshire, and appear accordingly to have had a town denominated Ibernio or Beare in Ireland. And the Vodiæ must therefore have been the Belgæ that came from the Silley island.

Within five or six years after these settlements of the Belgæ in the south, upon the invasion of the Brigantian territories in the year 51 by Ostorius, a body of the Brigantes took shipping upon our western coast, and pushed over to the coast of Ireland [39]. With the Brigantes embarked a body of Cangi or Cangani [39], the Cangii of our Sistuntians, as appears plainly from their other appellation of Concangii [40], a name appropriate to the capital town of the Sistuntian Cangii in Britain, and retained by some of the inhabitants of it on their removal into Ireland. And thus the Sistuntii, who had already planted a colony upon the eastern shore of the island, now planted another upon the western. The eastern coast was now nearly occupied from end to end, and the Brigantes entered upon the only vacant portion of it. In this situation, the Concangii were forced to cross the central

parts of the iſland and the dominions of the Scoti, and to ſettle upon the weſtern ſhore. And with both or about the ſame period perhaps came the Auterii.

About the year 76 probably, when Julius Frontinus ſubdued the Silures and their ſubject Dimetæ, the Menapii came into Ireland; the Dimetæ in the neighbourhood of Menapia or St. David's paſſing over to the oppoſite coaſt of Ireland, and erecting another Menapia in the county of Waterford. The Coriondii were in all probability poſſeſſed of the coaſt before, as the Concangii in 51 found the eaſtern ſhore already occupied. And the Menapii muſt have attacked the inhabitants, have diſlodged them from the coaſt, and have driven them beyond the Slane. There, confined too much by the Barrow on the weſt, they extended themſelves to the north, and ſtretched along the back of the Liffy to the Boyne.

And about the year 140 probably, certainly before the period of Ptolemy's geography, upon the expedition of Lollius into Caledonia and his great ſucceſſes in Veſpaſiana, the Venicnii and the Hardinii came into Ireland, and ſettled upon the north-weſtern coaſt. The latter were certainly derived, as their name evinces, from Arden, Harden, or Caledonia. And both were evidently of the ſame kindred, being called together the two Venicnian tribes, and being together ſubject to their one metropolis in the country of the Hardinii.

In this ſtate of the iſland, the Belgæ being confined by the Brigantes on the north-eaſt the Scoti on the north and the Cangani and Auterii on the north-weſt, and the only unoccupied part of the coaſt lying directly beyond both the laſt, in Mayo Sligo Letrim Roſcommon and Fermanagh, their colonies, more populous than the others (as the ſequel of the hiſtory demonſtrates), ſoon began to raiſe commotions in the iſland, and ſeized the large vacant extent of the weſtern coaſt[41]. They muſt therefore have croſſed the Shannon, have entered the country of the Cangani and Auterii, and have ſubdued them both. If they had not ſubdued them, they could not have proceeded to the north, and have ſettled under the abovementioned appel-

lation

lation of Nagnatæ in the long extent of the abovementioned counties. And if the other tribes of the Britons had not seen some particular instances of the old encroaching spirit of the Belgæ in Ireland, slow as the Britons ever were to unite in one common cause, they would not have combined so readily and so heartily as we shall soon see them combine against the Belgæ.

In this new state of the island, the Belgæ possessed the whole counties of Cork Kerry and Limerick in Munster, the counties of Clare Galway Mayo Sligo Roscommon, and the greatest part of Letrim, in Connaught, and a part of Fermanagh county in Ulster; and the Britons occupied the rest of Ulster, all Leinster, and a part of Munster: the barriers betwixt them being the river of Blackwater, the mountains of Tipperary, the course of the Shannon, and the length of Logh Erne. The two nations were now pretty equally opposed, the Britons possessing most land, and the Belgæ being the most populous. And a general war immediately ensued. The same chief who had conducted the new colony across the Shannon was still the active sovereign of them[42]. The war must have commenced therefore within a few years after that expedition; and as Trathal the son of Trenmor was then upon the throne of the Creones[43], it must have begun about the year 160 or 170. And it lasted with many intermissions and various success for more than an hundred years.

The Belgæ were much better fitted for a general war than the Britons. They were subject to one governor, a descendant from the original conductor of the Belgæ into Ireland, the hereditary monarch of the Nagnatæ, and the hereditary Pendragon of the tribes[44]. "The chiefs of the south gathered round the "echoing shield of Crothar, the king of Alnecma, and the first "of the race of Bolga[45]." And Alnecma or Nagnata is therefore in the Geography of the cotemporary Ptolemy distinguished above all the cities of Ireland by the peculiar and appropriate character of πολις επισημος or illustrious city. The Britons (the Hardinii, the Venicnii, and the Robogdii, pretty certainly) were defeated by the Belgæ, and the country was overrun[46]. In di-

stress

ſtreſs they applied for aſſiſtance to Caledonia, the land "of the race of their fathers [47]." Aſſiſtance came. Conar, the ſecond ſon of Trenmor, headed the troops [48]. And the invaders were repelled [49].

The advantages of the Belgic form of government had now been experimentally perceived, and an immediate union appeared neceſſary among the diſperſed tribes of the Britons. "The nations gathered in Ullin" or Ulſter [50], and reſolved to appoint a pendragon. And they unanimouſly nominated Conar to the office, a chief nearly allied, as he muſt have been [51], to the Vénicnian and Robogdian monarchs, an hero full of glory for his former as well as his late ſucceſſes in war [52], and the only dictator by whom they might be ſure to derive ſuccours from Caledonia upon any future emergency. Conar was inveſted with a military authority over all the tribes of the Britons; and the office was deſcendible to his heirs. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were embodied together under the one Celtic appellation of all the Britons. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were incorporated into one monarchy under the more diſtinguiſhing denomination of their principal tribe. By the former they were denominated Gathel Cael or Gauls, as I have already ſhewn. By the latter they were entitled Scuite or Scoti, as the progreſs of the hiſtory and the accounts of Bede inform us. Temora, a town in the country of the Eblani, and the preſent Terah in the county of Eaſt-Meath, was made the capital of the confederated tribes. And this is expreſsly denominated by Bede the metropolis of the Scots [53].

Thus united, they were ſoon attacked by the Belgæ. Succeſs attended the attack. The Britons were reduced to great diſtreſs. Conar was obliged to ſolicit aſſiſtance from Caledonia. Aſſiſtance came. The tide of ſucceſs was turned. The Belgæ were defeated. And the country was recovered [54].

Unlucky as theſe expeditions had hitherto been, the Belgæ were actuated with too encroaching a ſpirit to be long at peace. Conar died ſoon after the laſt expedition. Cormac his ſon ſucceeded him: and he was now aged [55]. The Belgæ marched with a

large

large army into the country of the Britons, conducted by their king Colculla. Cormac in vain resisted his efforts. He was greatly distrest. He applied to his second cousin Fingal, the young sovereign of Morven and pendragon of Caledonia. Fingal sent him a body of auxiliaries. The auxiliaries and the principals were both defeated by the Belgæ. The young monarch came over in person. His army consisted only of three hundred men. He was joined by a new army of the Britons. At the head of both he attacked the victorious Belgæ. They were not able to withstand him. Colculla was slain by the hand of Fingal. And all his army was dispersed [56].

This blow was a severe one to the Belgæ. It damped their enterprizing spirit for many years. And the Britons, content to repel the invaders, and the infant weakness of many of their tribes requiring the repose of peace, carried not the war after them, and invaded not the Belgic regions. And the peace appears to have lasted for the remainder of the reign of Cormac, through the whole reigns of Cairbre and Artho his successors [57], and for some time during the minority of Cormac the second the son of Artho. Recovered by so long a peace and actuated by their former spirit, the Belgæ made another effort about the year 260.. It was their last. It was a bloody one. It decided the fate of the island.

The Belgæ under the conduct of Torlath advanced into the British territories. Cuchullin met them with the Britons. They fought. Torlath and Cuchullin were killed. But the Belgæ were routed [58]. The Belgæ advanced with another army. It was surprized by the Britons in the night and defeated [59]. But the enemy, making a forced march with a third army to Temora in East-Meath, surprized the capital, seized the young monarch, and put him to death [60]. The army of the Britons marched with great expedition to prevent it. It came too late. It was overwhelmed with astonishment at the event. And it immediately dispersed [61]. The Belgæ everywhere recovered themselves, took advantage of the confusion, and under the command of their

king

king Cairbar and his brother Cathmor made themselves masters of the whole country [62].

In this exigence, the Caledonian monarch, now advanced in years, came over again. And with him came again success. Cairbar lay with his army upon the coast to prevent his landing. The army was routed and Cairbar killed. Cathmor marched up and attacked the victorious troops. And Cathmor and all his army fell [63].

In this defeat the royal line of Larthon seems to have been destroyed. The Belgæ would naturally fall into confusion. And the Britons would as naturally take advantage of it. The Belgæ, weakened by many defeats, and most probably without a monarch, would be now attacked by the Britons, flushed with victory, united under one head, Ferad-artho [64], and taught by sad experience to prosecute an offensive war. And in these circumstances the Belgæ would certainly be reduced by the Britons. So reduced they pretty certainly were at this period. So reduced they undoubtedly were within fifty or sixty years after it. In the year 320 the Britons, no longer requiring assistance from the Caledonians, sent a body of the islanders into Caledonia, and even fixed a considerable colony within it [65].

This great revolution in the internal condition of Ireland must have given the island a new name and a new figure in Europe. It naturally assumed a new importance, being now for the first time united under one head. And it naturally adopted the appellation which the confederated Britons had previously borne, and which the victors must have necessarily communicated to the vanquished. Thus, together with the British tribes and among some barbarous nations upon the ocean, we find the Scoticæ gentes or the tribes of the Scots enumerated by Porphyry about the year 270 [66]. Thus we see the Scoti or the Irish fixing a settlement upon the western coast of Caledonia in the year 320 [67], and ravaging the Roman provinces about 360 [68]. And thus we find absolutely the whole number of the Irish tribes denoted by the appellation of Scoti before the conclusion of the fourth century [69].

The

The first entrance of the Scots into Britain was in the year 320; and a considerable body of them then settled in Caledonia[70], in the country of the Deucaledones, and in the dominions of the Creones[71]. They came not upon any hostile expedition. This the great connexion that had subsisted betwixt the Scots and the Creones, this the frequent reinforcements that had been sent by the latter to the former, this the near alliance of the Scottish and the Creonian monarchs, must have effectually forbidden. They came not merely upon an invitation from the Caledonians and only with a design to engage in the wars with them. Had they come only with this design, they would have regularly lent their assistance, and they would never have received any settlements. They must therefore have crossed the sea from Ireland upon another design. And it was in all probability this. The kings of Ireland being equally with the monarchs of the Creones descended from Trenmor, and the elder line of Trenmor undoubtedly failing in Ossian, "the last of the "race of Fingal[72]," the crown of the Creones must have devolved to the younger line, the family of Conar, and the monarchs of Ireland. Ossian lived long after the rest of the family, long after Fingal had "fallen asleep with his race of battle," as he had seen a new race arise that "marked no years with their "deeds[73]." He must have died therefore in an advanced old age, and about the year 320. The monarch of Ireland would immediately take possession of the kingdom, and would naturally give it as an appenage to one of his sons. The monarch of Ireland accordingly sent Fergus with a body of troops and the authority of a sovereign[74]. And he landed, took possession of the crown, and settled his Scots in the country[74].

Thus fixed in Caledonia agreeably to the laws of the country and with the full consent of the natives, the Scots readily joined the Picts in their incursions into the Roman provinces. In 368 the Picts in general, the Attacotti in particular, and the Scots confederated with both, harrassed Valentia with perpetual inroads[75]. And thus they continued to act ever afterwards, jointly crossing the Cluyd in their curroghs, jointly overrunning Valentia

and

and penetrating into Maxima, and jointly beginning the great æra of calamities which appears so sadly conspicuous in the succeeding history of Roman Britain of Lancashire and of Manchester.

[1] Richard p. 43. and Ptolemy.—[2] Richard's Map.—[3] Richard's Map. This shews the Isamnum Promontorium and the Vinderius flu. to have been transposed in Ptolemy. Laberus derived its name assuredly, not, as Baxter has wildly deduced it, from Lhavar Sermo vel Concio, but from Labhar the characteristick of a river, signifying Noisy, and importing its situation on a river.—[4] Eblana must have been also spoken D-Eblana, as we have Avon and D-Avon for the same appellation; and Eb-lan or Deb-lan signifies the Fortress on the Water.—[5] Richard and Ptolemy for Modona and Menapia, and the biographers of Saint Patrick for Slanus.—[6] Richard's Map.—[7] Richard's Map.—[8] Ptolemy.—[9] Ptolemy and Richard's Map.—[10] Richard's Map.—Ptolemy calls them Erdinii.—[11] Richard's Map and Ptolemy.—[12] Ossian vol. ii. p. 36.—[13] Richard's Map of Ireland has some inaccuracies in it. And Dr. Stukeley's Copy has more. The river Buvinda, which is given in Richard's description to the Voluntii and must have been their southern boundary, is given in Richard's Map to the Eblani, and these are planted to the north as well as to the south of it. The southern border of the Eblani, which must assuredly have run along the Liffy, is carried below it. The southern border of the Caucii, which was certainly along the Oboca, is also carried below it. The Coriondii are placed too far to the west. The Menapii are carried to the Barrow. The Brigantes are pushed beyond it. And the Scoti, who should be all to the east of the Shannon, are all placed to the west of it. Dr. Stukeley has copied most of these mistakes, and added others. He has suffered most of the names to be disfigured by the negligence of the engraver, Vodiæ being changed into Vocliæ, Sena into Lena, Argita into Argela, Darabona into Danæbona, &c. He has omitted several names and

 places;

places; the name of the river Libnius and of the towns Nagnata and Robogdium; and the Vodium Promontorium, the Benitamnium Promontorium, and the Insula Venicnia. And the Voluntii are brought down only to the river Deva, the Eblani are fixed in all the country betwixt the Deva and the Buvinda, and the Rhebius Lacus is carried too far to the north of the Magnus Sinus.—[16] Richard p. 50. A. M. 3650—[17] P. 42. Richard: Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes, origine fuisse Britannicâ, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt.—[16] Iwerddon is the name of Ireland among the Welch at present, Iuer Ton or Tan, the Western country.—[17] Richard p. 42. Quæ eò—trajecerunt, postquam Divitiacus—vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant: And p. 50, Circa hæc tempora.—[18] Richard p. 50; In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati: And Macpherson in Ossian vol. i. p. 130. and vol. ii. Preface p. v.—[19] Agric. Vit. c. 24. A legion and a tolerable number of auxiliaries were then justly deemed sufficient to reduce the island, so thinly was the country inhabited, so much were most of the colonies in their infancy, and so little were they united together.—[20] P. 42. Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes origine fuisse Britannicâ, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt, postquam vel Divitiacus, vel Claudius, vel Ostorius, vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant: And p. 45. Non possum non in hoc loco monere, Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, & Cangianos, omnes fruisse Britannicæ originis nationes, quæ cùm vel ab hoste finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tantaque exigerentur tributa quibus solvendis se impares intelligerent,—in hanc terram trajecerunt.—[21] Richard p. 44. Mediolanum.—[22] Diodorus p. 355. And see Camden c. 1314.—[23] So Charaticus is called by the Welch Caradoc and Caradauc, so Cadwallon or Cadwallaun, so a river in Somersetshire Thone and Taun, and Maur or Mor, Great, and an hundred others. Thus also in Lancashire particularly one river is popularly called and written Laun or Lon, and our own Tame is called by the natives

and written in records both Taum and Tom. —[24] The Carnabii are more ſtrangely denominated Cornini by Ravennas.—[25] Oſſian vol. i. p. 5. An iſlet in the lake of Killarney is ſtill called Iniſe-Fallin.—[26] Mona p. 305.—[27] P. 302. ibid.—[28] P. 14.—[29] Camden c. 808. and Mona p. 27.—[30] Oſſian vol. i. p. 3, 7, 148, vol. ii. p. 72, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 97. —[31] Suetonius p. 240. Oxon. He ſpeaks of them only as two ſtates. And Richard does the ſame, calling all the ſouthern tribes from Kent or Suſſex (p. 18.) to the Land's End by the two appellations of the Belgæ and the Damnonii (p. 17.) — [32] Richard p. 42. Claudius. — [33] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 129 and 131.—[34] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 143 and 145.—[35] Ch. xi. ſ. 2. —[36] Oſſian p. 131. vol. ii.—[37] Richard and Ptolemy.—[38] Richard Iter 16.—[39] Richard p. 51. A. M. 4050. Circa hæc tempora, relictâ Britanniâ, Cangi & Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, ſedeſque ibi poſuerunt: And p. 42. Oſtorius.—[40] Richard p. 43. — [41] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 36. — [42] Ibid. — [43] P. 30. — [44] P. 130 and 36.—[45] P. 36 and 37.—[46] P. 37 and 38.— [47] P. 38 and 31.—[48] Ibid.—[49] P. 38.—[50] P. 31.—[51] Ibid. "The king of "the race of their fathers." — [52] P. 30. — [53] Themoria, civitas ubi etiam *tunc* Regni Scotorum erat caput, S. Patricii Vita, p. 316. tom. iii. in Bedæ Opera omnia, Baſil. 1563; and Waræi Ant. Hib. London 1654. c. 22. p. 95. — [54] Oſſian vol. i. P. 31 and 32.—[55] Vol. ii. p. 58 and 66.—[56] Vol. ii. p. 58, 59, 66, 67, and 68.—[57] Vol. ii. P. 18 and 141.—[58] Vol. i. p. 151, &c.—[59] P. 166. —[60] Vol. ii. p. 21 and 22, and Themoria civitas ubi etiam *tunc* regni Scotorum erat caput (Bede's Patricii Vita p. 316).— [61] Vol. i. p. 166.— [62] P. 166. vol. i. &c. — [63] Vol. ii. p. 6—15 and p. 23 and 149.—[64] Vol. ii. p. 155. He was the ſecond ſon of Cairbar (p. 141. vol. ii.), and uncle to the lately murdered Cormac.—[65] Richard p. 53. A. M. 4320. Ductu Regis Ferguſſii in Britanniam tranſeunt Scotti, ibique ſedem figunt. —[66] Jerom in Epiſt. ad Cteſiphontem.—[67] Richard p. 53.—[68] A. Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8. — [69] Ware's Patricii Opuſcula (London 1656) p. 16, Claudian de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. Elzevir 1677. Totam cum movit Iernem Scotus, and Bede's Patricii Vita p. 316.

And

And in Bede's Hist. lib. iii. c. 3. we find the Belgæ of the south expressly denominated Scots.—[70] Richard p. 53, and Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 1.—[71] Gildas c. 11, Scoti a Circio, and c. 15. Trans Tithicam Vallem vecti—Scotorum Pictorumque greges, and Bede lib. i. c. 1.—[72] Ossian vol. i. p. 236. See also p. 48 and 59.—[73] P. 48 and 71, 59, 81, 236, 260 and 267, vol. i; and p. 203. vol. ii.—Fingal, by the tradition of Ireland, died in 283.—[74] Richard p. 53. And as the ready passage of the Scots afterwards across the Cluyd into Valentia sufficiently evinces, and the express assertion of Bede lib. i. c. 1. confirms, he settled the Scots on the south-eastern side of his dominions and in the present shire of Argyle. And the Scots have always considered Argyleshire as the seat of their first settlement in Britain.—[75] Ammianus lib. xxvii. c. 8.

V.

THE provinces being thus vigorously assailed upon the north and east, and the tenth the seventh and the twentieth legions being probably transported out of the island at the same period, as I have already shewn the last of them to have been certainly resident among us nearly to the middle of the fourth century [1], the remaining troops of the island were only the sixth Victorious and the second Augustan legions and a body of auxiliaries. This body however was more than the regular auxiliaries belonging to two legions. This body was nearly the whole number belonging to four. As the auxiliary cavalry was double in number to the legionary, as the latter was somewhat more than seven hundred men to each legion, and as the former was thrown into alæ or independent troops of four or five hundred men [2], six alæ must have been the complement of auxiliary horse for a couple of legions. But the Notitia expressly mentions eleven bodies of cavalry in the island, five of them specified as alæ, and the other

six forming, like the alæ, as many distinct garrisons, and being therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. And though, as I have formerly shewn [3], sixteen cohorts made up the complement of auxiliary foot for a couple of legions, the Notitia enumerates seventeen, and mentions besides sixteen auxiliary numeri or bodies that, like the cohorts, formed as many distinct garrisons, and were therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. The number of auxiliary horse coincides pretty nearly with the number of auxiliary foot; and both together compose pretty nearly the regular complement of auxiliaries for four legions. And the total amount of the forces in Britain at this period in all probability must have been about twelve thousand legionary and twenty-four thousand auxiliary foot, and about one thousand four hundred legionary and five thousand auxiliary horse, or thirty-six thousand infantry and six or seven thousand cavalry. These, as I have previously evinced [4], were totally insufficient of themselves to garrison the various stations of the country. This must have been never intended. A considerable change must have been designed in the disposition of the forces, and a new appearance was actually given to the military aspect of the country. The troops were no longer disposed in long lines of stationary forts, and no longer ranged across the island in every direction. The Romans prudently broke up the lines of their encampments, and quartered almost all their troops upon the northern and eastern frontiers [5]. The interior regions of the country no longer required any stationary garrisons, secured from the fear of insurrections by the legionary citizens in the colonies and by the Romanized disposition of the Britons. And this change in the arrangement of the Roman forces appears to have happened in the year 394. The Scottish invasion of Roman Britain which shall be described hereafter must certainly have been occasioned by it; that invasion was made in the year 395, as I shall soon endeavour to shew; and one winter was sufficient, and one winter was requisite, to raise the large army which the Scots collected for the expedition. In the year 394 therefore the Romans everywhere broke up the

regular series of their encampments, deserted nearly all the stationary forts in the center of the island and upon the western coast, and filed off to the eastern shore and the northern wall. In the year 394 therefore the Romans broke up their long-continued encampment in the Castle-field and upon the site of the collegiate church and collegiate house at Manchester, the first cohort of the Frisini, Frisiaci, or Frixagi marching away into the north[6], and finally leaving us just three hundred and fifteen years from the original settlement of the Romans in the Castle-field and the original erection of Mancunium in the field of Aldport, about four hundred and fifty from the original construction of Mancenion, and about nine hundred from the original inhabitation of the parish and the county.

As the Romans previously carried their arms into the mediterranean parts of the island, they secured their conquests by a line of forts upon their northern border, to cut off the communication betwixt the conquered and the unconquered Britons, and to prevent any invasion of the country by the latter. Thus Ostorius fortified the isthmus betwixt the Sabriana or the Severne and the Antona or the Nen, the Aufona of Richard, and the river of North-ampton or North-anton, as South-ampton is denominated Claus-entum by Richard and Antoninus, and the greater river at Southampton is denominated Trif-anton by Ptolemy; carrying a long chain of forts directly from the one to the other[7]. Thus a second series was drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, certainly before the reign of Hadrian, and probably in the days of Agricola[8]. And thus a third was constructed certainly by Agricola betwixt the friths of Forth and Cluyd[9]. These lines of fortresses the Romans laid out at their first conquest of the country. And these lines they regularly continued afterwards upon their peaceable settlement in the provinces. But as the Caledonians in the reigns of Trajan and of Hadrian had overrun Valentia and penetrated into Maxima[10], pretty certainly avoiding the frequent forts in the narrow isthmus betwixt the friths by crossing the Cluyd in their curroghs, and afterwards

passing

passing betwixt the fewer forts on the wider isthmus of Cumberland and Northumberland; Hadrian connected the latter by a regular wall of turf [11]. And as the Brigantes or Britons afterwards passed the forts betwixt the friths [12], and invaded Genounia, Ge-Nouania, the land of the Nouanci or Novantes [13], Lollius united the former by another wall of turf [14]. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to resign up the province of Valentia to the power of the Caledonians, any more than Severus meant it by rebuilding the wall of stone [15], when he was just returning from or was just advancing to the intended subjection of all Caledonia. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to resign up the province of Valentia to the enemy, any more than Lollius meant by the other to resign up the conquests of Agricola in the country of the Horestii, when he was actually preparing to reduce all the Caledonians. The walls were erected to continue the chain unbroken from fort to fort, and to preclude the Caledonians from slipping by the forts and ravaging the country. They could no longer pass by the forts upon the friths and the rivers. And if they crossed the friths in their vessels, they were liable to be attacked by the troops from the stations, and they were effectually restrained in their progress by the wall betwixt the rivers. Valentia was constantly retained in the power of the Romans, Genounia being subject to them at the period of the invasion and betwixt the construction of the wall of Hadrian and the erection of the vallum of Antoninus [16]. And the whole province remained under the dominion of the Romans to the days of Severus [17], to the reign of Constantine [18], and to the final secession of the Romans from the island [19].

But now when the Romans collected their forces to the northern and eastern border, and even many years before this period, in the time of Antonine's Itinerary, they appear not to have made the wall of Antoninus the principal barrier of the country, and to have lined it particularly with troops. The ready passage and the customary conveyance of the Picts and Scots

Scots across the frith of Cluyd into the province [20] rendered any considerable garrison at the northern wall superfluous and useless. One however was retained beyond the middle of the third century, and was attacked by Oscar the grandson of Fingal, when "Caros King of ships," Carus, the admiral of the Roman navy, which was regularly stationed at Rutupæ [21], and which seems then to have been accidentally in one of the friths, landed perhaps a reinforcement of men, and certainly took the command of the garrison [22]. And in the period of Antonine's Itinerary, in the period of the imperial Notitia, the Romans must certainly have still retained a garrison at the wall, as they still retained the province of Valentia. And in both periods the Caledonians appear to have not seized at all, as they certainly would have seized if there had been no garrison at the wall, even the northern and more neighbouring parts of the province. They appear only to have infested the provinces with their former inroads, crossing the Cluyd, and ravaging the country [23]. And they first took possession even of the more northerly regions of it only at the final departure of the Romans from the island [24].

And if we examine the Itinerary of Antoninus and the accounts of the Notitia unbiassed by the determinations of our present antiquarians and attentive only to the obvious import of the notices, we shall find this reasoning confirmed by the one and illustrated by the other. The first Iter of Antoninus bears this title prefixed to it, *A Limite i. e. A vallo.* Prætorium usque, and afterwards enumerates the towns

A Bremenio

Corstopitum,—

This Iter therefore undoubtedly commences from one of the walls: and the early nomination of Bremenium in the Iter at once evinces it to begin from the wall of Antoninus, the one Limes or boundary of Roman Britain. Bremenium is demonstrated by a particular inscription [25] to be the present Riechester in Northumberland, and about eighteen miles to the north of

of the wall of Severus. And the second Iter of Antoninus exhibits this title and these names,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,
A Blato Bulgio
Castra Exploratorum m. p. 12
Luguvallio m. p. 12.

This Iter therefore commences equally from one of the walls, and, as the mention afterwards of Luguvallium demonstrates, commences equally from the wall of Antoninus. Luguvallium was certainly at the wall of Severus, and is in the fifth Iter actually denominated Luguvallium Ad Vallum. Thus plainly are two Itinera of Antonine evinced to begin from the more northerly vallum, and to traverse the whole province of Valentia. And thus plainly are the Romans evinced to have garrisoned the walls betwixt the friths even as late as the reign of Constantine and in a part of the fourth century. And the Notitia is still more particular. It not only points out the continuance of the Roman soldiers at the northern vallum. It specifies the number of forts that were garrisoned at it, and it gives us a list of the forces that were quartered in them. Twenty-three stations are placed by the Notitia *per lineam Valli*. And the first eighteen of these are demonstrated by Horseley to range along the line of the southern wall [26]. These eighteen compose the whole length of that extended chain of forts which secured the Vallum of Severus [27]. Where then shall we settle the other five? We act in full contradiction to the declaration of the Notitia, if we transfer them from the line of the wall and plant them at a distance from it. They are declared as expressly as the others to be per lineam Valli. Demonstration shews them not to have been placed along the range of the southern Vallum. Prejudice therefore must acknowledge them to have been certainly constructed along the line of the northern.

But there is one very remarkable circumstance in the two abovementioned Itinera of Antoninus, which has never been observed by the critics. The one Iter begins thus,

A Limite

A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium usq;

A BRAMENIO

Corstopitum m. p. 20; and the other begins thus,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,

A BLATO BULGIO

Castra Exploratorum m. p. 12.

These, and only these, Itinera begin in this extraordinary manner. And this alone pretty evidently points out, that some station or stations have been omitted in the copies before A Bramenio in the one and before A Blato Bulgio in the other. One or more stations have undoubtedly been lost betwixt the Limes and Bremenium in the first, and betwixt the Vallum and Blatum Bulgium in the second. Had not one or more been omitted in the list, the commencing point must have been the Vallum in both, and Bremenium and Blatum Bulgium could have been only two intermediate stations in either. And this is proved to be true by the Itinerary of Richard. We have the very same route described by the fifth Iter of Richard as is traced by the first Iter of Antonine. And we have the stations that are forgotten in the latter particularly enumerated in the former.

Antonine's 1st Iter. A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium usq;—m. p. 156.			Richard's 5th Iter. A Limite Præturiam usq; sic,	
			Curia m. p.	
A Bremenio.			Ad Fines m. p.	
			Bremenio m. p.	
Corstopitum m. p.	20		Corstoplio	20
Vindomora m. p.	9		Vindomora	9
Vinovia m. p.	19		Vindovio	19
Catarractoni m. p.	22		Catarractoni	22
Isurium m. p.	24	41	Eboraco	40
Eburacum m. p.	17			
Derventione m. p.	7		Derventione	7
Delgovitia m. p.	13		Delgovicia	13
Prætorio m. p.	25		Præturio	25.

 Thus

Thus plainly was a Roman garrison continued at the wall of Antoninus to the final departure of the Romans from the island. The number of troops however which was stationed at this Vallum was very inconsiderable for the reasons which I have already suggested. The only forts that were garrisoned at all were five in number, Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, Olenacum, and Virosidum [28]. And the only forces that were lodged in them were four cohorts and a body of cuirassiers [29]. The stations were pretty certainly the five forts which still appear more considerable than the rest betwixt the friths, New Kirkpatrick, Bemulie, Barhill, Castlecary, and Rough-castle. The first is described as a very large fort, the second as a prodigious one, the third as very large and well preserved, the fourth as magnificent and best preserved of any, and the fifth as vast magnificent and entire [30]. And as the eighteen stations along the line of Severus's wall are certainly enumerated from east to west [31], the remaining five along the line of Antoninus's in all probability are equally enumerated in the same direction, and Glannibanta is Rough-castle, Alione Castlecary, Bremetenracum Barhill, Olenacum Bemulie, and Virosidum New Kirkpatrick [32].

But the main body of the troops was now stationed along the line of Severus's wall and the range of the eastern coast. The latter was guarded by ten stations or castles, reaching from Yorkshire into Sussex [33]. The former was raised twelve Roman feet in height and eight Roman feet in thickness, was strengthened with various turrets, and was secured by eighteen forts [34]. And in one of these forts, Vindobala or Rutchester, the old garrison of our Castle-field, the first cohort of the Frieslanders, was now settled by the Romans [35].

This grand alteration in the number and in the disposition of the Roman troops within the island must certainly have been the occasion of the great invasion which was made at this period from Ireland. The first naval invasion of the provinces that had been attempted from Ireland, it must have resulted from some particular circumstances in the interior condition of Britain, and from some very inviting change in the state of the

western

western coast. And nothing less could have been the cause of so remarkable an invasion than the equally remarkable revolution in the interior history of Britain, the general desertion of the stationary lines, and the general retirement of the troops from the western counties. By the new arrangement of the forces, the whole western extent of the island from the south of Westmoreland to the shore of Cornwall was left exposed and defenceless [36]. Had the Irish insulted the western coast with any armament before, the Romans would certainly have left some forces encamped upon it at present. And therefore, if the Romans had not withdrawn all the stationary garrisons from the coast, the Irish would certainly not have insulted it now. But, apprized of the new military arrangements, willing to make a diversion for their brethren of Caledonia, and stimulated with the inviting prospect of plunder and conquest [37], they resolved upon an invasion of the whole western shore of England.

This invasion was certainly made in the year 395. It was made and repelled after the death of Theodosius in the January of 395, and during the minority of Honorius and the regency of Stilicho [38]. It was made and repelled one hundred and forty-six years before Maelgun Guinedh began to reign over the Ordovices [39]; and the commencement of his reign was certainly before the death of Arthur and the year 542 [40]. The former date reduces the fact to the year 395 or some immediately succeeding one. And the latter date carries it back to the year 395 in particular, the commencement of Maelgun's reign being to be reckoned from 541 at the lowest, and the deduction of one hundred and forty-six from five hundred and forty-one leaving us precisely three hundred and ninety-five.

Neil Na-Gaillac was now monarch of the Irish [41], the Neal or chief of the Gaelick or Gauls [42]. He raised the whole united power of the island, and embarked them upon his small craft [43]. The British sea-boats were furnished with masts and sails. But they were frequently worked with oars, the rowers singing to the chime of their oars and the music of the harp [44]. And

 the

the admiral's ship carried a shield fastened high upon the mast, which was a sufficient mark of itself in the day, and which was frequently beat upon as a signal in the night; the whole fleet steering by the stars, and the boats being drawn upon the beach at landing [45]. Thus equipped, the Irish ranged with their numerous navy along the whole coast of Lancashire, landed in the Isle of Man, and reduced it [46]. They made a descent upon North-Wales, and subdued a considerable extent of the country. They disembarked a body of their troops in the regions of the Dimetæ, and conquered the greatest part of their dominions [47]. And they afterwards extended their ravages to the southern channel [48]. This unexpected invasion however was soon afterwards repelled. As in so critical a period the troops in the east and north could not be ordered away to the western shore, other forces were sent over by Stilicho [49], and were joined by a considerable body of the provincials, legionary citizens and original Britons without doubt, under the command of Cunedag the monarch of the Otadini [50]. The Scots were attacked, were defeated, and were driven to their ships, with so great a carnage, that they never afterwards attempted any descents of conquest upon our western coast [51].

But the period was now not very remote, in which the Roman empire, having done the great work for which it was erected by Providence, having long connected the central nations of the globe with a chain of amity, was absolutely to be demolished for ever. The period was now hastily approaching, in which the Divinity, who had already converted to Christianity all the nations that lay within the pale of the Roman empire, designed to bring the uncivilized nations of Europe into the one in order to convert them to the other. The period was now actually arrived, in which the miseries that had been so wantonly scattered over half the globe by the Romans were now to be severely retorted upon them. God summoned the savage nations of the North to come and erase the mighty structure of their empire, and to avenge the injuries of the oppressed nations around them. The

Roman

Roman legionaries, once the invincibles of the earth, now retired upon every side towards the heart of the empire. Rome, once the tyrant of the world, daily shrunk into herself, contracting the dimensions of her territories, and losing the formidableness of her name. And in this awful crisis the Roman soldiers finally deserted the isle of Britain, in the year of the Christian æra 446 [14], five hundred and one years after their first descent upon the island, four hundred and three after their first settlement in the country, and three hundred and sixty-seven after their first entrance into Lancashire [15].

[1] S. 1.—[2] See b. I. ch. ii. s. 2. and ch. vi. s. 4.—[3] Ch. ii. s. 2.—[4] Chap. vi. s. 4.—[5] Notitia.—[6] Ibid. So the Saxons were called Sassenach and Sasenach by the Irish, the Sistuntii were called Sistuntiaci, the Britanni Britannici, Pœni Punici, and Morini Aremorici.—[7] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 31, Richard p. 26, Baxter in Antonin. Camden c. 515, Gale's Essay in Leland's Itin. vol. vi. p. 143. edit. 1769, and Itin. Cur. p. 35.—[8] Horseley p. 98, compared with p. 158.—[9] Agric. Vit. c. 23.—[10] Tacitus Hist. lib. i. c. 2. Perdomita *Britannia* & *statim* amissa; Spartian c. 5. of Hadrian, Britanni teneri sub Romanâ ditione non poterant &c.; and Richard p. 59. Sub quo [Trebellio] duce provinciæ, Vespasiana scilicet & Mæata [or Valentia p. 28], fractæ sunt,—*Circa idem tempus* insulam hancce visitans Hadrianus &c.—[11] The forts betwixt the Friths have been twice as close as the stations along the wall of Severus (Horseley p. 173); and Spartian c. 11. Primus.—[12] *Απετεμετο δε και των εν Βριταννια Βριγαντων* ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ, *οτι* ΕΠΕΣΒΑΙΝΕΙΝ *και ουτοι συν τοις οπλοις ηρξαν την Γενουνιαν μοιραν, υπηκοους Ρωμαιων* (Pausanias Arcad. lib. viii. p. 689. Lipsiæ 1696) These words have been applied to the Brigantes of Maxima (Horseley, Camden, &c), and to the Selgovæ and others of Valentia (Carte); but can suit neither of them. The Brigantes of Maxima had had all their land conquered or taken from them before. The Brigantes of Valentia had either had

all theirs taken from them before or had it all taken now. The Brigantes of Caledonia, they, and they alone, suffered a diminution of their territories at this period. And they lost την πολλην, the whole of Vespasiana. And accordingly Lollius is declared by Richard to have recovered Valentia from the Britons (p. 59). [13] See Carte p. 130, the only person that settled Genounia right. So on one of Cunobeline's Coins class 4. N° 2. we have Novanei for Novantes, and in Ptolemy Tri-noantes for Trinovantes. Nou, a New-comer, makes Nou-en, Nou-an, or Nou-ant in the plural.—[14] Capitolinus c. 5. of Antoninus Pius.—[15] Spartian in Severus c. 22.—[16] So also Netherby in Valentia was certainly a Roman station during the reign of Hadrian (Horseley p. 27).—[17] Herodian lib. iii. c. 48. Χωμαζα.—[18] Antonini Iter 1, and Richard p. 53, 29.—[19] Notitia reckons Valentia as one of the five provinces that were then subject to the Vicar of Britain; and Gildas c. 15. Murotenus.—[20] Gildas c. 13 and 15.—[21] Richard p. 17.—[22] Ossian vol. i. p. 95. This Caros king of ships is idly supposed by Macpherson to be the famous Carausius. But how could Oscar attack Carausius in 287, or rather in 290, and Fingal, who opposed Caracalla in 211, be afterwards able to fight Cathmor (vol. ii. p. 8, &c.)? Fingal must have been then near an hundred years of age. As Oscar died young, he was probably about twenty at the period of this attack; and if we allow his father to be twenty at the birth of him, we come to the year 260 or thereabouts.—[23] Gildas c. 11, 13, and 15. Gildas begins these ravages from 383 or the passage of Maximus into Gaul.—[24] Gildas c. 15.—[25] Horseley N°. 95. of Northumberland.—[26] B. I. ch. vii and ix.—[27] Ch. vii.—[28] Notitia.—[29] Ibid.—[30] Gordon's Iter Septen. p. 53, 54, 57, and 59, and Horseley p. 169 and 198 and 170.—[31] Horseley p. 110.—[32] If the Glannoventa of Antoninus (Iter 10.) be not different from the Glannibanta of the Notitia, as the Alone of the one (Iter 10.) is certainly evinced by its distance of thirty itinerary miles from Glannoventa to be very different from the Alione of the other, the tenth Iter of Antoninus must issue from the eastern end of the Wall, as the first

of

of Antoninus and the fifth of Richard commence from the western, and must probably be as much maimed at the beginning as the first. This route would carry the road in a straight direction from north-east to south-west, and not in so strange a course as Mr. Horsley has given it, first tending to the north-west to Old Town, then turning nearly west to Whitley Castle, and then, and not before, proceeding to the south-west. And this would carry it (I apprehend) nearly by Peebles to Appleby, leaving Whitley-Castle a little distant on the left, and pointing directly into Lancashire and Cheshire. — [33] Notitia. — [34] Richard p. 28, and Notitia.—See Bede Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 12. — [35] Notitia, and Horsley p. 105. Some of the thirteen interior stations were most probably in Valentia.—[36] Notitia.— [37] Nennius p. 142 (Bertram), Ad habitandum.—[38] Claudian de Laud. Stil. l. ii.—Me—me juvit Stilicho.— [39] Nennius p. 142.—See a mistake therefore in Carte p. 213, a Note.— [40] The Triades in Carte p. 213; and Vaughan's Chron. in Carte p. 202.—[41] Carte p. 175.—[42] See Nobilis in Llhyud. And so Scor-na-Fina, Scor-na-Kerri, &c.—[43] Claudian de L. Stil. l. ii. — Totam cùm movit Iernem Scotus, & infesto spumavit remige Thetys.— [44] Claudian ibid.; and Ossian p. 84. vol. i.—[45] P. 162 and 66. vol. ii. and p. 75. vol. i.— [46] Nennius p. 102 and 142, Eubonia; and see c. ii. Nennius.— [47] Nennius ibid.—[48] Carte p. 169, from the Lives of the Irish Saints. — [49] Claudian ibid. — [50] Nennius p. 102 and 142, regione Manau Guotadin.—[51] Nennius p. 142, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis.—[52] See b. II. c. i. f. 2.—[53] Having now deduced the history to the final departure of the Romans, and now losing the useful assistance of Richard, it may be proper to note some little mistakes into which this well-informed antiquarian has fallen, and which I have not mentioned before. Thus p. 28 he places the Mæatæ in Valentia, whom I have shewn to have inhabited Vespasiana. Thus p. 50 he calls Divitiacus the King of the Ædui, when he was King of the Suessones. Thus p. 52 he calls London a colony in the days of Boadicia, when Tacitus expresly declares it not to have been a colony. And thus p. 52 he

he makes Agricola to have ſubdued the Orcades, which were not then inhabited (Solinus c. 22.).

It may be proper at this the cloſe of the Roman account to point out ſuch variations from any part of the preceding hiſtory as appear in our two beſt hiſtorians, the faithful heavy and accurate Mr. Carte, and the more ſuperficial more agreeable and ever ſentimental Mr. Hume. To point out the miſtakes, is a juſtice due to hiſtory and myſelf. To point them out with friendlineſs and candor, is a juſtice due to humanity and to literature. And to have mentioned them before would have embarraſſed the page, already loaded ſufficiently for the ſake of authenticity, with an additional number of references and notes.

HUME, vol. I. quarto.

P. 2. — Cæſar ſays that the Maritima Pars or all the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, oppoſed to the Pars Interior or the more northerly and inland regions, was acquainted with tillage: Mr. Hume has unjuſtly confined this knowledge "to the "ſouth-eaſt parts of the iſland." And Interiores plerique; ſays Cæſar, not all, but moſt of them; "the other inhabitants," ſays Mr. Hume without any reſtriction; maintained themſelves by paſturage.

—Cæſar ſpeaks of the iſland at large, Hominum infinita multitudo. Mr. Hume confines the words "to the ſouth-eaſt parts" again.

—"The Britiſh governments, though monarchical, were free," and Diodorus lib. iv, Mela lib. iii. c. 6, and Strabo lib. iv. are quoted to prove it. "And the common people ſeem to have "enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of "Gaul," and Dio l. 75. is cited as authority for it. The monarchical nature of the government is all that is aſſerted by the three firſt-cited writers. And the δημοκρατία of Dio, which is ſpoken particularly of the Caledonians, I have already ſhewn to have been a miſtake, and may be further ſhewn by Martial's two lines,

Turpes,

Turpes, humiles, ſupplicesque;
Pictorum ſola baſiate Regum. Lib. x. Ep. 72.

And if Dio's expreſſion could prove any thing, it muſt prove, not the freedom of the monarchical government, but the exiſtence of a popular. But indeed ſuch ſtrokes as theſe muſt be ever expected in the preſent period, the well-meaning though impertinent language of the times, in which antient hiſtory is dreſſed up *à l'Angleterre*, and Truth is ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Liberty.

P. 5.—The Attrebates, whom I have ſhewn to have reſided in the north of Berkſhire and to have been native Briſons, are planted by Mr. Hume "in the ſouth-eaſt" of the iſland, and are reckoned among the Belgæ or cultivated inhabitants.

—The Silures, who inhabited Hereford Radnor and Monmouth counties, are ſaid by Mr. Hume merely to inhabit the banks of the Severne.

P. 6.—"London" (in the days of Boadicia) "already a flou-"riſhing Roman colony." It was at this period no colony at all.

—The ſeventy thouſand men whom Boadicia maſſacred in Camalodunum Verulamium and Londinium are all butchered by Mr. Hume "in London." Theſe conſiſted of Romans and Socii, the Belgæ in alliance with them. But Mr. Hume calls them the Romans and "Strangers."

P. 7.—"Agricola drew a rampart between the friths of Forth "and Cluyd." He only carried a line of forts acroſs the iſthmus.

—"Caledonia was defended by its *barren* mountains and "by the contempt which the Romans entertained of it." Be witneſs the attempts of Agricola of Lollius and of Severus to ſubdue it.

—"Lollius *repaired* the *rampart* of Agricola." He united the old forts by a new rampart.

—"Severus added new fortifications to the wall of Hadrian." Hadrian's wall was of earth, Severus's of ſtone. They were

 therefore

therefore very different conſtructions, though nearly in the ſame line.

—" The natives were diſarmed." See the falſity of this before.

P. 8.—" The Picts ſeem to have been a tribe of the native Britiſh " race, who, having been chaced into the northern parts by the " conqueſts of Agricola, had there intermingled with the an- " tient inhabitants." What a medley of miſtakes! The Picts were certainly of the native Britiſh race. They had not been chaced into the north by the conqueſts of Agricola. They were themſelves the antient inhabitants.

Mr. Hume gliding over theſe parts of his hiſtory in an haſty ſuperficial manner, ſo as ſcarcely to give us any real information concerning the interior ſtate of the iſland during the whole Roman period, he could not poſſibly fall into ſo many miſtakes as muſt unavoidably attend a minute and particular detail of them. Such is Mr. Carte's.

CARTE vol. I.

P. 15—22.—Britain is ſuppoſed by Mr. Carte to be firſt planted in the reign of Pluto or of Mercury and about two thouſand years before Chriſt. But the ſeries of his own Hiſtory pretty plainly oppoſes it, which fixes the firſt migrations of the Celtæ of which we can ſettle the period, migrations occaſioned by populouſneſs, not till nearly fifteen hundred years after the ſuppoſed population of Britain (p. 22). And indeed the hiſtory of the population of England, and particularly of Ireland, evinces the iſland not to have been inhabited till about a thouſand years before Chriſt.

P. 22.—The Belgæ came into Gaul (ſays Mr. Carte) about one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt.—They came even into Britain about three hundred and fifty before Chriſt.

P. 24.—" The Britons in all probability received the Belgæ " friendlily." See Richard for the contrary, and indeed Cæſar.

—" Devonſhire and Cornwalle were all in a manner a wild foreſt " at the coming of the Belgæ, as they continued to be in a great " degree till one hundred and fifty years after the Conqueſt.

" Somerſet

"Somerſetſhire was the ſame for the moſt part. And Dorſet-"ſhire too was full of the like foreſts. And in theſe counties "ſeem to have been the parts where the Belgæ firſt ſettled."— All this is certainly falſe. The ſouthern coaſt of the iſland muſt naturally have been the beſt-inhabited of any. And the iſlands of Cornwall actually carried on a commerce with the Phœnicians before the Belgæ arrived. Devonſhire Cornwall Dorſetſhire and Somerſetſhire were inhabited by no leſs than five tribes, and were planted with many towns, of the Britons before the Romans came, and had all a conſiderable number of modern towns after they came. And if theſe counties were full of foreſts before the Belgæ came, and even remained ſo afterwards, the ſettlements of the Belgæ muſt have very little affected the condition of the country. But as the Belgæ ſettled, not merely in theſe counties, but all along the ſouthern coaſt (ſee Cæſar), ſo they carried on a great trade from Hampſhire and the Iſle of Wight.

P. 25.—"The Belgæ had been uſed to live, not, like the "Brigantes [or native Britons], in woods, but—in towns and "villages; and—cities and towns now began to be built by the "Belgæ."——But ſee Cæſar's and Dio's account of the Britiſh town which Cæſar ſtormed among the Belgæ of Kent, and compare them with Cæſar's account of Caſſivelaun's town among the old Britons and his general deſcription of the Britiſh towns, and they will all be found to be the ſame.

—"The Belgæ of Kent, not mixing with the Britons, as the "others ſeem to have done, formed a diſtinct people—and were "called Nouantæ or new inhabitants."——The Nouantæ are the inhabitants, not of Kent, but of Eſſex, in Ptolemy, and of Eſſex and Middleſex in Richard.

—Theſe Nouantæ were "called alſo Nou-cantæ, and the Fore-"land of Kent was called from them Noucantium by Ptolemy." ——The people are nowhere called Nou-cantæ; and the promontory is called by Ptolemy, not Noucantium, but Acantion or Cantion, Promontory or The Promontory.

P. 26.—The true [or continental] Belgæ are ſaid by Mr. Carte to have had no manner of taſte for trade. But p. 25. *commerce* and huſbandry are ſaid to have been the chief employment of the [Britiſh] Belgæ in Gaul.——How unguarded and contradictory!

—"Divitiacus brought with him the Bibroci and the Attre-"bates." Theſe were tribes of old Britons.——"He reduced "chiefly Berkſhire and Oxfordſhire." He reduced neither.——"He planted the Bibroci and Attrebates in Berks and Oxford-"ſhire." Theſe never had any connection with Oxfordſhire. "The ſcene of his conqueſts lay in the ſouth-eaſt of Somerſet "and in the weſt of Suſſex, whence he expelled the Regni, and "where he ſettled his Belgæ." His conqueſts in Somerſetſhire muſt have been over the Hædui in the north; and the Regni, not merely of the weſt of Suſſex, but of all of it, were actually Belgæ.

P. 27.—"It is probable, that Divitiacus ſubdued a good part "of the Iceni."——He certainly did not. See ch. v. ſect. 3. before.

—"In the war of the Britons upon the Belgæ the Attrebates "ſuffered much from the former." Impoſſible, as the Attrebates were Britons.

P. 43.—"Gildas informs us, that the Britons *in his time* had "very ill-favoured ſtatues, and paid divine honours to moun-"tains, hills, and rivers."——Gildas ſpeaks not of his own times, but of the period preceding the introduction of Chriſtianity, and only ſays that theſe monuments remained in ſome places to his own age. See c. 2.

— P. 77.—"Colonies, from a corruption of which word that "of Clan is derived."——How is this poſſible! How could the Britiſh appellation of Clan, an appellation retained only by the unconquered regions of Caledonia and Ireland, be derived to them from the Romans! Clan indeed is a word abſolutely Britiſh in its origin. It has no relation to the word Colony either in its origin or in its import. It ſignifies only a progeny or family.

P. 91.—"Cingetorix and Taximagulus, two Kentiſh poten-"tates, Carvilius chief of the Carvilii in Wilts, and Segonax "prince of the Segontiaci in Hampſhire."——The making Carvilius chief of the Carvilii, a tribe exiſting only in fancy, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a tribe much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæſar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful frequently ingenious but generally miſtaken Baxter. And Stukeley in his Stonehenge has adopted the ſame wild fancy. But Cæſar expreſsly declares them all to have been of Kent,—Cantium—quibus regionibus iv reges præerant (p. 92).

P. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, and 119.—Great miſtakes concerning the poſition of the Britiſh tribes.

P. 103—"In all the territories of the Damnonii no Roman "ſtations."——There were Iſca Damnoniorum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius Amnis, and Tamara, which Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention, beſides various others without queſtion of which we have no account.

P. 128.—"Hadrian withdrew the garriſons from the north of "his own wall."——How unjuſt this aſſertion is, the preſent chapter ſufficiently ſhews.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 18. at the end of Note [15] add this remark.—These stone-instruments have been sometimes supposed by the learned to be merely domestic or sacrificial implements. Domestic implements, but not sacrificial, were undoubtedly reposited in the British sepulchers, as in the barrows upon Salisbury Plain have been found beads and other personal decorations of the deceased (see b. I. ch. x. s. 5). The favourite implements of the dead were interred with them (ibid.). And therefore in all unlettered uncommercial ages, when the wild unengaged activity of man ever carries a keen and military edge with it, and when the great employ of man must necessarily be war and the chace, the weapons of war must have been almost universally reposited with the dead. And we have a striking passage of scripture to this purpose, which has never been noticed by the critics, and which shews the custom to have been as general as the spirit of ambition or the profession of arms. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Egyptians the Persians and other neighbouring nations, cries out "They shall not lie with the mighty, that are fallen "of the uncircumcised, *which are gone down to hell with their* "*weapons of war*, and they *have laid their swords under their* "*heads.*" Ch. xxxii. ver. 27.

P. 18. at the close of note [17] subjoin this remark.—The great weight of these instruments has been a familiar objection against the military application of them. But the objection proceeds upon a false estimate concerning the powers of the human body. It takes not in those additional powers of vigour and agility which the body naturally acquires in the habitual use of the heaviest armour. And the objector may only be remitted for a sufficient answer to the ponderous mails of our ancestors in the Tower of London. He may there reflect at his leisure, whether he could possibly march and countermarch with such an heavy incum-

brance about him, as our fathers are well known to have done even within these two hundred years and even in the deep and founderous roads of our island at that period. With an original vigour of body no greater than what they have transmitted to their sons, our ancestors obtained from practice what nothing but practice could confer, and what an equal practice would equally confer upon their descendants.

P. 28. line 10. for, b. I. ch. x. *p*. 3, read, b. I. ch. x. *f*. 3.

P. 38. at the end of Note [6] add this—And even the great wall of Severus in the North appears to have been constructed upon the same principles, in a part of the wall that has been opened upon Wall-fell near St. Oswald's the lower courses being discovered to be laid in clay, and the upper appearing to be cemented with mortar (see the Map prefixed to Warburton's Vallum Romanum).

P. 53. line 25. for, a *copy* of the handwriting, read, a *specimen* of the handwriting.

P. 92. l. 30. for, Itin. Cur. p. 108, read, Itin. Cur. p. 105.

P. 93. at the end of Note [10] add—The name of Camulus then is a Celtic appellation for Mars. And such also is Belatucadrus. The late learned Bishop Lyttelton indeed, in an Essay published this winter by the Antiquarian Society, has endeavoured to shew Belatucader to be either a local deity in general or another name for Belenus, Apollo, in particular (Archæologia vol. i. p. 308--311). And an inscription in Horseley, which is expressly Deo Marti Belatucadro, directly confronting the course of his Lordship's argument, he is obliged to suppose with Dr. Ward, that something has been lost in the inscription, and that it originally ran Deo Marti ET Belatucado. But such suppositions are surely very frivolous in their nature, the poor refuge of systematic prejudices, and an involuntary acknowledgment of the point opposed. Belatucadr is plainly from its natural import, Bel At Y Cadr or the King of the Fortress, the British appellation for the God of Battles. And the actual addition of Marti to Belatucadro in the Roman-British inscription demonstratively proves it: His Lordship and the Doctor however affirm, that the epithet

epithet of Sanctus, which is given to Belatucader in another inscription, is nowhere attributed to Mars (p. 310 and 311). This, if the assertion was true, would be of no consequence at all in the argument. The epithet might be attributed upon one monument, and yet might not appear upon others. But the assertion is not true. And the fact is as much against them in this point as the reason was in the other. We have actually in Gruter an inscription to Mars, under the title of Camulus, with the character of sanctity expressly attributed to him, Camulo Sanct. Fortissimo (p. 56. and see also Camden in Camulodunum). And the attributes of the Gods among the heathens appear from their inscriptions to have been assigned to them by their votaries with a most promiscuous and indiscriminate liberality.

P. 180. note [s]. for, see b. *I.* ch. i. f. 3. Note, read, b. *II.* &c.

P. 237. l. 39. for, The Sistuntian, read, The Sistuntians.

P. 359. l. 25. for, The houses *of* many of the towns of Italy, read, The houses *in* many &c.

P. 398. l. 1. for, Divinity at the head of the creation, eternal in duration, read, Divinity at the head of the creation, *a nature* eternal &c.

P. 399. l. 9. for, administer *real* comfort, read, administer *rational* comfort.

P. 407. l. 35. for, the Romans being *denominated* as, read, the Romans being *enumerated* as.

P. 442. l. 14. for, stretched al*a*ng the back, read, stretched al*o*ng the back.

THE

CONCLUSION.

WE have now pursued the History of Manchester to that great important epocha in the annals of the island, the consolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the descent of the Saxons on the whole. We have seen the extensive circuit of the parish of Manchester one wild unfrequented range of woodland, inhabited only by the boar the bull and the wolf, the hereditary proprietors of this sylvan domain, and traversed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country in their occasional pursuits after them. We have seen the shades of this Arden selected by the monarch of Lancashire for the seat of a station in the woods, and a station actually planted in the center of it. This was the first early period of the population of the parish. This was the first early commencement of a town within it. The rude outlines of a town began, the faint principle of population commenced, about fifty years before the Christian æra, and within the compass of the Castle-field. And the Forest of Arden assumed a new life and colouring from it. The death-like silence and the dread solitude that had regularly prevailed before were now greatly interrupted by the occasional resort of soldiers to the fortress of Mancenion, by the occasional excursions of hunters from the Castle-field, and by the hollow hum and the dying murmurs of the garrison regularly conversing at the center on the banks of the Medlock. But that warlike tribe of Latium which from a little assemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the masters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe, now land upon

upon the island, reduce the reluctant tribes of the Britons, and advance into Lancashire. They penetrate into the woods of our Arden. They first introduce the hostilities of war into the parish. They take Mancenion. A new spirit and an additional vigour now actuates the woodland. A regular fortress is constructed upon the Castle-field. A regular fortress is constructed equally about a mile to the north of it. And the site of the present town is now first cleared in part of its primitive oaks, and now first receives a colony of inhabitants upon it, a colony only transitory in its nature and existing only during the continuance of the summer. The most north-westerly part of the forest is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle, and four little fortresses are planted for their protection within it. The whole forest is intersected with large broad roads on every side, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and all converging to one common point at the Castle-field. And what compleats the great change in the general aspect of the parish, a regular town is now laid out in the bosom of the forest, a regular town is now actually constructed near the Castle-field, and a neighbouring baron and his clan are now actually settled within it. This is the first immediate commencement of a town within the circuit of the parish, in the ever-memorable autumn of 79. And the fortress in the Castle-field becomes the citadel of the adjoining borough. Beneath the happy auspices of the Roman genius in Britain, that living principle of population which had faintly quickened before at the center of the forest now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuses its influence on every side. The beasts are dislodged to a greater distance from Mancunium. The receding forest curves in an ample amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are successfully transplanted into the wilds of our Arden. Civility literature and politeness follow. And Christianity closes the rear.

But a new scene of sorrow arises. A new invasion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous savages is hastening from the shores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance incivility and barbarism attend upon them. And the fall

of

of Manchester approaches. The brief history of a town, the comprehensive history of a nation, the general history of man, are all of them the records of human calamities and the registers of human woes, of calamities which are generally provoked by vices, and of woes which are naturally productive of virtues, reinvigorating by the task of trials that tone of the human mind which was previously debilitated by inactivity, and by forceable appeals to the native thoughtfulness of the human soul asserting those powers of religion which were previously sinking in the sensualities of peace. The convulsions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements and the subversion of empires, are all finely directed by the controuling influence of Divinity to the great purposes of supporting the moral interests of the world, and of impressing the heart with the awful truths of religion.

THE END OF BOOK THE FIRST.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

N° I.

I Have here subjoined what I have frequently referred to in the work, the Itinerary of Ricardus Corinensis. Such a curiosity ought no longer to be locked up in the few copies of Dr. Stukeley's Comment or the fewer of Mr. Bertram's original. To this I have added the parallel parts of Antonine's Itinerary, that the one may reflect a light upon the other. And to the whole I have annexed the modern places correspondent to each antient name, as they are assigned by Gale by Horseley and by Stukeley.

DIAPHRAGMATA[1]

ITER I.

A RHUTUPI VIA DUCTA EST GUETHELINGA DICTA USQUE IN SEGONTIUM PER M. P. 324. PLUS MINUS SIC.

			Antoninus Iter 2 inverted	
	CANTIOPOLIS quæ et DUROVERNO		Duroverno	1[illegible]
Iter 15 Ricardi Durolevum	DUROSLVO	m. p. 10 — 12[2]	Durolevo	1[illegible]
Durobrovæ	DUROPROVIS —	25	Durobrovis	1[illegible]
	DEINDE — —	m. p. 27		
	TRANSIS THAMESIN INTRASQUE PROVINCIAM FLAVIAM ET CIVITATEM LONDINIUM AUGUSTAM		Iter 3 inverted from Durobrovis to Londinium	27
Dr. Stukeley's Copy Sulloniagis	SULO MAGO —	m. p. 9	Iter 2 inv. Sulloniacis	1[illegible]
	VEROLAMIO MUNICIPIO[3]	12	Verolamio	9
	FORO DIANÆ[4] —	12	Durocobrivis[4]	1[illegible]
	MAGIO VINIO —	12	Magiovinto	1[illegible]
	LACTORODO — —	12	Lactodoro	1[illegible]

[1] The Itinera are so called from their similitude to the animal midriff, which passes through the body from side to side (Stukeley).

[2] This number appears from the distances preceding and following to be faulty. Antonine's must be the right number.

[3] In this and one or two other places I have omitted the notices concerning martyrs, the impertinent interpolations of the Monk.

Canter-

Gale	Horsley	Stukeley
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
Rochester	Rochester	Rochester
London	London	London
Shenley near Brockley Hills	Brockley Hills	Edgeware near Brockley Hills
Verulam	Verulam	Verulam
Hertford	Dunſtable	Market-ſtreet near Dunſtable
Dunſtable	Fenny Stratford	Dunſtable
Stony Stratford	Towceſter	Stony Stratford

* Durocobrivis, a name which has been long wreſted by the antiquarians into Duro-coc-brivis, and to ſignify the Ford of the Red Water, and which has therefore been idly fixed at Redburne and Hertford (ſuppoſed to be He-rud-ford), is really nothing more than Duroc-o-brivis and ſignifies nothing more than a watery town, juſt as Dur-o-brivis and Ebur-ac um. And Redburne is abſolutely Red Bourne or the brook Read.

Iter 18 inv.				Antoninus.	
Hannavaria		Isanta Varia —	12	Bennavenna (Iter 6. Hanavatia)	12
				Iter 6	
Tripontio	12	Tripontio — —	12	Tripontio	12
Benonis	11	Benonis — —	9	Venonis	9
		HIC BISECATUR VIA; ALTERUTERUMQE EJUS BRACHIUM LINDUM USQUE [1], ALTRUM VERSUS VIRICONIUM, PROTENDITUR SIC.			
Iter 18 inv.				Iter 2 inv.	
Manduessedo	12	Manduessedo —	m. p. 12	Manduessedo	12
Etoceto	16	Etoceto — —	13	Etoceto	16
		Pennocrucio —	12	Pennocrucio	12
		Uxaconia — —	12	Uxacona	12
		Virioconio —	11	Urioconio	11
				——— ——— ———	
				——— ——— ———	
		Banchorio [2] —	26	Bovium	
		Deva Colonia —	10	Deva Leg. 20 Vict.	10

[1] This road, the eastern branch of the fosseway, the second Iter of Antonine pursues.
[2] The etymology of this name is strangely mistaken by Baxter. In the laws of Howel

Castle

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Castle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towcester
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge or Showel
High Cross or Claychester	Claychester	Claychester or High Cross
Mancester	Mancester	Mancester
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Stretton near Penkridge	Near the river Penk	Penkridge
Oken-yate	Near Sheriff-Hales	Oken-yate
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter
Banchor	Near Stretton in Cheshire	Banchor
Chester	Chester	Chester

Dha it carries a sense which is undoubtedly the meaning of this appellation. It signifies a Fortification. See A. 37. p. 398. Wotton.

FINES FLAVIÆ ET SECUNDÆ			Antoninus Iter II inv.	
Varis	—	m. p. 30	Varis	32
Conovio	—	20	Conovio	19
Seguntio	— —	[1] 24	Segontio	24

[1] The ſum total at the end is juſt ten more than the number prefixed, the latter being three hundred and twenty-four and the former three hundred and thirty-four. The nine or ten additional miles in the faulty number annexed to Durcprovis account for the difference.

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Bodvary	Bodvary	Bodvary
Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun
Caer Segont near Caernarvon	Caer Segont	Caer Segont

A P P E N D I X.

I T E R II. A SEGUNTIO VIRIOCONIUM USQUE m. p. 73, SIC.		Antoninus
Heriri Monte ——	m. p. 25	Iter 2.
Mediolano ——	25	Mediolano . . . .
Rutunio —— ——	1 -	Rutunio 12
Virioconio ——	11	Virioconio 11

GALI	HORSELEY.	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	Raranvaur Hill by Bala in Merionethshire
Meivod North-Wales	Draiton Shropshire	Meivod Montgomery-shire
Rowton Castle	Near Wem	Rowton
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER III.		Antoninus	
A LONDINIO LINDUM COLONIAM USQUE, SIC.			
		Iter 9 inv.	
DUROSITO —— ——	12	Durolitum	15
CÆSARO MAGO ——	16	Cæfaromago	16
CANONIO —— ——	15	Canonia	12
CAMALODUNO COLONIA —	9	Camaloduno	9
IBI ERAT TEMPLUM CLAUDII, ARX TRIUMPHALIS, ET IMAGO VICTORIÆ DEÆ [1].			
AD STURIUM AMNEM m. p.	6	Ad Anfam	6
ET FINIBUS TRINOBANTUM CENIMANNOS ADVENIS.			
COMBRETONIO —— m. p.	15	Combretonio	15
SITO MAGO —— ——	22	Sitomago	22
VENTA CENOM ——	23	Venta Icenorum	31

[1] This Note muft have been copied by Richard from fome account that was previous to the deftruction of Camalodunum by Boadicia.

I

Leighton-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Leighton-ſtone	Leighton-ſtone	Rumford
Writtle or Witham	Near Chelmsford	Chelmsford
Little Canfield	Fambridge	Kelvedon Eſſex
Walden	Malden	Colcheſter
Barklow or near Haverill	Witham	Stretford-ſtreet, Suffolk
Brettenham	Stretford	Bretenham, Bradfield Combuſt, Suffolk
Thetford or Wulpitt	Wulpitt	Thetford Norfolk
Caſter near Norwich	Caſter	Caſter

				Antoninus Iter 5	
		ICIANIS[1] — —	m. p. 27	Icianos	....
		CAMBORICO COLONIA —	20	Camborico	35
Iter 17. Durolisponte		DURALI PONTE —	20	Duroliponte	25
Durnomago	m. p. 30	DURNO MAGO —	20	Durobrovis	35
Corisennis	30	ISINNIS — —	20	Causennis	30
Lindo —	30	LINDO — —	20	Lindo	26

[1] As several differences occur in the copies which were published by Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Bertram, which I shall regularly note, so this is one. Icianos has only a vacancy in Bertram, but is actually inserted in Stukeley. And the latter is evidently right.

Ickburrow

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Ickburrow	Chefterford	Ixworth, Icklingham
Near Cambrige	Icklingham	Chefterford Cambridge-fhire
Godmanchefter	Cambridge	Godmanchefter
Brig Cafterton	Cafter by Peterborough	Cafter
Nottingham	Ancafter	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnfhire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln.

FTER

	ITER IV.		Antoninus.	
	A LINDO AD VALLUM USQUE, SIC.			
	ARGOLICO ——	m. p. 14	Iter 5 Segelocum (Iter 8 Agelocum)	14
	DANO —— ——	m. p. 20	Danum ——	21
	IBI INTRAS MAXIMAM CÆSARIENSEM.			
Iter 18 Legiolium Iter 5 inv. and Iter 8. from York	LEGOTIO ——	m. p. 16	Legeolium (Iter 8. Lagecium)	16
	EBURACO MUNICIP. OLIM COLONIA SEXTA[1] ——	21	Eburacum	21
Catarractoni 40	ISURIO ——	16	Isubrigantum	17
	CATARRACTONI ——	24	Catarractoni	24
	AD TISAM ——	10	—— —— ——	
	VINOVIO —— ——	19	Iter 1 inv. Vinovia	22
	EPIACO —— ——	19	—— —— ——	
	AD MURUM ——	9	—— —— ——	

[1] This Note must have been interpolated by Richard.

Little-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Little-Burrow	Littleburrow	Littleburrow
Doncafter	Doncafter	Doncafter
Caftleford	Caftleford	Caftleford
York	York	York
Aldborough.	Aldborough	Aldborough
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
— — —	— — —	Pierce Bridge, Ovynford
Binchefter	Binchefter	Binchefter
— — —	Hexham	Chefter in the Street
— — —	— — —	Newcaftle

TRANS

TRANS MURUM INTRAS VALENTIAM			Antoninus	
ALAUNA AMNE		m. p. 25	—	—
TUÆDA FLUMINE	—	30	—	—
AD VALLUN	—	m. p. [1] 70	—	—

[1] Dr. Stukeley gives us the numerals which Mr. Bertam has omitted.

Gale			Horseley			Stukeley
—	—	—	—	—	—	Alnwick Northumberland
—	—	—	—	—	—	Berwick on Tweed
—	—	—	—	—	—	Falkirk

ITER V.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy	A LIMITE PRÆTURIAM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus	
Corium	Curia — —	m. p. ...	— — —	
	Ad Fines[1] —	m. p. ...	— — —	
	Bremenio —	m. p. ...	Iter I. Bramenium	....
	Corstoplio —	20	Corſtopitum	20
	Vindomora —	9	Vindomora	9
	Vindovio — —	19	Vinovia	19
	Catarractoni —	22	Catarractoni	22
	Eboraco — —	40	Iſurium & Eboracum	41
	Derventione —	7	Derventio	7
	Delgovicia — —	13	Delgovitia	13
	Preturio —	25	Prætorium	25

[1] Dr. Stukeley by a ſtrange miſtake reads Ad Tines, and therefore idly fixes the ſtation upon the North-Tyne. The ſtation muſt certainly have been upon the limits of the Gadenian and Ottadinian territories, and ſomewhere, I ſuppoſe, upon the banks of the Tweed in Tweedale.

Roman-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
— — —	— — —	Romanhow, Corfton-law
— — —	— — —	Rocheſter on Tyne
Brampton	Riecheſter	Riecheſter
Corbridge	Corbridge	Corbridge
Dolande	Ebcheſter	Ebcheſter
Bincheſter	Bincheſter	Bincheſter
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
York	York	York
Aldby on the Derwent	On the river Derwent	Stanford Bridge Yorkſhire
Wigton	Wigton	Wigton
Patrington	Hebberſtow Fields or Broughton	Patrinton

ITER VI. AB EBURACO DEVAM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus Iter 2.	
CALCARIA ——	m. p. 9	Calcaria	9
CAMBODUNO ——	22	Camboduno	20
MANCUNIO —— ——	18	Manucio	18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ ET FLAVIÆ	m. p. 18	—— —— ——	
CONDATE —— ——	18	Condate	18
DEVA —— ——	18	Deva Leg. 20. Vict.	20

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter
Almondbury	Near Gretland	Almondbury
Man-cheſter	Man-caſtle near Man-cheſter	Man-caſtle
———	———	Stretford on Merſey
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich
Cheſter	Cheſter	Cheſter

Dr. S.		ITER VII. A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM EBORACUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus
				— — —
		Rerigonio —	m. p. 23	— — —
		Ad Alpes Peninos —	8	— — —
		Alicana — —	10	— — —
Isurio —	19	Isurio — —	18	— — —
		Eboraco — —	16	— — —

Gale			Horseley			Stukeley
——	——	——	——	——	——	The mouth of the Lune
——	——	——	——	——	——	Burton on Lune, or Ribchester
——	——	——	——	——	——	Pendleton, Pendlebury, Lancashire
——	——	——	Ilkley			Skipton in Craven
Aldborough			Aldborough			Aldborough
York			York			York

ITER VIII.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy		AB EBORACO LUGUVALIUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus Iter 2 inv.	
		CATARRACTONI	m. p. 40	Catarractoni	41
Lataris —	18	LATARIS	16	Lavatris	16
Vataris —	13	VATARIS	16	Verteris	14
Brocavonacis	20	BROCAVONACIS	18	Brovonacis	13
Voreda	13	VORREDA[1]	18	Voreda	13
Luguvalia	13	LUGUVALIA	18	Luguvallio	14

[1] Iter 10 inv. from Brocavonacis to Luguballia 22.

Catta-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
Bowes	Bowes	Bowes
Brough under Stanmore	Brough	Brough
Kendale	Kirby Thure	Browham
Penrith	Old Penrith	Caſtle Voran
Old Carliſle	Carliſle	Carliſle

ITER IX.		Antoninus
A LUGUBALLIO PTOROTONIM USQUE SIC.		
Trimontio —	m. p. . . .	— —
Gadanica —	m. p. . . .	— —
Corio — —	m. p. . . .	— —
Ad Vallum —	m. p. . . .	— — —
INCIPIT VESPASIANA		
Alauna —	m. p. 12	— — —
Lindo — —	9	— —
Victoria —	9	— —
Ad Hiernam —	9	— — —
Orrea — —	14	— — —
Ad Tavum —	19	— —
Ad Æsicam —	23	— —
Ad Tinam —	8	— —
Devana — —	23	— —
Ad Itunam — —	24	— —

Cannaby

Gale			Horsley			Stukeley
—	—	—	—	—	—	Cannaby
—	—	—	—	—	—	Colecefter, or Peebles
—	—	—	—	—	—	Corsford by Lanerk
—	—	—	—	—	—	Falkirk
—	—	—	—	—	—	Sterling on Alon river
—	—	—	—	—	—	Dunblane
—	—	—	—	—	—	Kinkel upon Erne
—	—	—	—	—	—	Perth, Airdoch
—	—	—	—	—	—	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnfton
—	—	—	—	—	—	Brumchefter on Tay frith
—	—	—	—	—	—	Brechin on S. Efk river
—	—	—	—	—	—	Efhlie on N. Efk
—	—	—	—	—	—	Aberdeen
—	—	—	—	—	—	Fyvie

		Antoninus.	
AD MONTEM GRAMPIUM	m. p. . . .	——	——
AD SELINAM ——	m. p. . . .	——	——
TUESSIS —— ——	19	——	——
PTOROTONE ——	m. p. [1] 27	——	——

[1] Dr Stukeley fills up with these numerals the vacancy which appears here in Bertram's edition.

On

Gale			Horseley			Stukeley		
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	On Dovern river		
—	—	—	Nairne			Rothes on the Spay		
—	—	—	Invernefs			Invernefs		

ITER

Dr. Stukeley's Copy		ITER X. AB ULTIMA PTOROTONE PER MEDIAM INSULÆ ISCA DAMNONORUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus	
Varis ——	9	VARIS ——	m. p. 8	——	——
		AD TUESSIM ——	18	——	——
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		TAMEA ——	29	——	——
——	20	—— —— ——	m. p. 21	——	——
		IN MEDIO ——	9	——	——
		ORREA —— ——	9	——	——
		VICTORIA ——	18	——	——
Iter 9 Ad Vallum	30	AD VALLUM ——	32	——	——
		LUGUBALLIA ——	80	——	——
		BROCAVONACIS ——	22	——	——
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		AD AL'AUNAM ——	m. p. . . .	——	——
				Iter 10	
Coccio —	66	COCCIO ——	m. p. . . .	Coccio	. . . .
		MANCUNIO ——	18	Mancunio	17
		CONDATE ——	23	Condate	18

Nairne

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Nairne[1]
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Ruthvan on Spay
—— —— ——	About Dunkeld or Blair	Brumchefter or Blair
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Spittle in Glenfhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Strumnic on Erie river
—— —— ——	Orrock in Fife	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnfton
—— —— ——	Abernethy	Perth, Airdoch
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Falkirk
Carlifle	Carlifle	Carlifle
Kendal	Kirby Thure	Browham
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Lancafter
Ribchefter	Ribchefter	Burton by Lancafter
Manchefter	Man-caftle by Manchefter	Man-caftle
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich

[1] Farr on Nairne river

Dr. S.			Antoninus	
	MEDIOLANO ——	18	Mediolano	18
	ETOCETO ——	m. p. . . .	—— ——	——
	BREMENIUM [1] ——	——	—— ——	——
	SALINIS ——	m. p. . . .	—— ——	——
	BRANNOGENIUM [1] ——	——	—— ——	——
			Iter 13.	
	GLEBON COLONIA ——	m. p. . . .	Clevo	. . . . . .
	CORINO —— ——	14	Durocornovio	14
	AQUAS SOLIS ——	m. p. . . .	—— ——	——
	AD AQUAS —— ——	18	—— ——	——
Ad Uxellam . . .	AD UXELLAM AMNEM	m. p. . . .	—— ——	——
—— —— ——				
Iſca — . . .	ISCA . —— ——	m. p. . . .	—— ——	——

[1] The names of theſe two ſtations are taken from Dr. Stukeley. Only blanks appear in Bertram. And as the name of Bremenium is compounded of Bre and Maen, the high Stone, and the ſite of it muſt therefore have been upon the creſt of the hill at Birmingham, ſo this fine town has two or three Roman roads plainly proceeding to it. One is well known to appear in Sutton Park. And another muſt have reached it from Stratford upon Avon and from Shirley Street.

Meivod

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Meivod	Near Draiton	Myvod
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Birmingham
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Droitwich in Worcestershire
—— —— ——	Ludlow	Worcester
Gloucester	Gloucester	Gloucester
Cirencester	Cirencester	Cirencester
Bath	Bath	Bath
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Wells
—— —— ——	Exeter	Barton on the Foss Somersetshire
Exeter	Chiselborough	Exeter

Dr. Stukeley's Copy		ITER XI.		Antoninus	
		AB AQUIS, PER VIAM JULIAM, MENAPIAM USQUE SIC.		Iter 14 inv.	
		AD ABONAM	m. p. 6	Trajectus	[1] 6
		AD SABRINAM	6	— — —	
		UNDE TRAJECTU INTRAS IN BRITTANIAM SECUNDAM ET			
		STATIONEM TTAJECTUM	m. p. 3	Abone	[1] 9
Venta Sil.	9	VENTA SILURUM	8	Venta Silurum	9
Isca	9	ISCA COLONIA	9	Isca	9
Tibia	7	TIBIA AMNE	m. p. 8	— —	
				Iter 12 inv.	
		BOVIO	20	Nido	[2] 15
		NIDO	15	Bomio	[2] 15
		LEUCARO	15	Leucaro	15
		AD VIGESSIMUM	20	— —	
		AD MENAPIAM	19	— —	
		AB HAC URBE PER 30 m. p. NAVIGAS IN HYBERNIAM.			

[1] Dr. Gale supposes Abone and Trajectus to be transposed. Mr. Horseley opposes the supposition. But the order of Richard's Iter shews the former to be right.

[2] Dr. Gale again supposes a transposition; and the order of Richard's Iter again confirms the supposal.

5 Oland

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Hanham	Aunſbury	Olland near Rainſham
— — —	— — —	Auſt on Severne
Oldbury	Henham	Tydenham or Chepſtow
Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent
Caerleon	Caerleon	Caerleon
— — —	— — —	Caerdiff
Boverton	Near Axbridge	Boverton
Neath	Near Portbury	Neath
Logher	Near Glaſſonbury	Logher
— — —	— — —	Narbath Caſtle
— — —	— — —	St. David's

ITER XII.		Antoninus	
AB AQUIS LONDINIUM USQUE SIC.		Iter 14.	
Verlucione ——	m. p. 15	Verlucione	15
Cunetione —— ——	20	Cunetione	20
Spinis —— ——	15	Spinis —	15
Calleba Attrebatum [1] —	15	Calleva	15
Bibracte [2] —— ——	20	—— ——	
Londinio ——	20	—— ——	

[1] This the capital fortress of the Attrebates was seated without doubt upon the present site of the ruinated castle at Wallingford. That site is a good natural eminence very near to the Thames and contiguous to the old ford over it. And at it still remains, amid all the ravages of war and the fancies of innovation, an evident fragment of the stationary wall of the Romans. This is immediately on the right-hand side of the entrance, as you advance from the bridge. It is a piece of wall about five yards and a half in height on the inner side and about six on the outer. On the inner side, it has a foundation of large stones about one fourth of a yard in depth, then smaller stones in little order for two yards and a half in height, then two regular ranges of largish flat stones, then five layers of edge-stones, then another range of flat stones, and then two layers more of edge-stones. On the outer side, the foundation is rather deeper; but that and the disorderly stones rise about one yard and a half only from the ground: then the wall presents nine courses of edge-stones and a range of largish flat stones above them, and ends in two courses more of edge-stones. The breadth of the whole piece is about six yards within and six and a half without, and the thickness about two yards and a quarter. But about three yards within have lost this original facing of the wall; and the height was evidently greater, as the wall even now rises two inches at least above the last layer of edge-stones within. And as the ground within has evidently been sunk below its original level, being now even lower than the foundation of the wall; so the courses of edge-stones are a sufficient evidence of the original constructers of the wall. That style of building appears plainly to have been used by the Romans, being found in the vallum of Severus and in the walls of Silchester.

Westbury

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Westbury	Near Leckham	Lacock on Avon Wilts
Kennet	Marlborough	Marlborough
Spene	Spene	Spene
Henley	Silchester	Wallingford
——— ——— ———	——— ——— ———	Bray
London	London	London

And that style of building appears not to have been ever used at all by either the Saxons the Danes or the Normans of the island.

[a] The British fortress which was originally placed upon the site of this station, which was denominated Bibrac-te or the Abode of the Bibroc, and which was the original metropolis of the Bibroces, must have been seated upon the area of the present church-yard at Bray, the site of the vicarial house and vicarial garden, and the level of the adjoining meadow to the west of all. This compass of ground lies upon the southern side of the Thames and spreads directly along the current of it. This compass of ground contains about twelve statute-acres, and reaches at one extremity to the point of the old ford over the river. And the fortress must have been surrounded with the great wood or frith (as Leland calls it) which remained very considerable to the days of Q. Elizabeth, the last remains of which were grubbed up for firing in the severe frost of 1739, and the site of which still retaineth the name of Maidenhead Thicket.

The Roman station which was afterwards constructed upon the British fortress must have been placed upon one side of it and must have been confined within the area of the adjoining meadow. That field lies at the confluence of a brook with the river, and is defended by the former upon one side, by the latter upon another, and by some remains of ditches upon a third. That field is denominated Garston or the Field of War, and includes an area of about five acres. And near to that field and skirting the eastern side of the church-yard Tradition lays the old road to London, carries it along the lane, and makes it to ford the river at the end.

ITER

Dr. Stukeley's Copy		ITER XIII. AB ISCA URICONIUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus. Iter 12.	
Bultro	9	BULTRO — —	m. p. 8	Burrio —	9
		GOBANNIO — —	12	Gobannio	12
		MAGNA — —	23	Magnis	22
		BRANOGENIO —	23	Bravinio	24
Urioconio	28	URIOCONIO — —	27	Urioconio	27

Brubege

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Brubege	Afk	Caerphylli Caftle
Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny
Old Radnor	Kenchefter	Old Radnor
Rufhbury	Ludlow	Worcefter
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER

	ITER XIV. AB ISCA PER GLEBON LINDUM USQUE SIC		Antoninus	
Iter 13. Bultro	BALLIO ——	m. p. 8	Iter 13. Burrio —	9
	BLESTIO —— ——	12	Bleſtio —	11
	SARICONIO —— ——	11	Ariconio —	11
	GLEBON COLONIA ——	15	Clevo ——	15
	AD ANTONAM ——	15	—— —— ——	
	ALAUNA —— ——	15	—— ——	
	PRÆSIDIUM [1] —— ——	——	—— ——	
	VENNONIS —— ——	12	Iter 8 inv. Vennonis ——	
	RATIS CORION —— ——	12	Ratis ——	12
	VENROMENTO —— ——	12	Vernometo	12
	MARGIDUNO —— ——	12	Margiduno	12
Bertram's Copy thus	AD PONTEM —— ——	12	Iter 6. Ad Pontem	7
Croco Colana	CROCO COLANA —— ——	[2] 7	Croco-colana	7
Lindum 12	LINDUM —— —— ——	12	Lindo —	12

[1] This name is taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.
[2] This number is equally taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.

Gale	Horsley	Stukeley
Brubege	Uſk	Caerphylli Caſtle
Old Town	Monmouth	Old Town
Kencheſter	Near Roſſe	Kencheſter
Glouceſter	Glouceſter	Glouceſter
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Eveſham Worceſter-ſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Alceſter Warwickſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Warwick
Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter or High Croſs
Leiceſter	Leiceſter	Leiceſter
Charnley	Near Willoughby	Coſington on Soar Leiceſterſhire
Willoughby	Near Eaſt Bridgeford	Willoughby, Notting-hamſhire
Eaſt Bridgeford	Near Southwell	Bridgeford
Collingham	Brugh near Collingham	Collingham
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

ITER XV.

A LONDINIO PER CLAUSENTUM IN LONDINIUM SIC.

ITER XV.		Antoninus	
		Iter 7 inv.	
CALEBA — —	m. p. 44	Caleba —	44
		Iter 12.	
VINDOMI — —	15	Vindomi	15
VENTA BELGARUM —	21	Venta B.	21
AD LAPIDEM —	6	—	—
		Iter 7 inv.	
CLAUSENTO — —	4	Clausento	10
PORTU MAGNO —	10	—	—
REGNO — —	10	Regno —	20
AD DECIMUM —	10	—	—
ANDERIDA PORTU —	m. p. [1] 10	—	—
AD LEMANUM —	m. p. 25	—	—
LEMANIANO PORTU —	10	—	—
DUBRIS [2] — —	10	—	—

[1] These numerals are taken from Stukeley. A large vacuity is left for them in Bertram.

[2] The harbour of Dubris was not the present harbour of Dover. The latter is merely an artificial pier formed by strong jettyheads of timber bolted with iron and collecting a large deep bed of beach. The former extended actually into the land, and ran up the valley at the mouth of which the present town stands. This appears sufficiently from the accounts of tradition and the discovery of anchors. Several have been formerly found

Henley

Gale	Horsfley	Stukeley
Henley	Silchefter	Wallingford
Sylchefter	Farnham	Silchefter
Winchefter	Winchefter	Winchefter
— — —	— — —	Stoneham Hants
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton
— — —	Pool	Portchefter
Ringwood	Chichefter	Chichefter
— — —	— — —	Arundel Suffex
— — —	— — —	Newhaven Suffex
Lyme	Lyme	Old Romney
— — —	— — —	Lyme
Dover	Dover	Dover

about three miles up the valley. And at that diftance from the town both the direction and the afpect of the valley are equally altered. The fea therefore retiring from Dover as it has retired from all the fouthern coaft of Kent, the town followed it, and the prefent Dover lies exactly at the mouth of the antient harbour. This muft have been an haven incomparably good, two great headlands of chalk forming the chops of it, a long deep narrow valley forming the fecure bafon of it, and a back-water from the country always

			Antoninus.	
RHUTUPIS COLONIA [3]	——	10	——	——
REGULBIO	—— ——	10	——	——

keeping it open. And from this description of its antient state, compared with the state of the coast about it, the haven of Dover appears sufficiently to have been, what the generality of our historians have supposed it to have been, that very point of land which Cæsar first made in his first expedition into Britain. His account of that land is a lively description of this harbour. Nearing the land about ten in the morning, Ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit; cujus loci hæc erat natura, adeò montibus angustis mare continebatur uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset. And his account of his motions afterwards quadrates exactly with the nature of the coast. Waiting for the rest of his fleet, he came to anchor about the very point assuredly where the town of Dover now stands, & ventum & æstum uno tempore nactus secundum,—circiter Millia Passuum viii ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit. He landed about Walmer Castle, where the high cliffs terminate, and whither the distance of eight miles from Dover exactly carries us. These are such coincidences as decisively prove the point. And the expressions in Dio which have been unfairly wrested by Halley into a conformity with Cæsar's account, and as unfairly applied by Batteley in direct opposition to it (p. 45. Antiq. Rhutup.), ought certainly to be of no consideration on the point, because they are opposed by Cæsar's. Cæsar's own account of what he saw and did must certainly, in all points where the honour of Cæsar was not peculiarly interested, be infinitely superior in authority to the accounts of others not present at the scenes, not cotemporary with the facts, and writing two or three centuries after him. The road from Dover to Canterbury, formerly fourteen Roman miles or thirteen English only (see Antoninus Iter 3.), is now extended to sixteen English, as the head of the harbour and the site of the town of Dover were three miles nearer to Canterbury than they are at present. And the present road runs for one mile and a half along the bottom of the antient harbour. The name of this town therefore, the etymon of which has been suspended in uncertainty betwixt Duvr Water and Dufyrrha Rocks (Lambard, Camden, and Somner), is certainly derived from the former, because it was originally placed remote from its rocky cliffs, and because its name Dubris or Dubræ is the appellation equally of the river and of the town.

[3] Batteley has fully shewn, and tradition coincides with the proofs, that the large plain which now lies under Richborough Castle was formerly the great harbour of Rhutupæ, Portus — classi Romanorum quæ Oceano Septentrionali dominabatur recipiendæ factus idoneus (Richard p. 17). The road from Margate now runs directly across the mouth of the harbour, and the traveller now rides where the Roman navy anchored. At a point of this harbour and on the margin of a cliff were raised the castle and town of Rhutupæ. The site of the town, though it was one of the few Roman colonies in Britain, has been disputed among the antiquarians. Camden places it near the castle and on the descent of the hill (p. 240 and 241, edit. 1607). And Somner transfers it to Sandwich (p. 6. Roman Ports in Kent). But the reasons produced by Camden are decisive. In his time,

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Richborough	Richborough	Richborough
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Reculver

though not perhaps in the days of Somner, and certainly not in the days of Batteley, the interſections of the ſtreets were plainly traceable among the corn of a neighbouring field, and the plow frequently threw up Roman coins in it (p. 240 and 241). And this town appears from Leland (vol. vii. p. 113. Hearne) and Camden together to have extended along the ſlope of the hill that faces Sandwich. There, ſays the former particularly, more Roman money has been immemorially found and is to this day diſcovered than on any ſpot in the kingdom.—The caſtle was without queſtion originally the ſtation of the Roman garriſon before Rhutupæ was erected into a colony, and afterwards ſerved ſolely, as it had partly ſerved before, for a ſecurity to the harbour. The walls of this caſtle, the moſt entire of any Roman walls in the kingdom, I ſuppoſe, except thoſe at Silcheſter, and of which we have a view in Stukeley (Itin. Curioſ. plate 97) and a deſcription both in Batteley (p. 17) and Stukeley (p. 118), ſtill ſtood very lofty in 1769, an huddled compoſition of flints pebbles and mortar, once faced (as the preſent not inconſiderable remains of the facing evince) with ſmall ſtones of a parallelogrammatick figure but different in length and breadth. The exterior ſurface of the wall is divided into ſtories, each ſtory comprizing ſeven courſes of facing ſtone, and each being defined with two courſes of very thin ſhort Roman bricks. The greateſt height of the wall at preſent is ſix ſtories and a half. And the uncommon height of the wall ſhews plainly that it could never have riſen much higher. But the wall towards the cliff is now wholly level with the ground, and perhaps always was nearly ſo.—The town and caſtle of Rhutupæ muſt have ſunk in ruins as the ſea retreated from them. The town, like Dover, followed the retiring waters. And Rhutupæ deſcending from its cliff, and ſettling upon the ſandy level of the old bay, aſſumed the new appellation of Sandwich. This evidently happened in the earlieſt period of the Saxon ſettlement among us. Somner indeed could not find the name of Sandwich in any cotemporary writing till the year 979 (p. 15. Roman Ports in Kent). But it occurs in a writer who lived before Bede, Aeddi or Eddius Stephanus, and in the relation of a fact as early as 664 or 665. The famous Wilfrid (ſays the author) returning from his conſecration in France, he and his company proſperè in Portum Sandwich atque ſuaviter pervenerunt (Vita Wilfridi c. 18. in Gale tom. i. See Bede lib. iv. c. 2.). This daughter-town of the Roman Rhutupæ muſt have ſtood cloſe upon the margin of the ſea at its original erection. But as the waters continued to recede from the coaſt, Sandwich found itſelf equally deſerted with Rhutupæ, and was obliged to open an harbour through the ſands of the ſhore. This communicated with the ſea betwixt Sandwich and Deal, is now denominated the Old Haven, but is nearly filled up and appears merely as a ditch at preſent. The ſea now lies two miles from the town, and the mouth of the Stour, which muſt formerly have been at that point of the æſtuary betwixt Thanet and Kent which is ſtill denominated Sture-mouth, is now the only harbour of Sandwich. There was therefore no river here in the time of the Britons and the Romans. And Camden's applauded etymology of Rhutupæ, Ruyd Tufith,

CAN-

			Antoninus	
CONTIOPOLI [4]	——	m. p. 10	—— —— ——	
DURELEVO	——	18	—— —— ——	
MADO	—— ——	12	—— —— ——	
			Iter 2 inv.	
VAGNACA	——	18	Vagniacis	....
NOVIO MAGO	—— ——	18	Noviomago	18
LONDINIO	——	15	Londinio	10

or the Sandy Ford, is absolutely impossible to be true. Equally impossible for the same reason is also Dr. Stukeley's etymology of Rhyd Tyf or the Passage over the Water. And the derivation given us by Batteley from the noise is obviously too general and extensive to be just. The antient name of the town is Rutupæ, Rhutupi, or Rutubi. And the modern name of Richborough, Repta-caestir, or Ratisburghe is merely a corruption of it. Rutubi Portus (says Bede lib. i. c. 1.)—nunc corruptè Reptacaestir. And see Somner p. 87. In b. II. ch. i. I shall shew Rut and Ruth to signify any Current of Water, and Pig or Pi is a Prominence (see Baxter in Begessa and Cager Voran, and remember Cunedag &c. mentioned before). Ruthupis then is Ruth-eu-Pi, the Peak of the Currents or the Prominence of the Waves, exactly the same as Bar-Rath-on the Hill of the Waves,

Canter-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
— — —	— — —	Maidſtone
Maidſtone	Northfleet	Sevenoke
Woodcote near Croydon	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London

a Caledonian iſlet in Oſſian (vol i. p. 261), and juſtly deſcriptive of the ſite of Rhutupis, which projects conſiderably into the antient domain of the ſea.

* The Roman ſtation at Cantiopolis or Canterbury, the ſite of which none of our antiquarians have hitherto attempted to ſettle, was placed aſſuredly upon the preſent area of the ruinated caſtle, a natural eminence near to the river, and giving name to the ſtation and the town, Durovernum or Dorobernia. This name has been equally derived from the Britiſh Dur Whern a Rapid River (Lambard, Camden, and Somner) and the Britiſh Dur Vern a Temple on the River (Baxter). But as the river at Canterbury was always diſtinguiſhed by its preſent appellation of Sturius or Stour (Richard p. 17), ſo the idea of a Britiſh temple on its banks is merely imaginary. The name is nothing more than Dur Bern or the Knoll on the River.

		ITER XVI. A LONDINIO CENIAM USQUE SIC		Antoninus	
Iter 15. Venta B.	80	VENTA BELGARUM —	m. p. 90	Iter 7 inv. Venta B. —	66
				Iter 12.	
		BRIGE — —	11	Brig —	11
		SORBIODUNO — —	8	Sorvioduno	9
		VENTA GELADIA —	12	Vindocladia	13
		DURNOVARIA —	9	Durnovaria	8
		MORIDUNO — —	33	Muriduno	36
		ISCA DAMNON.	15	Sca Dumnunniorum	15
		— — — —		— —	
		DURIO AMNE —	m. p. . . .	— — —	
		TAMARA —	m. p. . . .	— — —	
		VOLUBA —	m. p. . . .	— — —	
		CENIA —	m. p. . . .	— — —	

Win-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Wincheſter	Wincheſter	Wincheſter
Broughton	Broughton	Broughton
Old Sarum	Old Sarum	Old Sarum
Winburne	Near Cranburne	Winburne
Dorcheſter	Dorcheſter	Dorcheſter
Seaton	Near Eggerton	Seaton
Exeter	Near Chiſelborough	Exeter
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	Aſhburton Devonſhire
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	By Saltaſh
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	Grampound Cornwall
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	Tregeney, Falmouth

ITER XVII.

AB ANDERIDA [EBORACUM] USQUE SIC.

				Antoninus	
		Sylva Anderida —	m. p. ...	— — —	
Iter 15. Novio Mago	—	Novio Mago —	m. p. ...	Iter 2 inv. Noviomago	...
Londinio	15	Londinio —	m. p. 15	Londinio	10
		Ad Fines —	m. p. * 30	— —	
Iter 3. Durali Ponte	—	Durolisponte —	m. p. ...	Iter 5. Duroliponte	...
Durnomago	m. p. 20	Durnomago —	m. p. 30	Durobrovis	35
Iſinnis —	20	Corisennis —	m. p. 30	Cauſennis	30
Lindo —	20	Lindo — —	30	Lindo —	26
		In Medio — —	15	— —	
		Ad Abum — —	15	— — —	
		UNDE TRANSIS IN MAXIMAM.			
Iter 5. from Preturium		Ad Petuariam —	m. p. 6	— —	
Delgovitia	25	DEINDE			
Derventio	13				
Eburacum	7	Eboraco ut supra	m. p. 46	— —	
	45				

* The numerals do not appear in Bertram.

The

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	The Wild of Suſſex near Newhaven
Woodcote	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London.	London
— — —	— — —	Rôiſton Hertfordſhire
Godmancheſter	Cambrige	Godmancheſter
Brig Caſterton	Caſter	Caſter
Nottingham	Ancaſter	Stanfield by Bourn Lincolnſhire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln
— — —	— — —	Kirkton in Lindſey
— — —	— — —	Wintringham on the Humber
— — —	Perhaps Brough in Yorkſhire.	Brough.
York	York.	York.

Dr. S. more rightly perhaps		ITER XVIII. AB EBORACO PER MEDIUM INSULÆ CLAUSENTUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus
		LEGEOLIO	m. p. 21	
		AD FINES	18	
			m. p. 16	
			m. p. 16	
	10			
	10			
Derventione	16	DERVENTIONE[1]	m. p. 16	
		AD TRIVONAM	12	
		ETOCETO	12	

[1] These are the only stations in Derbyshire which the Romans have pointed out to us. I have in the body of the work evinced Buxton to have been a stationary town. And a road proceeds from it, as I have shewn, to Brough near Castleton. This is popularly denominated Batham-Gate. I travelled the road in the autumn of 1767, and found it very direct, very broken, and frequently spoiled of all its original gravel. Circling by Fairfield to it, and proceeding about half a mile beyond the church, I found the road opening very broad on the right, coursing in a straight green lane, and bordered with the stone-hedges of the country on either side. Thus does the road go on cutting all the other roads at right angles, sometimes very plainly and sometimes very obscurely discernible, and elbowed now on the right and now on the left by the encroachments of the inclosures along it. It crosses Small-dale Fold, descends the shelve of the hill beyond it, and is entirely blocked up by the stone-hedges in the valley. Here rounding a little upon the right in order to recover the seemingly apparent line of the road upon the opposite hill, I lost myself and it for some time. But upon the large heath immediately beyond the valley, and betwixt the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth milestones in the road from Manchester to Chesterfield, leaving the turnpike road as it proceeds to the latter, and directly crossing

Castle-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Castleford	Castleford	Castleford
—— —— ——	—— ——	Gravelborough near Rotherham
—— —— ——	—— ——	Chesterfield Derbyshire
—— —— ——	—— ——	Alfreton
—— ——	—— ——	—— —— ——
—— ——	—— ——	Little Chester by Derby
—— ——	—— ——	Burton upon Trent
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall.

the heath to the left, about a quarter of a mile from it and upon the hither side of the hill, I came abreast of a large track, and immediately knew it to be the Roman road. It appeared a long straight streak of vivid green on the left, sweeping over the purple-brown surface of the heath. I entered it, pursued its direction to the right, and at the end of three miles or three and a half found myself upon enquiry about a mile distant from Brough.

This village is placed in a beautiful well-watered and fruitful valley; and the cultivated scenery of it is a striking contrast to the barren heathy wilds in its neighbourhood. And the village appears from its name, its distance from Buxton, and the range of this Roman road to it, to have been originally Roman.

The station was constructed upon the three fields which are denominated the Hall-steads, and are distinguished into the Upper the Lower and the Little Hallstead. This site lies directly upon two brooks, which wash two of its sides and unite at one of its angles. This site is nearly a parallelogram of eight or nine statute-acres in extent, sinks in steep banks along one of the longer sides to the brook Noo or the Limestone Water, and slopes all the way in a gentle inclination to the South or the Gritstone Water. To the west of these Hallsteads, and two or three inclosures from them, the Batham-Gate appears very

Iter

Iter 1 inv. From Etocetum				Antoninus Iter 2. from Etocetum	
Manduessedo	13	MANDUESUEDO —	16	Manduessedo	16
Benonis	12	BENONNIS — —	12	Venonis	12
				Iter 6 inv.	
Tripontio	9	TRIPONTIO — —	11	Tripontio	9
Isanta Varia	12	ISANNAVARIA —	12	Isanavatia	12
		BRINAVIS — —	12	— —	
		ÆLIA CASTRA[2] —	16	— —	
		DOROCINA — —	15	— —	
		TAMESI — —	6	— —	
		VINDOMI — —	15	— —	
		CLAUSENTO —	46	— —	

visible along the side of the Stræt-Fields; the fine ridge having the large hedge planted upon it, thrusting itself out considerably into the lane, and presenting a very remarkable elevation within the field. It is three or four yards in width across the back, one yard in height, and many yards in length, pointing directly at the end into the Lower Hallstead. And in the Lower Hallstead, and upon the lofty bank of the Noo, were very lately found the evident remains of the Prætorium, an hard flooring of Roman cement. A long cake of the cement I saw upon the site, more than two yards in length and one and a half in width, about two inches in thickness, composed of red pounded brick large pebbles and white mortar.

[2] The station and town of Ælia Castra or Aldchester in Oxfordshire were placed upon a very disadvantageous site, a level ground, and a damp soil. The site of the city has been considerably raised above its antient level by the foundations beneath and the ascititious earth above. This appears sufficiently from the level of all the meadows around it, and particularly at the neighbouring station. They are all above one yard and a half lower in the level than the other. The site of the city therefore, damp as it is at present, must have been much damper formerly, and nearly as much so as any of the swampy meadows in its neighbourhood.

The site of the Castrum is a very damp triangular meadow, bounded by a curving brook on the west and south, and having about the middle a remarkable mount of earth, which covers nearly half an acre of ground and rises nearly eight feet in height. This is mentioned by Plot and Stukeley, is called the Castle-Hill, and is said by tradition to have

Man-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Manceter	Manceter	Mancefer
Claychefter	Claychefter	Claychefter
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbiidge
Caftle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towcefter
—— ——	—— ——	Banbury Oxfordfhire
—— ——	—— ——	Alcefter Oxfordfhire
—— ——	—— ——	Dorchefter Oxfordfhire
—— ——	—— ——	Stretley on Thames
Silchefter	Farnham	Sylchefter
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton

had the Caftle of Aldchefter upon it. This was undoubtedly the Prætorium of the ftation, and feems to have been furrounded with a flight ditch. The mount was dug into in the beginning of the laft century, and much Roman money was difcovered, as alfo brick, tile, and pavements of curioufly wrought tile in the bignefs of a fixpence and delicately laid (Hiftory of Aldchefter in Kennet's Par. Ant). But in the fpring of 1766 a confiderable opening was made into it by Mr. Penrofe the proprietor of the meadow.

The workmen began upon the fouth-weftern part, and, through one foot and a half of old bricks and tiles and through four feet of afhes mingled with human bones, came to paved ground covered with fine gravel. Purfuing this for feven or eight yards, they reached the walls of the Prætorium. Thefe were ftanding about three feet in height. Going along the outfide of the wall about twenty or thirty feet towards the north-weftern angle, they came to an opening in it, which appeared to be a doorway and was about eight feet in breadth. At this opening they began to enter the building, and immediately difcovered a Roman pavement raifed about four feet from the level of the meadow, and appearing to extend through the whole compafs of the building. The pavement confifted of teffellæ about one inch and a half in the fquare, bearing different colours, neatly cemented together, and laid upon a bed of mortar.

Beneath, and on one fide of, the difcovered pavement was found a Roman Hypocauft. It was a low room of one foot and a half in height, floored with fmall pieces of cemented brick, and fupported by a great number of little pillars. Thefe were two or three feet diftant from each other, and had heaps of afhes between them.



MIX.

MEM. It is greatly to be wished; that some Gentleman would speedily give us a new edition and a numerous impression of Richard's infinitely useful Commentary. This would be of considerable service to the cause of British and Roman-British antiquities. We might then hope to see a true knowledge and a just acquaintance with the original and primary period of our history a much commoner acquisition among our antiquarians than it seems to be at present. We might then hope to see our antiquarians more commonly begin their historical researches at the great fountain-head of our history, there mark the secret primogenial principles that mix and colour it at the source, and thence be better able to discern with clearness the several ingredients and tints that successively incorporate with it afterwards. And a complete and entire Manual might happily be formed for the Roman-British antiquarian, by adding all the British Notices in Ptolemy Antonine Ravennas and the Notitia to the Commentary of Richard, perhaps all the historical incidents in all the Roman historians, and certainly a Roman-British Glossary upon better principles than Baxter's. Such a work would be a most acceptable present to the historical and antiquarian world. And I am in hopes that the present will be actually made it by my worthy and learned friend, the Rev. Dr. Hallifax of Oxford.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

B.

D.

E.

FEUDS

town

N.

O.

ORDO-

S.

FINIS.

THE

PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS

MADE IN

THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER.

BOOK THE FIRST,

On republiſhing it in Octavo.

SOLD

By WHITE, LOWNDES, Fleet-ſtreet; DODSLEY, Pall-mall; PAYNE, Mews-gate; BAKER and LEIGH, York-ſtreet, Covent-garden; EVANS, Strand; DAVIS, Holbourne; and NEWTON, CLARKE, and HARROP, Mancheſter.

MDCCLXXIII.

M E M.

THERE ARE SOME MINUTE CORRECTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER IN THE PRESENT SUPPLEMENT, WHICH ARE NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE OCTAVO EDITION OF IT; AS THEY DID NOT OCCUR TO THE AUTHOR BEFORE THAT EDITION WAS PRINTED OFF.

M E M.

** Preface p. ix. add this paragraph to the whole.

These are the principles, upon which the present work was originally undertaken, and this first volume of it compleated. And the writer reflects with satisfaction, amid the solicitude naturally attendant on the hour of publication, that he has been impelled by accident and allured by pleasure to execute in part what he had always designed, but should never perhaps have deliberately begun; to task himself with some historical undertaking in the earlier period of life, to fix for some years his undivided attention on the subject, and then give himself and his performances to the candour of the publick.

ADVERTISEMENT

To the Second Edition of Book the First.

WHEN the present work was publiſhed, the author was not a little ſolicitous about its reception in the world. Additional to the anxiety ſo natural to every writer on his firſt publication, he had peculiar reaſons for apprehenſion, both from the unpromiſing title and the ſtriking ſingularity of his undertaking. A hiſtory that pretended merely to be local, and yet ventured to deviate widely from the common track of topical antiquities, and even preſumed to make its private accounts only the center of a large circle, that ſhould generally extend itſelf over the iſland, and frequently ſtretch into Ireland and the continent; was a work of ſo uncommon a nature, as was ſure to encounter, at firſt, all the hereditary prejudices of our old antiquarians and the publick. The former would be apt to condemn the boldneſs of its plan, ſo much above the uſual ſcale of antiquarian courage, as the very extravagance of fancy. And, what weighed more with the author, he was afraid of being confounded by the latter in the common herd of local hiſtorians, and haſtily reſigned with the reſt of his brethren Blattarum ac Tinearum epulæ, to the moths and the worms of antiquarianiſm. But from theſe apprehenſions he was ſoon freed. His plan has been approved of in every part. And the encouragement, which he has received, has even enabled him thus early to publiſh a ſecond edition of his work.

In this he has availed himſelf of the obſervations, which have been made upon the former. And he thinks his hiſtory improved by the attention. But his plan and execution are ſtill the ſame. His corrections are confined to parts. And he has

 altered

altered ſome, and enlarged others. His great aim has been to render each eſſay in the work, as far as he could, a compleat treatiſe upon the ſubject, to throw nothing wilfully into ſhade, but make every part ſtand forth diſtinct and clear. And the ſtile, which was ſometimes embarraſſed by its own accuracy and weakened with exceſs of vigour, he has endeavoured to improve, by clearing away its obſtructions and retrenching its exuberance. In a hiſtory of ſo ſingular a complexion and genius, and with an author unknown to fame, the firſt publication muſt be merely experimental; to try the taſte and judgement of the publick, for the correction or confirmation of his own. The ſucceeding books of this work, therefore, will not want the alterations and additions of this; when, like it, they make their ſecond appearance in octavo. And, in that ſtrict juſtice which ſhould always be ſhewn to the purchaſers of a former edition, all the principal corrections of the ſecond will be thrown together, and printed in a quarto pamphlet.

The author has been obliged to leave out the plates. They are too bulky to be folded in an octavo. And, uſeful as they are for embelliſhment, they are not neceſſary for illuſtration. But he has added near forty Britiſh coins, many of which have been publiſhed ſince the firſt edition, and remarkably coincide with the obſervations that he had made in it; has diſperſed them in different parts of the hiſtory, and applied them to explain the manners of the Britons. And he has prefixed a little table of contents to every chapter, calculated to excite curioſity without anticipating information, to give the reader an inviting view of the country in which he is going to travel, and yet leave it to open afterwards with all its novelty upon him, as he gradually proceeds in his journey. Almoſt ever ſince Mr. Macpherſon releaſed him from attention to the diſpute betwixt them, by ingenuouſly yielding up the whole; Mr. Whitaker has been employed in reviſing his work, and ſtudying to give it every attainable grace and perfection. This he owed to himſelf, to local hiſtory, and a patronizing publick. And he has particularly endeavoured to perfect, what ſeems to himſelf the moſt curious

part of the whole, the attempted history of domestick life. But he has been careful to preserve in the old parts, and pursue in the new, the general and leading spirit of the whole; and has always aimed, as before, to be original without being fantastical, and to deal constantly in new notices with an inviolable adherence to truth.

And he has particularly retained that disposition of the Notes, which seems to be as singular as his execution or his plan; and still places the numerous authorities for his assertions and facts, not, as has hitherto been the custom, at the foot of the page, and even not, as Lord Lyttelton has recently placed them, in an appendix at the end; but at the conclusion of each section. And from this arrangement of them the History of Manchester seems to have derived an advantage peculiar to itself. They are not now, what on the common method they evidently are, so near as to distract the attention by diverting the eye, break the narration, or confound the argument. And they are not, like my Lord's, too remote to be consulted in the progress of the reading. These little members of a work, which are so necessary to every authenticated history, and yet so embarrassing generally to the reader and the writer, are not crouded inelegantly on the margin of the page, where they are attended with an inconvenience almost equal to their utility; and are not huddled together in a common repository at the close, where they are lost to every purpose of immediate consultation, and the observations in them cut off from the subjects to which they respectively belong, and of which they are actual though subordinate parts. They are now formed into collections. And these are subjoined each to its own portion of the work, where every one of them is given un-mingled with another; and are placed each at a point of the history, where a pause is made equally by the writer and the reader. They are not either so small, as to be occurring with a troublesome frequency, or so large, as to be formidable to the reader from their bulkiness. And they are equally ready for a transient consultation or a formal perusal.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

MANCHESTER ORIGINALLY A BRITISH TOWN, ITS FIRST NAME AND SITE, AND TO WHAT KINGDOM IT BELONGED—THE EXTENT OF THE LATTER, AND THE ARMS OF ITS SUBJECTS—WHEN THE FORMER WAS FIRST LAID OUT PROBABLY, ITS NATURE AND REMAINS—AND THE REDUCTION OF BOTH BY THE ROMANS.

AMID the various doubts and uncertainties with which ignorance and inattention have clouded the Roman geography of our iſland, no uncertainty has ever ariſen, and no doubt been ſtarted, concerning the well-known claim of Mancheſter to the character of a Roman town. A ſtation is acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been ſettled in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field. And it is allowed to be the Mancunium of the Roman Itineraries. But the origin of it is not, I think, as all the antiquarians have equally agreed to ſuppoſe, derived entirely from the Romans.

The appellation, by which it is denoted in the Itineraries, is confeſſedly borrowed from the Britiſh language. And this one circumſtance plainly ſhews the name to have been impoſed by the Britons. They only could communicate a Britiſh appellation to a Roman fortreſs.—And, if the Romans had been the original conſtructors of the fort, they would have given it a Roman name. If the ſite had lain totally undiſcriminated from the

P. 9.

L. 27—29 thus—The usual appellation of the islanders, Britanni, in the present denomination of the Armorican Britons and their language, Brez and Brezonec, and in the name of the Brigantes. Brit is enlarged into Brit-on or Brit-an in the plural, and Brit-an-ec in the relative adjective, &c.

P. 10.

L. 1 thus—And, as we find the last applied once by a native two or three tribes of the southern, and by a Greek writer to the whole body of the northern Britons [27], so we see the first actually used by Ravennas for the country of the Brigantes, and our own Sistuntii expresly declared to possess a third part of this Britain [23].

P. 11.

This memorandum is subjoined to the notes.

MEM.

The etymology of the names Albion, Britain, and Brigantes, the period of the first population of the island, and the derivation of the original colonists, have, since the first edition of this work, been more fully opened and ascertained in The Genuine History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson, p. 29—32, 71—74, 91—93, and 95—103.

P. 12.

L. 1—8 thus—The riches of the Britons consisted chiefly in their cattle [1]. And it appears to have been a practice among three of their tribes, at least, to keep large herds of them upon the uninhabited grounds that skirted the confines of their country. Retaining under their own care as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, they detached the rest into the woods on the borders under the inspection of their servants. And these

these they ſometimes called Ceangon or foreſters from their place of reſidence &c.[a]

P. 13.

L. 10—12 thus—To a mind that has derived all its ideas of the Britons from the modern and popular accounts of them, it muſt ſeem ridiculous to talk of the Britiſh armouries. But in this, as in a thouſand other particulars, modern hiſtory has grown wanton in prejudice and confident in errour. And it is one principal deſign of the preſent work, to ſtrip the Britons of the ſtrange diſguiſes in which ſhe has hitherto dreſt them up, and exhibit them in their natural and genuine appearance.—The armouries of the Britons were furniſhed with &c.

P. 15.

L. 8—28 thus—And it is a Britiſh one. Axes were a principal part of the offenſive armour of the Celtæ. At the ſiege of the Roman Capitol by the Gauls under Brennus, we find one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their warriours armed with a battle-axe. And Ammianus Marcellinus, many centuries afterwards deſcribing a body of Gauls, furniſhes them all with battle-axes and ſwords. Some of theſe weapons have been found in the ſepulchers of the Britons, on the downs of Wiltſhire and in the north of Scotland. Within theſe four or five centuries the Iriſh went conſtantly armed with an axe. And the axe of Lochaber hath remained a formidable implement of deſtruction

[a] For Paruis ſee Mr. Baxter. But Ceang he violently derives from the Welſh Kaing, a bough, metaphorically meaning a young man. And Mr. Carte, miſtaking his words in another place, and reading his ehangon into changon, would deduce it from that word, and even call the Ceangi free men,—in order to mark their dependency (p. 108, a note). The word is thus derived probably. Cean or Can, a hill, ſignifies alſo a wood; as in the next ſection I ſhall ſhew Ven, the ſame word, to mean equally in Gallick and Britiſh. And Can would in the relative adjective make Can-ac. Fir-Canac, or in the rapidity of pronunciation Fir-Canc, as Cannock, the name of a foreſt in Staffordſhire, is commonly called Cank at preſent, would ſignify the woodlanders. And Canc or Cang makes Cang-on, Cang-an, or Cang-ian in the plural.

in the hands of our Highlanders, even nearly to the present period [b].

Other instruments have also been discovered in Wiltshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Scotland; which were shaped in the same manner, and therefore designed for the same uses; which however were not composed of brass, but formed of stone. And the rude simplicity of these axes, their correspondence with the arrow-heads of flint which have been so often discovered in Scotland and Derbyshire [c], and the frequent appearance of them in the sepulchers equally of the Gauls and Britons, shew the latter to have been the original proprietors of all. Nor are they, as they have been sometimes supposed by the learned, merely sacrificial or domestick implements. Domestick, but not sacrificial, were reposited in the graves of the Celtæ; as in the barrows upon Salisbury-plain have been found beads, and other personal decorations of the deceased. And the favourite instruments of the dead were interred with them. In all unlettered and uncommercial ages therefore, when the disengaged activity of man ever carries a keen and military edge with it, and his great employ is necessarily war and the chace; the weapons of both would be universally reposited with the dead. And we have a striking passage of Scripture to this purpose, which shews the custom to have been as general as the spirit of ambition or the profession of arms. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Egyptians, Persians, and other nations, cries out: "They shall not "lie with the mighty, that are fallen of the uncircumcised, "*which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war*, and "*they have laid their swords under their heads* [d]."

Such a stone-formed head of a British battle-axe I have now in my own possession, which was thrown up by the harrow in

[b] See Plutarch v. I. p. 315, Bryan, for the Gaul at Rome, and also v. II. p. 514; A. Marcellinus l. xix. c. 6, Galli—securibus gladiisque succincti; and Topog. Hib. p. 793, for the Irish.

[c] See Thoresby's Leeds p. 493—494, for flint arrow-heads being frequently ploughed up near Buxton, and there called British arrows.

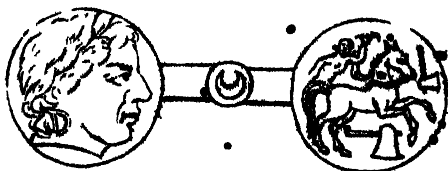
[d] See b. I. ch. x. s. 5, and Ezekiel ch. xxxii. ver. 27.

an inclosure a little distant from the Castle-field. It is a strong and heavy Celt, molded with great regularity, and ground neatly to an edge, &c.

P. 16.

L. 4—7 thus—And the whole is not less than eight pounds and four ounces in weight. This great heaviness of the instruments, indeed, has been a familiar objection against the military application of them. But the argument proceeds upon a false estimate concerning the powers of the human frame. It takes not in that additional vigour and agility, which the body acquires in the habitual use of the heaviest armour. And the objector may be remitted for a sufficient answer, to the ponderous mails of our ancestors in the Tower of London. He may there reflect, whether he could march and countermarch with such a heavy incumbrance about him, as our fathers are well known to have done even within these 200 years, and in the deep and founderous roads of our island at that period. With an original vigour of body no greater than what they have transmitted to their sons, our ancestors obtained from practice what nothing but that could confer, and what an equal practice would equally confer on their descendants.

Two such battle-axes as this are delineated upon an antient coin of the island, which the horse on one side, and the pearls round the head on the other, shew to be British. Here is a view of it.



And here we see a smaller and a larger Celt exhibited together on the coin, and having the handle inserted into the body of each [e].

This, and the military chariot, were derived &c.

P. 17.

L. 20—21 thus—Such are sometimes the little escapes of real learning and judgment.

P. 20.

L. 2—4 thus—The whole reflected warmth of our sun. And this is the case with numbers of the British fortresses &c.

P. 24.

L. 4 thus—They were, as we have every reason to suppose, what the general houses of the Gauls and Britons were, great round cabins &c.

L. 29 thus—Assistance of lime. The houses in the western isles of Scotland, to this day, are built of stone and cemented with earth [f]. And the same &c.

P. 25.

L. 31—For south-west, read south-east.

P. 26—27.

The paragraph now runs thus—During this application of that remarkable spot, the country around it was one large wood, which began immediately without the barriers, and diffused itself on every side. And the popular denomination of it among the Britons will hereafter appear to have been Arden. This was the common name of forests among the Celtæ in general, from the wildly extensive one which ranged for 500 miles in length across the country of Gaul, or covered more than half the county of Warwick in Britain, and the sites of which still retain the appellation of Arden,

[e] This Coin was publissed since the first edition of this work, and is N° III. plate 16. of Dr. Stukeley's British Coins.

[f] See Martin's W. Isles, p. 291, second edit.

to the much ſmaller one that ſurrounded Mancenion. Written Arduen by Cæſar and Tacitus in ſpeaking of the foreſt in Gaul, and Ardven by Oſſian in mentioning the woods of Caledonia, it cannot be compounded of Ar the præpoſitive article in Celtick and the ſubſtantive Den, as the oracular interpreter of the Roman-Britiſh apellations aſſerts it to be [15]; but is formed of Ard an adjective, and Ven the ſame as Den. The meaning of the name therefore is not, as Mr. Baxter renders it, ſimply the hills, or, even as the ingenious tranſlator of Oſſian interprets it, the high hill. Ard ſignifies either high or great, and Ven or Den either a hill or wood. Arduen, Ardven, or Arden, then, means a conſiderable wood. Hence, only, the name became applicable to ſuch very different ſites, as the plains of Warwickſhire and the hills of Scotland. And it was given, not only to the moſt extenſive foreſts, to that which was the greateſt in Gaul or ſo conſiderable in Britain, but to many that were important only within their own contracted diſtricts, to the wood of Mancenion, and others. That, particularly, covered the whole ſite of the preſent Mancheſter. And all along the ſtreets, which now reſound with the voice of induſtry, and are now crouded with the retainers of commerce, then exiſted the gloom of a foreſt and the ſilence of ſolitude. And a mind tolerably romantick might long amuſe itſelf with the reflexion, that this gloom was never invaded or this ſilence interrupted, but by the reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs in war, the viſits of hunters in peace, or the diſtant ſounds of the garriſon converſing in the Caſtle-field; and that the boar and wolf, then (as will hereafter appear) the inhabitants of this woodland, were for the moſt part the only poſſeſſors of it, ſlumbering perhaps in ſecurity by day on the bank of the preſent church-yard, and roaming in companies by night over the area of the preſent market-place [g].

[g] —— Paſſimque armenta videbant
Romanoque Foro, et lautis mugire Carinis.

P. 28.

L. 25—26 thus—Now ſkirted on the ſouth and eaſt by the Romans. And weakened as perhaps they ſtill were by their ſtruggle with the warlike tribe of the Brigantes, &c.

P. 29.

L. 17—20 thus—The main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington, and defeated the Carnabii of north-weſtern Cheſhire. And a conſiderable party &c.

P. 31.

CHAP. II.

WHAT MANCHESTER WAS IMMEDIATELY MADE BY THE ROMANS, AND WHAT CALLED — THE NATURE OF THEIR WORKS AT IT — THEIR STATIONARY OECONOMY LAID OPEN — AND ALL THEIR STATIONARY REMAINS AT MANCHESTER POINTED OUT.

I.

THE Britons of Lançaſhire being ſubdued in the ſummer of 79, Agricola reſolved to eſtabliſh forts and ſettle garriſons in ſeveral parts of their country. And he accordingly fixed the ſtations Ad Alaunam and Bremetónacæ in the north, Portus Siſtuntiorum in the weſt, Rerigonium and Coccium about the center, Colania on the eaſt, and Veratinum and Mancunium on the ſouth. Some were neceſſary to the maintenance of his conqueſts in the county, and muſt always have been erected by the Romans as they extended their empire. Six of theſe are mentioned by the earlieſt accounts which we have of Lancaſhire, and five by one that was drawn up about ſixty years only after the reduction of it. Having been five of them originally Britiſh fortreſſes, they were now changed into Roman camps. And ſmall garriſons, conſiſting principally (we may ſuppoſe) of the infirm and raw ſoldiers, were lodged in them, while Agricola with the reſt attacked the more northerly Britons in the following ſummer.

P. 32.

L. 15—17 thus—The ſoldiers allotted to the buſineſs we may image to ourſelves, according to the deſcription given us by Vegetius,

Vegetius, leaving their ſhields and knapſacks in the center of the area and in circles about their reſpective ſtandards, and repairing &c.

P. 34.

At the end of the paragraph is this addition.—In conſtructing the walls of it, the Romans purſued the method that has been equally noticed in thoſe of Lemanis, Verulam, and Old Sarum [a], and left holes at certain diſtances in the ramparts. The deſign of theſe openings, however, has not yet been aſcertained. And, for want of a better reaſon, they have been ſuppoſed to be made for the free admiſſion of the air into the thick ſubſtance of the walls, in order to dry them. This cannot have been their original intention, as at Saliſbury they appear to have been cloſed with ſtone at the ends, and have been found below the natural ſurface of the ground at Mancheſter. And they were calculated, I apprehend, to anſwer a more important purpoſe. The former have been repreſented, as extending quite through the breadth of the wall [a]. But this is a miſtake. I was there in 1772, and noted them attentively. They are five or ſix in number; and the facing of one ſide ſtill remains over two of them. And one, that was accidentally laid open from end to end, diſcloſed the deſign of all. As the Romans carried their rampart upwards, they took off the preſſure from the parts below, and gave a greater ſtrength to the whole, by turning little arches in their work, and fixing the reſt of the wall upon them. The holes at Sarum were all regular arches, at the diſtance of five or ſix feet from each other. And as late as the year 1769 there was an arch appearing in the rampart of the Caſtle-field, a little to the weſt of the ſouth-eaſtern angle; and the crown of it juſt roſe above the ground.

P. 36.

L. 9—12 thus—And all this ſide of the wall, which was from the beginning probably not much higher than it is at preſent,

[a] Itin. Curioſ. p. 185, &c.

as it was sufficiently secured by the river and its banks before it, appears crested at first with a hedge of thorns, a young oak rising from the ridge, and rearing its head considerably over the rest; &c.

P. 37.

L. 5—9 thus—And the white and brown patches of morter and stone, on a general view of the wall, stand strikingly contrasted with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line, and with the green moss that half reveals the projecting points, of the rampart.

L. 23—26 thus—And, as the soldiers proceeded in the work, we may fancy the centurions appointed to superintend it, employed as Vegetius describes them upon the like occasions, regularly examining the line of the ditch, and carefully measuring the depth of the channel, with their ten-feet rods.

P. 40.

L. 21—22 thus—And, according to the practice of the Romans in their camps, eight men out of every century, thirty-two in all, continued upon guard in the Castle-field &c.

P. 42.

L. 8—11, this sentence is left out, as the subject is more fully discussed in another place.

P. 44.

L. 1—7 thus—To the brown china of Staffordshire, but more brightly coloured, and of a strong coral hue. And, ornamented with various figures and devices, it has the name of the maker embossed upon it thus in small Roman capitals, ADVOCISI. Other &c.

P. 45.

To the last paragraph are added the following.

But that large projection of the bank of the Medlock, which commences near the south-eastern and south-western point of the station, appears to have been applied to the most capital uses. Lying within the two angles of the camp, and forming an agreeable addition to it, it was naturally the site of all the offices. And in 1771 were here found some remains of buildings, which the nature of the construction and the discovery of coins equally marked to be Roman.

A little to the west of the south-eastern angle, and directly opposite to the small bridge on the other side of the river, as the workmen were levelling the bank for a wharf, and proceeding to the east, they came to a large stone, like the pedestal of a pillar, but all plane on the surface. It was about two feet nine inches across at the base, and gradually decreased upwards by four stages, as it were, of eight inches, three and a half, one and three quarters, and one and a half, in length, to two feet and three inches, two feet, and one foot nine. It was placed on a flooring seven or eight inches thick, which was made with pieces of soft red rock, and bedded in clay. And it was nearly twenty-five yards distant from the present edge of the water.

Eight feet immediately to the east of this was a building, equally with the stone about two below the surface of the ground, and floored with a Roman cement of morter and pounded brick. This was nine inches in thickness, and rested on a body of marle about as many in depth. And the whole building was about twenty feet long and ten broad. — Nine to the east of this was another flooring, two or three lower in the ground, and a cake of the same cement and thickness. It lay upon loose earth, but was covered with flags. And the whole was about ten feet broad and thirty long. — The exteriour wall of both buildings was discovered on the northern side, running parallel with the river. That of the former was about two feet

three

three inches in thickneſs, and that of the latter about four. This roſe about three high, and was formed of ſtones regularly dreſt, the upper ſhallow and the lower deep. And, having extended neatly in a right line about thirty feet, it then turned in a fair angle, and pointed towards the river. In the former building was dug up only one flooring, but in the latter three. Below the pavement deſcribed above, and in the looſe earth on which it lay, were found, as the pillars of it, large blocks of a mill-ſtone grit and ſquare tubes of ſtrong tile. And the firſt flooring lay on all theſe; the intervals between the tubes and blocks being entirely filled up with earth. The latter were ſuch as we have noticed before in the Britiſh foundation at another end of the field, and like them, I ſuppoſe, brought down by the floods of the Medlock. And the former were about ſixteen inches in height and five in diameter, and filled up with morter that had once been fluid. Three of theſe were found together, ſtanding erect, and two of them ſo formed with projections as to make a third by their union. And theſe and the earth all reſted upon a ſecond flooring, another cake of the ſame cement, near two feet in thickneſs, and lying upon a ſecond bed of rubbiſh about three in depth. In the body of this earth, which was covered with the ſecond flooring, all unbroken and entire, were diſcovered three or four regular pillars of flag and tile. The firſt was placed about ſix feet to the ſouth of the northerly wall, and the ſecond about ſeventeen inches to the ſouth of that. Six feet eaſtward was another; and about ſeventeen inches north of this were ſome remains of a fourth. They were compoſed of a ſquare flag, then two layers of tile, each tile being about two inches thick and eight ſquare, and afterwards of flag and tile in four layers alternately, all laid in morter and pounded brick. And they roſe from twenty-two to thirty-two inches in height, cloſely ſurrounded on every ſide with the looſe earth; and lay, as it lay, upon a third flooring, made of pure and unmixed morter, three inches in thickneſs, and having a layer of red ſand below on the natural ground.

 About

About a yard to the east of the more easterly building, was discovered a third, but all a mere mass of confusion. And in the broken ruins of it were dug up a couple of Roman coins, and three round tubes of tile. These were found in the ground, with their morter adhering to the outside of them, and each about sixteen inches in length. They had plainly been formed in molds, were hooped as it were with circles on the outside, and narrowed from a diameter about four inches at one end to two at the other. And by this means they were calculated to be, as they were found, each inserted into each, and forming one long pipe.

What, then, was the design of these three buildings and the stone? Clearly Roman, they were as clearly some of the appendages belonging to the station. And the buildings, particularly, seem to have been the cowstall, the slaughterhouse, and the larder of the garrison. In enquiries of this circumstantial and private nature, however, we must not expect demonstration. And a probable conjecture is the highest point of certainty to which we can aspire.

It was the second building probably, that was the slaughterhouse of the station. Such a structure the Romans would necessarily have in the Castle-field. And they would naturally place it about the site of this, within the irregularly semicircular projection of the river-bank, below the level of the fortress, and on the edge of the water. But, what seems to amount nearly to a positive proof, close to it, near the south-western angle and along the north-eastern side of it, were found great quantities of bones heaped together, and chiefly of oxen, sheep, and cows.—What the particular design of the two inferiour floorings was, covered as they were with a mass of earth, perhaps we must not pretend to explain. And indeed they seem not, in any view of the building, able to serve a single purpose whatsoever, except only to prevent the burrowing of rats from the river.—Many tiles also were found in the ruins, that had round holes in them, some larger and some smaller; and others, that were made with a bend for channels. The former were probably

bably the vent-holes, and the latter the ducts, by which the blood on the floor discharged itself into the soughs, and was conveyed into the river. And one sough, I am informed, was actually observed in the building.

This, then, was in all probability the slaughterhouse of Mancunium. And the accompanying structures on the west and east would naturally bear an affinity to it, and be the larder and cowstall.—In the most easterly of them, the three long tubes of tile, inserted into one another, and laid in the ground with morter, were evidently placed as a channel. And there were also found, as in the second building, several fragments of coarse tiles formed into hollows, and calculated for the same purpose. These were the drains probably for all the fluid filth of the cowstall. And the cattle, that were slaughtered for the use of the garrison, were probably kept here after they were taken from the pasture, and properly prepared for the knife. In the ruins of the second edifice was found a large knife of iron, with a handle of stag's horn. And in those of the more westerly one was picked up the beam of a balance, and fitted with a hook at one end. That perhaps was the carving knife of the butcher, and this the balance of the larderer, with which he measured every soldier his portion; the beam being very slight, and capable of weighing about half a pound. The second and third buildings, as the slaughterhouse and cowstall, would consist only of one large room each; and no partitions were found in either. But they were in the first; and, as a larder, they would be wanted in it. As a larder also, it needed only what it had, a single flooring of Roman cement; because the drainings of the slaughterhouse would effectually divert the rats of the river from it. It had nothing therefore but the dampness of its position, to guard against. And, placed as it was so much higher than the slaughterhouse, one flooring would be fully sufficient for this purpose.

In this view of the buildings, the eastern being the cowstall, the middle the slaughterhouse, and the western the larder, of the Roman garrison; the stone, which was placed about two yards to the west of the last, will have its proper use and place. It

was evidently found in its original site, being fixed (as I have shewn) on a regular basis of red rock and clay. And it is so much in miniature what our market-stones are upon a larger scale at present, that I cannot but think it intended for a similar purpose; as the stated point, to which the soldiers repaired every day for their portions of meat, which were cut and weighed at the larder, and afterwards distributed at the stone. Nor has Vegetius, that curious detailer of the military œconomy of the Romans, neglected to give us a hint concerning these minuter parts of it. Speaking of the preparation requisite in a camp for supporting a siege, he particularly directs all the live stock of the garrison, except a few fowls for the sick, to be killed, and carried to the larder; omne animalium genus, quod inclusum servari non potest, deputari oportet ad lardum. And it should afterwards, he says, be distributed among the soldiers by officers appointed for that purpose, ut adminiculo carnis frumenta sufficiant [b].

Thus was the south-eastern part of the projection taken up probably by the cowstall, slaughterhouse, and larder of the garrison. In the ruins of them was found a Roman chissel of iron, shaped like our present chissels, and fitted for the reception of a wooden handle. And the south-western, which has never yet been dug into, was equally occupied in all probability by the stables of the officers, roosting-sheds for the fowls, and other constructions of a similar nature [c]. Only, at one point of this, was found a few years ago what seemed to have been a part of the Roman provision for a siege. Against such an occasion Vegetius shews his countrymen to have carefully collected the round stones of the rivers; and to have lined the walls of their stations with them: saxa rotunda de fluviis, quia pro soliditate graviora sunt, et aptiora mittentibus, diligentissimè colliguntur, ex quibus muri replentur. The smaller were sent against the enemy either from the hand or slings. And the larger were launched

[b] Vegetius l. iv. c. 7.

[c] I have the chissel in my own possession, and also the stag's-horn handle of the Roman carving-knife. The blade of the latter being loose, it was stolen at the first discovery.

from

from their engines. The former have been frequently found in the Roman camp of Camalet, and sometimes by half a peck at a time; though there are none such in all the parts of Somersetshire about it. And a great quantity of the latter was found all together at Manchester, when the Duke of Bridgewater began his works in the Castle-field; gathered from the bed of the Medlock, and reposited on the bank of it, lying in a large heap immediately under the British rampart, and fairly turfed over by time [c].

P. 46.

L. 10—16, From *among many fragments* to *Horseley p.* 328 is left out, and thrown into another part of the work.

At the beginning of sect. IV. this paragraph is added.

One of the most distinguishing and permanent parts of the Roman character, though it has been little attended to, was a regular religiousness of spirit. This is that accomplishment of the mind, which reflects the highest honour upon it; as it is the full result and united power of all the virtues blended together. For this, probably, did the great Father and object of all religion select the Romans from the common mass of mankind, and give them the empire of the globe. And so livelily did the principle operate within them, and so actively was it diffused even through the camps of their soldiery, that nine tenths of their stationary relicks in Britain are only monuments of their piety and memorials of their devotion.

The Roman garrison of Mancunium, therefore, must naturally have had some particular building for the periodical services of religion. &c.

P. 48.

L. 5—10, This whole sentence is left out, because the fact alledged is not true and the allegation is unnecessary.

L. 33—35, This also is left out for the same reason.

[c] Vegetius l. iv. c. 8. and 22, and Itin. Cur. p. 142.

P. 59.

L. 21 thus—[7] Horſeley, Cumberland Fig. 46, and perhaps Suſſex Fig. 1, Trajan's; Northumberland Fig. 77, and probably 59 (ſee pref. p. xiv), Hadrian's; and Scotland Fig. 1, 3, 16, 25, and 26, Antoninus's —.

P. 52.

After both the paragraphs of ſect. V. theſe remarks are thrown in.

But in the month of May 1772, cloſe to the ſecond lock of the Irwell, and about two miles from Caſtle-field, was found a Roman Bulla of gold. It was diſcovered in deepening the channel for the paſſage of the boats, buried about a foot deep in a ridge of gravel. And it is repoſited with the ſword in the elegant and magnificent Muſæum of my friend, Aſhton Lever Eſq. of Alkrington.

This well-known ornament of the Roman boys was made originally of leather among all ranks of people, I apprehend; as ſo it continued among the inferiour to the laſt. And, though it has never been ſuſpected, it was plainly, I think, intended at firſt for an amulet rather an ornament. That lively ſpirit of religiouſneſs, which I have noticed before in the genius of the Romans, was greatly tinctured with ſuperſtition. And they hung amulets about the necks of their children, repreſenting different parts of the human body, and even thoſe which are characteriſtick of man. Upon the ſame principle, aſſuredly, bullas were originally made in the form of hearts [d]. And, what ſeems a full evidence that they were amulets, they were frequently impreſſed with the figure of the ſexual parts beſides [e].

But they did not always retain the form of a heart, any more than they were always compoſed of leather. As the wealth of the ſtate and the riches of individuals increaſed, the young patrician diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bulla of gold, while the common people wore the amulet of their anceſtors [f]. And the figure of a heart was laid aſide for that of a circle. The bullas then be-

[d] Montfaucon L' Antiq. Exp. tom. III. part I. p. 69.

[e] See two in Montfaucon's plate, ibid.

[f] Signum de paupere loro, as Juvenal calls it.

came

came so generally round, and some even bearing the impression of a heart upon them, that there are not many of the original form, I believe, to be found in the cabinets of the curious[g]. But many are preserved of the other; and one, particularly, was discovered about 40 years ago in Lancashire, being accidentally picked up by a lady in the station of Overborough[h]. And, when once the form had varied from a heart to a circle, the gradation was easy from a circle to a segment of it. There was some fantastical reason, no doubt, the suggestion of the original superstition, for using the former. And as good an one would easily be found in the reveries of religious folly, for adopting the latter. Our Mancunian bulla is of this figure, and the only one that I know of in the kingdom. Very few indeed have been found within it. I recollect none at present, but our own and the Overborough bulla. And many cannot be expected. The leathern, that were lost, must long since have perished. And what can we hope for of the golden, when they were thrown off at the age of puberty, and a patrician's son was not likely to come over and serve in the armies before? They can be expected only from the sons of patricians settled in the island, and employed in the civil or military offices of the country. And the number of these was in all probability small.

But it is very remarkable, that the only two, which are known to be discovered in Britain, should both have been found in Lancashire. And ours at Manchester is much more curious than the other. Many have been collected on the continent in the round or Overborough figure; but none, I believe, in that of a segment. And it enables us to correct a prevailing mistake concerning these little implements. It is universally asserted by the criticks, that the bulla was hollow for the reception of an amulet[i]. But, as I have already observed, the amulet was the bulla itself. And our own serves to confirm the notion. When it was

[g] Four in Montfaucon; and two have a heart upon them.

[h] Rauthmell's Overborough, p. 99—100.

[i] See Montfaucon, resting on the authority of Macrobius.

firſt found, it was nearly entire; and, if it had ever had any relick or taliſman incloſed, would ſtill have retained it. But, on examining the cavity within, nothing could be found except a few particles of ſand, that had inſinuated themſelves at the only breach in the whole, a ſmall puncture at the bottom of it. And the whole is ſomething more than three and twenty ſhillings in intrinſick value. The two flat ſides are decorated a little differently. Both have ſegments of concentrick circles engraved upon them. One, however, is embelliſhed only with plain ſtrokes of the graver betwixt the ſegments. And the other has ſtars radiating between them, executed in an elegant taſte, and interchangeably pointing upwards and downwards.' This therefore was the front of the bulla, the ſide which lay uppermoſt as it reſted on the breaſt. And I give this view of it here.



Real Size

P. 53.

P. 53.

CHAP. III.

A DISCOVERY MADE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF ROMAN-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES — THE GEOGRAPHY OF ROMAN BRITAIN ASCERTAINED — THE GREATER ROADS ACROSS IT, BRITISH OR ROMAN — AND THE GENERAL ROADS OF THE ROMANS IN LANCASHIRE.

I.

THE only accounts that had defcended to us concerning the Roman ftations and roads within the ifland, in the year 1757, were the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Imperial Notitia, and the Anonymous Chorography &c.

P. 55.

L. 13—14 thus—Who advanced the Roman empire very little beyond the Tay &c.

P. 60.

L. 19—20 thus—And transferred the imperial feat to Noviomagus, a town in Surry &c.

P. 61.

L. 28—30 thus—Denbigh, and Flint (except a fmall part of the laft, adjoining to Banchor and belonging to the Carnabii), and thofe parts of Shropfhire which are to the fouth and weft of the Severn; &c.

P. 63.

L. 23—24 thus—A chain of mountains, formerly denominated Montes Uxelli, running &c.

P. 68.

L. 10 thus—From the ſouth-eaſt into Caernarvonſhire on the other &c.

P. 75.

L. 34—35 thus—Such a coincidence ſhould always be allowed as a deciſive argument, unleſs there be demonſtration to the contrary. And, only with this exception, it muſt always be ſuppoſed to &c.

P. 80.

CHAP. IV.

THE ROMAN ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER TO OTHER STATIONS, CAMBODUNUM, CONDATE, AND COCCIUM — THE SITES FIXED, AND THE REMAINS DESCRIBED — AND SOME CURIOUS PARTICULARS LAID OPEN IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITONS OF WEST-CHESHIRE.

I.

IT has been queſtioned by the antiquarians, whether the ſtations or roads of the Romans were prior in time. And no determination has been given to the queſtion. But the deciſion, I think, is eaſy. The ſtations were prior, as I have previouſly intimâted; and the roads were only the channels of communication between them. Many of the former neceſſarily commenced, as I have mentioned before, during the very conqueſt of the country; and all of them at the concluſion of it. And the latter could not be conſtructed till the firſt or ſecond ſummer after both.

P. 86.

L. 25—33 thus—And going through Mr. Kerſhaw's kitchencroft and fold, and over Mr. Bent's gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, where it has been found by the plough in one part, and is viſible to the eye for a great number of yards together in another. It is again ſeen at the deſcent of the hill, and in the grounds of Wellihole. It leaves Haigh Chapel a little on the ſouth, goes up the hill to the village of Oſterlands, and enters York-

Yorkſhire; keeps in the incloſures along the ſouthern edge of the High-moor, and comes cloſe to Knot-hill in Saddleworth. Croſſing the Mancheſter and Huthersfield road at Delf, and paſſing along the fields to Caſtleſhaw, it appears in one long green ſeam upon Clowze-moſs, and is popularly denominated the Old Gate. And it appears again in a green track upon the hill which is called the Reaps, leaves March-hill a little to the north, and Marſden about a mile and a half to the ſouth, and runs over the middle of Holm-moor, up Cupwith-moor, and by Pole-moor-ſtone, to the northern ſide of Gowkerhill, and the groundplot of Cambodunum.

P. 94.

L. 9—11 thus—Unjuſt. And, as they claſh with the opinions that I have advanced in the text, I feel myſelf compelled in my own defence to notice them. Thus Mr. Percival in p. 63, on ſuppoſitions frivolous in themſelves, and Mr. Watſon in p. 218—220, on reaſonings confeſſedly contrary to authority, &c.

Laſt line thus—In A. D. 633. The Campodonum of Bede, therefore, cannot be Doncaſter. It can only be the Cambodunum of the Itineraries. And we have exactly a parallel inſtance among the Brigantes of the Alpine regions, the Cambodunum of Ptolemy (p. 62) being denominated Campodunum by Strabo (p. 316).

P. 102.

L. 20—21 thus—All Cheſhire, all Staffordſhire, thoſe parts of Shropſhire which lie to the north and eaſt of the Severn, almoſt all Warwickſhire, and the adjoining lands of &c.

P. 103.

L. 9—10 thus—The whole of Staffordſhire and Cheſhire, and ſeveral parts of Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.

L. 29—30 thus—The whole of Staffordſhire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.

P. 104.

L. 2—3 thus—County, Staffordshire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropshire, Warwickshire, &c.

P. 110.

L. 17—22 thus—Winter's tale. And, in this state &c.

L. 30—36 thus—There, only, are those particularities of site, which the Romans generally secured in the position of a camp, the convenience of a stream and the advantage of a bank, the concurrence of a brook with a river, and a commodious point of ground betwixt both. The one would afford &c.

P. 114.

L. 2—21 thus—The latter, which from the Roman termination of the word appears to have been Caer Cocci, imports literally the city of the high one. And the former, which may be either Rigo or Rigod dunum, signifies the fortress of the king or kings. Thus Ragæ, the Roman name of the present Leicester, and the British appellation of the Coritanian capital; and Reg-num, or Regen-ti-um, the capital of the Regni, and the present Chichester in Sussex; are exactly the same with Rig-od and Rig-od-dunum: being all of them the British plurals of the same word, and equally with Cocci the designation of a metropolis. And a duplicate of names appears to have been not uncommon among the Britons in general for their stations in the woods; Camulodunum and Cambodunum being two denominations for the same fortress, Regnum and Regentium being equally the title of Chichester, and the Bovium of Antoninus only a different appellation for the Banchorium of Richard.

P. 115.

L. 31 thus—Among the primitive Britons and weftern Highlanders. The befieged &c.

L. 25 thus—And there are to this day feveral carnes, or heaps of ftones, upon the heights along the coaft of the Harries, on which the inhabitants ufed to burn heath, as the fignal of an aproaching enemy [a].

P. 116.

Note 6. thus—Baxter in Cogidumnus and Lhuyd in p. 215.

[a] Martin's W. Ifles, p. 35.

CHAP.

P. 118.

CHAP. V.

OTHER ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER TO OTHER STATIONS — THE SITES AND REMAINS FIXED AND DESCRIBED — A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS IN EAST-CHESHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE — AND SOME ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS NEAR WARRINGTON APPLIED TO HISTORY.

I.

THESE are all the ſtations with which the two Itineraries repreſent Mancheſter to be connected, and theſe are the roads which ran between them. But there were alſo others. And one proceeded &c.

P. 127.

L. 23—25 thus—Was originally the dock-yard of the town. And here were conſtructed and refitted the many flats and barges, &c.

P. 130.

L. 14 thus—The channel of the river. This was once aſſuredly the capacious baſon of the Roman harbour, a beautiful creſcent formed by theſe two headlands, and about four miles over at the mouth. But of theſe the weſtern has no Neb &c.

P. 139.

L. 29—34 thus—Eminence on which it is erected; being denominated Verb, Guerſ, or Wherf &c.

P. 143.

L. 21—30 thus—In these the wildest parts of the wildest region in England, the neighbourhood of a garrison only could have caused the medicinal virtues of these little springs to be even known to tho Romans. And nothing but the vicinity of a station could have occasioned the waters, after they were known, &c.

P. 146.

L. 3—22 thus—The Romans, on their settlement in Britain, immediately marked and collected the mineral springs of the island, which had rilled on for ages either utterly unnoticed by the natives, or wasting their waters upon the solitary wilds of the country. And accordingly we find the warm baths of Britain, in general, mentioned as early as the year 61, within 18 years only after the first wintering of the Romans in the kingdom. And we see those of Somersetshire, in particular, noticed within a century afterwards. They are spoken of by the title of ὑδατα θερμα in Ptolemy, Thermæ in Richard, and Aquæ Solis both in Richard and Antoninus. And, as we meet with Aquæ &c.

P. 147.

L. 4—17 thus—The Roman bagnio at this place was plainly discernible by its ruins within the present century. The dimensions were then traceable by the eye. And the wall of it was brick, still rising about a yard in height upon three sides, and covered with a red coat of Roman cement, hard as brick and resembling tile [a]. The bason was floored with stone; and supplied, not by any of the springs which feed the present bath immediately above, but by that finer source of water which is now denominated St. Anne's well, and was then inclosed within it. And this continued the very curious and only remains of the

[a] Short's History of Mineral Waters, 1734, p. 23 and 44.

Roman baths in the kingdom, so late as the year 1709; when Sir Thomas Delves with a gothick generosity of spirit destroyed the whole, in order to cover the spring with the stone-alcove that is over it at present. But about fifty yards to the east of this, on driving a level from the present bath to the river in 1697, was found an appendage probably to the Roman bagnio, a bason about four yards square, but made with sheets of lead, that were spread upon large beams of timber, and had broken ledges all along the borders. This additional bath was replenished from another spring, which is about fourteen yards to the south of it, and called Bingham well. And both the springs, and all the others of Buxton, are only of a blood-warm heat; and must therefore have been more congenial to the state and more friendly to the health of the human frame, in the constant use of them among the Romans, than the boiling waters of the sun at Bath [b].

But let us turn from these notices, to survey the general condition of this part of the country in the days of the Britons. There appear &c.

L. 30—36 thus—Worcester seems to have been their capital. The name is compounded of the two words, Bran or Bren, and Genion or Cenion. The latter, as I have already shewn in our own Mancenion, signifies simply a fortress or town. And the former, importing a head or king, seems strongly to mark it for the principal city.

P. 149.

L. 2—4 thus—Reduced all Staffordshire, nearly all Warwickshire, the north and east of Shropshire, the east of Cheshire, and the little detached district of Flintshire. And &c.

L. 16—19 thus—The genuine and proper name therefore was Gen-i, Y-cen-i, or Cen-om-es, the head ones; and the appellation of Cenimagni, Cenimanni, or Cenomanni signify

[b] Short, ibid.

only the head men, Man being equally a British and Saxon word, and retained to this day in the Erse.

P. 150.

L. 1—11 thus—Were equally aborigines with all; as the Belgæ had never penetrated so far into the island, and as the Cassii, the great enemies of the Belgæ and the conquerors of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay immediately to the south of them. The other nation &c.

P. 151.

L. 1—5 thus—Geography, and Ragæ, only, in Richard's Roman description of Britain. The real name, therefore, was originally both; the former implying only the town or fortress, and the latter importing it to be the metropolis of the kingdom.

P. 152.

L. 22—28 thus—Rath signifies a fortress in Irish at present, and is the Irish appellation of Charleville and (with the addition of Cuirc) of Cashel at present, and the Irish and English name for Rathdowne &c. And perhaps the British name of Leicester was compounded of both, and was Rageu-Rath originally, as Riogh-Rath is used in Irish to this day for a King's Seat; and was afterwards broken into two, as Cocci is used without the prefix Caer, and Rigod-dunum will appear hereafter (b. II. ch. 2. s. 4.) abbreviated into Reged.

P. 153.

L. 30—32 thus—To the borders. And it was found again a few years ago at Warrington, and immediately from its appearance adjudged to be Roman. In 1756, on digging into the ground in Sankey-lane, where all the neighbouring fields had been a heath within these thirty or forty years, in order to form the cistern of Mr. Robert Patten's great sugar-house there; the workmen, at the depth of a yard, found a regular pavement

ment of three feet in breadth, coming from Dallam, and pointing towards the angle of the lane and the Horse-market. And it was equally discovered at the angle in 1752, on opening the ground to lay the foundation of Mr. Patten's house; being at the same depth and of the same breadth, pointing obliquely across the street, and having a direction towards the old ford over the Mersey.

There all these roads must have met. There &c.

P. 155.

L. 8—15 thus—And the ground of it was about eighteen statute-acres in compass. The isthmus in its narrowest point was only about four or five yards in width at the height of the tide, and about ten at its recess; and would easily be secured by a rampart and ditch. And a rampart of only three or four feet in height, entered as that at Manchester appears to have been, not by openings in the line of the wall, but by ascents to the crest of it, would effectually prevent &c.

P. 159.

L. 12—21 thus—Northern woods of their country, that skirted the marshy grounds which still extend for many miles by Norton, Runchorne, and Frodsham along the shore of the Mersey. Here the pieces were dug up, and here was the victory obtained. And the Ceangi, over whom it was gained, were very distinct from the three bodies of herdsmen with whom they have been often confounded. They were different from the Cangi, who bordered immediately on the country of the Iceni, and therefore inhabited in all probability the wild extent of Cannock forest in Staffordshire; it then running assuredly up to Needwood forest and the banks of the Dove, and its Cangi being as well as these the servants of the Carnabii. And they were equally different from the Cangani &c.

P. 165.

CHAP. VI.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ROADS OF THE ROMANS—THEIR NEW SORTS OF THEIR STATIONS DISCOVERED ABOUT MANCHESTER—THEIR SUMMER-CAMP THERE—AND THEIR FORCES THERE AND IN THE ISLAND.

I.

THESE are the Roman ways, that went from Manchester to the neighbouring ſtations. And, ſuch as they are, they muſt ſhare in the high commendation and praiſe, which the antiquarians have beſtowed on the roads of the Romans in general. But ſurely theſe gentlemen have been too laviſh in their eulogiums upon them. Antiquarianiſm is merely the younger ſiſter of Hiſtory, leſs ſedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of Time by looking ſo frequently upon it. Let not this, however, be the conduct of her ſoberer diſciples. Let not the hiſtorical critick diſgrace himſelf and his profeſſion, by admiring greatly what is merely antient, and applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of Age may juſtly be allowed to throw a ſhade of reſpectableneſs, and to diffuſe even a venerable air, over the productions of very antient Art. And we may appeal to the feelings of every ſenſible beholder, for the truth of the obſervation. But this is all that can be allowed to the influence of Time. And the writer, that overſteps this reaſonable limit, ſacrifices ſentiment to conceits, and gives up the realities of Hiſtory for the dreams of Imagination.

P. 169.

P. 169.

L. 25—31 thus—There are three ſorts of little camps conſtructed by the Romans in Britain, none of which have been noticed by our hiſtorical writers. The inveſtigation of them will open to us a new field of notices, and compleat our view of the ſtationary œconomy of the Romans. And Mancheſter appears to have had nine of them, three of one ſpecies, two of another, and four of another.

P. 176.

L. 3—7 thus—And the cattle, which they kept within it, were in all probability their hogs. Theſe generally compoſed the camp-proviſion of the Romans [a]. Two or three fields, that &c.

P. 181.

L. 7—22 thus—The ſtations in Britain being generally fixed upon the ſoutherly ſlope of a hill or bank, they were well calculated for our winters, and as ill for our ſummers. The Romans, therefore, naturally conſtructed another camp for their reſidence in the latter. And their caſtra æſtiva are an addition to the regular fortreſſes, which has been long noticed in general, though it has been ſeldom pointed out in particular. For this they neceſſarily ſelected ſome advantageous ſite, that was in the neighbourhood of the ſtation, and fully open to the north. And every fortreſs in the kingdom which has a ſoutherly aſpect in itſelf, and any convenient ground near it with a northerly one, muſt have regularly enjoyed the pleaſing appendage of a ſummer-camp.

[a] For preparation againſt a ſiege, ſays Vegetius, non ſolum *porcinum*, ſed et omne animalium genus, ſhould be killed, and kept in the larder; l. iv. c. 7.

P. 261.

CHAP. VII.

A REGULAR TOWN BUILT AT MANCHESTER, AND WHERE—THE MODE OF LIVING BEFORE—AGRICULTURE INTRODUCED—THE BRITISH NAMES GIVEN TO OBJECTS ABOUT MANCHESTER—THE DRESS OF THE BRITONS—AND A VIEW OF THE COUNTRY AROUND MANCHESTER AT THIS PERIOD.

I.

REGULARLY as the Romans extended their ſettlements in the iſland, they appear to have equally erected ſtations for themſelves and cities for the Britons. Thus the towns of Glouceſter, Colcheſter, London, and Verulam were conſtructed by Claudius, and immediately after the firſt permanent conqueſt which the Romans had made amongſt us. And, as many inferiour cities would be equally laid out at the ſame period, ſo remains demonſtrate Chicheſter and tradition aſſerts Cirenceſter, in particular, to have been both erected at it. Such was the practice of the Romans, on their firſt reduction of the Britons. And ſuch therefore was equally their conduct afterwards. By this means, the ſucceſs of their arms was diſtinctly marked by the progreſs of cultivation, and the face of the iſland gradually brightened up as the line of their conqueſts was advanced. And, when Agricola invaded Lancaſhire, the country upon one ſide of the line, under the refining government of the Ro-

 mans,

mans, exhibited a pleasing picture of cities and corn-fields in the bosoms of woods, and that on the other one uniformly dreary scene of mosses, thickets, and marshes, brown heaths, and solitary mansions.

P. 205.

L. 20—21 thus—Such as I have previously noticed in the British and Roman foundations of Castle-field, and had, I suppose, been brought down with them by the floods &c.

P. 207.

L. 3—6 thus—To this period the Sistuntii of the neighbouring region had lived, as the Britons of the southern counties lived before, and as those of Ireland and the Highlands have continued to these modern times. They were divided into clans or &c.

L. 24—25 thus—The houses of the Britons, as I have formerly observed, were roomy buildings of a round form, and covered with a convex roof. And two edifices exactly of this shape were preserved as monuments of antiquity, in the shire of Ross, within these two centuries and a half; being, as the contemporary relater of the fact expresses himself, rotundâ figurâ, in formam campanæ facta [a]. The lord's mansion was, as our superiour houses generally remained to the last century, all constructed of wood on a foundation of stone; was one ground-story; and composed a large, oblong, and squarish court.

P. 211—212.

The paragraph now runs thus.

Among the various manures with which the Roman farmers enriched their lands, they were totally unacquainted with the use of marle. The Celtæ of Britain and Gaul were the first that had marked this fertilizing clay in the earth, and applied it to the purposes of agriculture. And they found it the most forcible and lasting of all manures, and therefore gave it the

[a] See ch. i. s. 3. and Boetius Scot. Reg. Descrip. fol. 4.

honourable appellation of marrow, Murg, Margil, or Marle. They had even the credit of recommending it to the Greeks, who had a communication with both through the colonists of Marseilles, residing in the country of the one and trading to that of the other. And it was distinguished into two sorts, the rough and the rich; which were easily discriminated in the handling, and very useful either for corn-fields or grass-lands. And many others were classed under both: the white sand-stone, and the red, under the former; and the white, the pidgeon, and the sandy, under the latter.—The first of these was reckoned infinitely fruitful upon corn-fields, if gathered from a springy soil; and was thought to burn the ground, if laid upon it in a large quantity. And this is the same probably with the marle of Derbyshire; which has a great quantity of sand in its composition, and is of a hotter nature than the generality of our marles are[b]. The red was mingled with gravel-stones, and thought to be impregnated with salt; but was not half so heavy in the carriage as the others, and was spread in a thin coat upon the ground. This is perhaps the red marle of Sussex, which has frequently a mixture of gravel in it[c]. And both retained their influence for fifty years together upon corn-fields, meadows, or pastures.—The white was the principal of the rich marles, and subdivided into several sorts, the very biting, the silvery, and the fat. The silvery was the favourite of the Britons, and the soft chalk of our Kentish farmers at present; and lasted eighty years upon the ground. And the fat was particularly used for grass-lands; often producing a good crop of grass upon corn-fields betwixt the end of harvest and commencement of seed-time, and lasting thirty years. The pidgeon marle was collected at first in hard and stone-like masses, but was dissolved by the force of the sun and frost, and became equally useful as the other. And this is plainly the stone-marle of Cheshire and Bamfshire, which is a kind of soft slate, bluish in the former county, and blue, pale-brown, and reddish in the latter; and is still laid in large masses on the ground, dissolves slowly with the frost, sun, and rains,

[b] Mortimer's Husbandry, 1716, v. I. p. 88.

[c] Mortimer p. 89.

rains, and is reckoned a very durable marle [d]. The ſandy was uſed only for ſwampy ground, if any other could be got, and was preferred to all the reſt for that; and ſand is uſed both in Cheſhire and Ireland for the improvement of their moſſes and bogs at preſent, and it or gravel are eſteemed the moſt effectual manure for the latter [e].—And, as the dry was laid upon moiſt lands, the fat upon dry, and either the ſilvery or pidgeon on thoſe of a proper temperature; ſo was every ſpecies ploughed into the ground, and mingled with a little dung.

P. 213.

L. 1—4 thus—This curious account of the Celtick manure clearly ſhews us the minute reſearches and accurate knowledge of the Celtick farmers. And the Britiſh, particularly, appear to have had conſiderable ſkill in their profeſſion, as they chiefly had &c.

P. 216.

L. 18—21 thus—Originally the peculiar produce of Gaul; and continues to this day the only wheat of Lancaſhire. It was denominated by the Gauls Brace, Brac, or red-coloured. And Brace is a word yet in uſe among the Bretoons for a ſpecies of grain, and Breach-tan among the Iriſh to ſignify wheat particularly.

L. 28 thus—Into the pariſh of Mancheſter; as a wild part of Argyleſhire is ſaid, even lately, to have been equally unacquainted with bread [f]. And the Brace was &c.

P. 219.

L. 8—35 thus—That which riſes in the hills of Oldham, divides Droylſden and Failſworth, Clayton and Newton, and at laſt winds along the foot of the Caſtlefield, was called Medlock or the River by the Britons. Med or Mat and Lug or Loc equally

[d] Mortimer p. 87, and Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 126.
[e] Mortimer v. II. p. 16—18.
[f] Burt's Letters v. II. p. 278—279, 1754.

signify water; and in composition imply a quantity of it, either a river or a lake. The former constitutes half the name in the famous Med-way or the Roman Mad-us; the Roman Met-aris or Boston-deep in Lincolnshire; the Met-aurus of Gallia Togata, and also of Brutium, in antient Italy; the Med-uacus of the Veneti in Gallia Transalpina; and the Mode-wy, Mothe-way, or Methe-wie of Caermarthenshire. And the latter forms the whole of it in the Loxa of Scotland and the Logia of Ireland, the Lug of Herefordshire, the Luc-us of Liguria in antient Italy, the Loche of Somersetshire, and the great variety of Lochs in Ireland and Scotland.

There is also a little brook, that is now nearly lost in its own insignificance and fortune, but was once important enough to claim the notice of the Britons, and give name to a street of the present town. From the Britons it received a denomination, which no lapse of time and no revolutions of history have been able to take away. And it retains to the present moment its primitive appellation of the Tib. Oozing from a small collection of water, which stagnates in Newton-lane and is fed by the drainings of the neighbouring fields, and having almost all its stream diverted into the great reservoir on Shude-hill; it scarcely continues its current along the borders of the town, but crosses the upper end of Market-street and Tib lanes, and communicates its name to the latter. And a little below Calley-banks it terminates its short course in the Medlock. The British denominations &c.

P. 220.

L. 9—19 *thus*—Of Mar; and into Deen, the popular appellation of Ptolemy's Devana at Aberdeen. And the latter is reduced into Tayne, the name of a frith in Scotland; into Taune or Tone, that of a river in Somersetshire; and into Teyne, that of a current in Staffordshire. The name of Tib actually occurs &c.

P. 221—222.

P. 221—222.

L. 1 of 221 to L. 23 thus—Thus did a petty rill receive the same appellation from the Britons as the mighty Tay. And a short mountain-torrent shares the title of the majestick Thames.

These are all of them general and uncharacteristick names. And such are also the following; the Britons naturally marking their rivers by the simple denomination of Water, and only distinguishing one from the other by a different appellative. Thus the current which rises in the township of Gorton, crosses the roads to Stockport and Stretford, and then loses itself in the Irwell, was denominated Corin, Corne, or Waters. And the same title was originally given to the rivulet that named the antient Corin-ium, Duro-cornov-ium, or Ciren-cester; as it is still continued in the present half-softened appellation of the Ciren or Churn. Thus also the brisk stream, that springs at the foot of a hill in the chapelry of Shaw, pushes its hasty current by Ryton, Chatherton, and Blakeley, and falls into the Irwell at Huntsbank, was denominated the Irke. And the greater one, that rises from a double fountain in Rossendale, and wheels nearly in one large circle about the township of Salford, assumed the similar appellation of the Irwill or Irwell. The latter is like the Yr-wis or Ere-wash of Nottinghamshire, and the Irewer that falls into the Tay; the Wyles of Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and the Char-well of Oxfordshire: as the former is like the Arecha of Brutium in antient Italy, the Arche of France, the Arke of Yorkshire and the West-highlands, the Herke of Flanders, the Girch of Caernavonshire, and the Earke or Irke of the same county. And both equally with Corne signify only Waters.

But some of our rivers would receive their names before or during the existence of the British fortress, and long before the construction of the Roman-British town. And the large important current of the Mersey, which ranges along the confines of the parish for many miles together, must have had one as early as the first population of Lancashire. Issuing from the wastes

of Woodhead and the moors of Mottram, and successively receiving the Goit, the Tame, and the Irwell; it becomes equally rapid and deep, superiour to all the neighbouring rivers, and the natural boundary of kingdoms and provinces in every period; and yet was distinguished by a name of the same import only with the Irwell, and called Beli-sama or the Current of Waters. Thus we have the Beale and the Bewl in Kent, the Beile in Lancashire, the Below in Yorkshire, the Bellow in Westmoreland, and the Bily in Sussex; the Somer-gill in Shropshire, the Some-gill in Radnorshire, the Seamer in Yorkshire, the Sambre in Flanders, and the Somme in France. And in a later age, while the Sistuntii resided in the Castle-field, they could not but have given an appellation to the river, which led its stream directly against the site of their woodland fortress, and is made to sweep round the front of it in a large curve. They must likewise have given names to most of the more remarkable objects around them, the current of Cornebrook and the eminence of Hunts-bank, the valley of Broughton, the Irke, the Irwell, and the High Knolls [g].

P. 227.

L. 1—36 thus—And a spirit was excited by Agricola, which of itself soon executed all his political designs. The new citizens quickly passed from the conveniences of a rural life, to the refinements and luxuries of a town one. And when once the old associations of ideas are broken, and the sullen adherence to revered customs is overcome, the natural impotence of the mind generally transports it into the rage of innovation and the violences of excess.

[g] In this section I have interpreted some of the names of our Manchester rivulets, a little differently from what I had in the first edition. I have, since that, had occasion to take a more comprehensive survey of the general appellations of our rivers. And I hope, in some future work, to enter fully into this subject, to bring all the coincident names in the island and on the continent into one view, and make them reciprocally illustrate and explain each other.

The

The dress of the Lancashire chiefs, to this period, must have been the same with that of the British in general, and of the Celtick in France and Spain. And this is the curious delineation of it.

Tacitus, with two strokes of his lively pencil, seems to have given us a compleat head of a Lancashire Briton. His words are these: and they have never yet been noticed, because they have not been understood. Rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ —; Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines [h]. The red hair generally prevailed among the more northerly Britons; as, I think, it does to this day. And the Britons of Wales were distinguished, as the mountaineers of it and of Lancashire are at present, by their curled hair, which is generally black, and their fresh-coloured countenances.—This hair, equally in the lord and client, was turned back upon the crown of the head; and fell down, as it did among the Irish within these two centuries, in long bushy curls behind. And the beard of both was suffered to grow to a considerable length, but, as equally among the Irish, was confined to the upper lip [i]. Both of them appeared naked in battle: and the Highlanders retained the practice in part to the present times; as late as the battle of Killicrankey throwing off their plaids and short coats, and fighting in their shirts. And this rude custom was attended with two others, the painting of their bodies for the fight, and the wearing of a ring round their middles. On all other occasions, the common people (as I shall shew hereafter) were cloathed with skins; and their lords appeared in this, the one fanciful uniform of the chiefs through all the Celtick regions of Europe.

The trunk of the body was covered with a jacket, which the Britons called a Cota and we denominate a Waist-coat. It was plaided, and open before, had long sleeves extending to the hands, and reached itself to the middle. And below this began the trowsers, which were called Braccæ, Brages, or Breeches by

[h] Agric. Vit. 11.

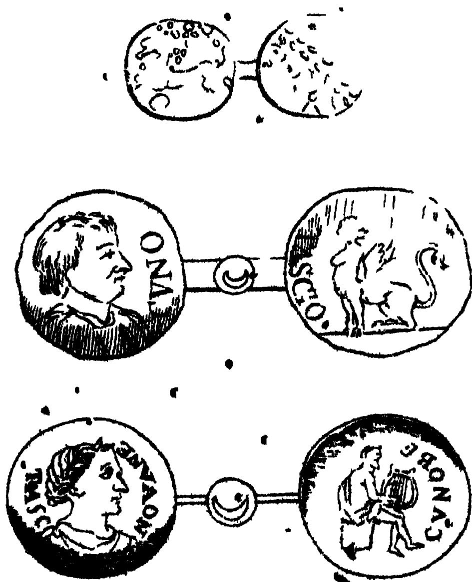
[i] Harris's Ware p. 60 and 176, Davies p. 185, and Camden p. 792, for the modern Irish, and Camden p. 707 for the Highlanders.

the

the Britons, wrapped loosely round the thighs and legs, and terminated at the ancles. These also were plaided, as their name intimates; Brac signifying a party-coloured object, and the upper garment of the Highlanders being denominated Breac and Breacan to this day. And trowsers were equally worne by the Batavi of Holland and the Vangiones of Germany, the Sarmatæ, and the Persians.

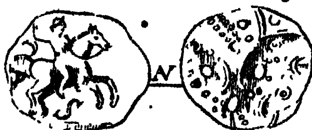
P. 228.

L. 1—14 thus—Over these was a looser garment, denominated formerly by the Gauls a sack, and by the Irish lately a mantle. This was equally plaided, and of a thick strong contexture. And it was fastened upon the body with buttons, and bound round the belly with a girdle. The former appear to have been placed one upon either shoulder, where the Highlanders use a sort of pins at present; and are seen distinctly on these three coins of some British monarchs.



And

And the latter, which is frequently used to this day by the Highlanders and constantly by all the inhabitants of St. Kilda, and also appears upon the following coin,



seems to have been particularly ornamented; as some of the Gauls bound their garments with belts that were decorated with gold and silver, and in the Roman triumph over Caractacus his phaleræ made a part of the splendid show [k].

Round the naked neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the naked breast; and on the middle or second finger of both hands was a ring. The ornamental chains of Caractacus were exhibited with his phaleræ in the procession at Rome [k]. And both were made of gold among the chiefs, and of iron among their followers. They had shoes upon their feet, which were the same assuredly with the buskins that were used within these five centuries in Wales, and with the light flat brogues that are worne to this day by some of the Irish and Highlanders; and, like them, were made of a raw cow-hide that had the hair turned outwards [l]. And they wore round bonnets on their heads.

P. 229.

L. 2—15 thus—And they were retained by the gentlemen of the country, and by the commonalty both in country and city. That this was the case, appears evident from the correspondent conduct of the Gauls and Britons; who kept their Virgata Sa-

[k] Camden p. 793 for the modern Irish.—These coins are Borlase 14, Stukeley 21—7 and 6—4, and Pegge 5—3: see ch ix. s. 1.—See also Diodorus p. 353 for the Gallick belts, and Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 36. for the British.—See also the latter for the B. chains.

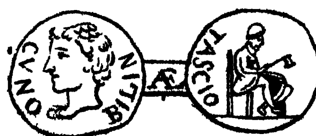
[l] See Ware's Ireland, Harris, p. 178, and Birt's Let. from Scot. v. II. p. 115, 185, and 186; and Giraldus's Cambriæ Desc. p. 887. Camden.

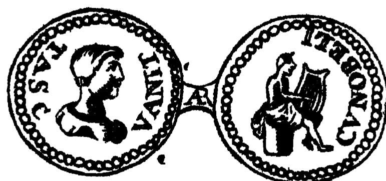
gula to the laſt, and communicated them to the Franks and Saxons. The plaided drapery of the Britons ſtill appeared general in the ſtreets of Mancheſter; and muſt have formed a ſtriking contraſt to the gown of the chief, the dark mantle of Italy. And it, and the ornamented buttons on the ſhoulder, are preſerved among us even to the preſent moment, in the particoloured cloathing and the taſſelled ſhoulder-knots of our footmen.

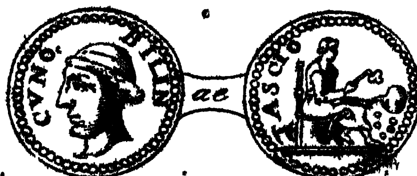
The Romans, therefore, appear &c.

P. 229—230.

L. 22 to L. 4 p. 230 thus—Chains. And the Britons in general did not adopt the Roman Pileus or Petaſus as a covering for the head; but continued their own Kappan, Hata, or Boined in uſe, as they have tranſmitted them and their appellations to us. We have a variety of caps delineated upon their antient coins, as,

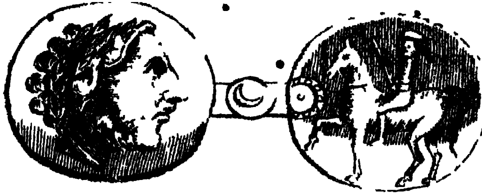




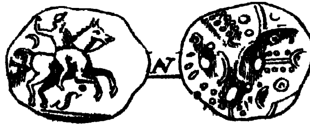


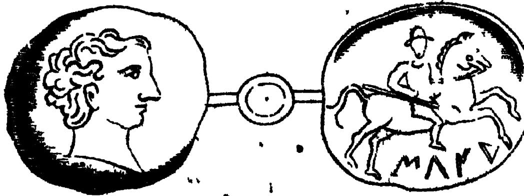
And

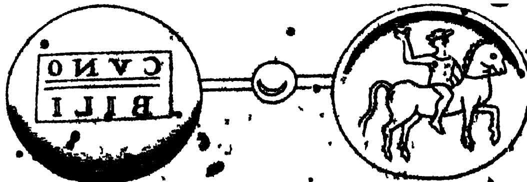
And theſe are apparently the ſame, that are uſed by our meaner Mancunians at preſent. We have alſo a Highland bonnet on another piece, and ſuch as is ſtill worne in our Bluecoat-Hoſpital at Mancheſter, and by ſome of the Lowland peaſants in Scotland.



And the following hats were engraved about 1700 years ago, and yet correſpond pretty well to the form and appearance of the modern [m].







[m] Theſe coins are Pegge 3—9, 4—3, and Camden 1—2; Stukeley 1—10; and Pegge 5—3, Stukeley 4—8 and 14—6: and ſee ch. ix. ſ. 1.

 The

The Britons ſeem to have equally retained the tunick of their anceſtors; the long-ſleeved waiſt-coat having remained among us nearly to the preſent period as the general undreſs of the nation, and continuing the ordinary habit of our Mancunian ruſticks at preſent. They ſeem alſo, like the Gauls, to have preferred the ſtructure of their own ſhoes to that of the Roman; ſtill making them of hides, and in the form of our preſent half-boots and preſent pumps; ſtill denominating them, as the Bretoons and Iriſh ſtill call their ſhoes, Butais or Boots and Buimpis or Pumps; and leaving the names and the ſhoes to their brethren of Armorica and Wales, and to their conquerors the Saxons of England[n]. And they plainly kept their antient trowſers; as they afterwards communicated to the Saxons their own appellation of Breeches for them, and as our ſailors, and the boys in ſome of our older hoſpitals, continue to wear them at preſent.

P. 230.

L. 13 thus—More northerly parts of England, and of moſt of the common people in Wales. But, as &c.

P. 231.

L. 1—4 thus—Were not ordinarily worne by the commonalty of the provinces; as may plainly be collected from the mode ſubſiſting four or five centuries ago among the Welſh, and kept up by the lower ranks of them within theſe two; ſtill retained among the populace of the Scotch Lowlands, and even occaſionally followed by the peaſants of Mancheſter at preſent[o].

And ſome of the Britiſh ladies probably dreſſed their heads, as ſeveral of the Roman in Britain did, exactly in the high ſtyle of the preſent faſhion. This is the curious repreſentation of a

[n] So the Welſh near the cloſe of the 12th century were pedibus—corio crudo conſutis, barbaris pro calciamento *peronibus* utentes, Giraldus's Cambriæ Deſ. p. 887. And ſee Howel Dha l. 1. c. 39. A. 5. and Birt. v. 1. p. 86.

[o] See Howel l. i. c. 39. A. 5.—In Giraldus's Cambriæ Deſcr. p. 887, the lower ranks of the Welſh *nudibus pedibus* ambulant vel &c., even when going to war. And within theſe two centuries they uſed commonly to travel bare-legged, carrying their ſtockens "on "their neck, to ſave their feet from wearing, becauſe they had no change" (D. of B. in Hollingſhead, 1586, p. 181).

Roman

Roman lady's head, which was found some years ago at Bath; the hair drest in flat open buckles, and mounting upwards from the cheek in a large halfmoon.



By a Scale of one fourth

The fashion commenced about the middle of the first century in Italy; and, what seems very surprising to a speculatist on the quick revolutions in our modern fashions, it continued to the close of it, gradually growing all the time. It then fell into discredit, and disappears on the coins of the Romans. But its disappearance was only temporary. And this part of its history is pretty similar among the Romans and ourselves. Like the high commodes of King William's days, revived with variations in the present head-dress; it returned at Rome about the same distance of time from its banishment, and once more asserted its empire over the caps of the ladies [p]. And it seems from the bust above to have even returned with that small appendage to the head-dress of the present times, the side or ear lock. One appears in the plate; a little different in the form, but the same in reality and design.

[p] Musgrave's Belgium Britannicum vol. I. p. 213—220, Itin. Curios. p. 149, and Horseley p. 329. and Somersetshire Fig. 11. This plate is taken from Musgrave, and is one fourth of his.

L. 31—36 thus—Now repaired to the springs of Buxton or Bath, and ſtewed in the relaxing waters. And that frivolous ſpirit of gallantry and indolence, which annually crouds both thoſe places at preſent, had its commencement at this period. He, whoſe blood had been purified by a healthful ſimplicity of diet, now imitated the elegance of the Roman tables. And he, whoſe range was the foreſt and the mountain, conſtructed porticos on pillars &c.

P. 237.

L. 18—19 thus—The rabbet was not yet an inhabitant of the iſland; and therefore there is not any to this day in all the north of Scotland [q]. But the hare &c.

P. 238.

L. 6—24 thus—On every ſide about the town, and ſpreading from it to the ſkirt of the neighbouring woods, would be the meadows, cornfields, and paſtures; the firſt enriched with the foreign trefoil, the only artificial graſs of the Romans at this period; and all three enlivened with the ſweepings of the town and marle of the Daubholes. The paſtures would be repleniſhed with ſheep and kine; and here and there probably have little hovels among them, in which ſome of the peaſants watched with their maſtiffs, for the nightly protection of both againſt the inroads of wild beaſts from Arden. And we may eaſily repreſent to ourſelves the general ſtate and ſcenery of things at this period, the flocks and herds ranging over the ſite of the preſent town, grazing in the Market-ſtreet-lane, and paſturing along the Smithy-door; and the bleatings of the one and lowings of the other returned in eddying echos from the woods around them.

[q] Birt's Let. V. I. p. 315.

P. 239.

L. 18 and Note 20 thus—Wife's Nummi Bodleiani, 1750, p. 95 and 227, for a fow and pigs defcribed upon a Britifh coin. And fee Strabo p. 301, in whofe time the Gallick fows ranged abroad in the fields, very large, ftrong, and as dangerous to be approached by a ftranger even as a wolf. And there is to this day a fmall mountain-kind of fwine, called Purs, in the ifle of Man, which are admirable meat; Sacheverel's Ifle of Man, London, 1702, p. 4. And in Cathnefs, Scotland, are reared great numbers of fwine, which are fhort, high-backed, and long-briftled, fharp, flender, and long-nofed, and have long erect ears and moft favage looks; Pennant's Tour p. 156.

P. 240.

CHAP. VIII.

THE NUMBER OF REGULAR TOWNS IN ROMAN BRITAIN, AND THEIR POLITY—THE MODE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE BRITISH KINGDOMS—THE ESTATES IN EACH—THE ORIGIN OF HUNDREDS, TOWNSHIPS, AND BARONIES—AND THE BRITISH COURTS OF LAW, AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I.

WHEN the Romans had ſeen their little village of hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and began to extend her dominions into thoſe of the neighbouring powers; they did not model their new conqueſts, as they had previouſly modelled their old. They inſtituted a new platform of polity for them, and diſtinguiſhed them by a new denomination. They now divided them into diſtricts, gave them the appellation of provinces, and ſubjected them to prætors and quæſtors. The iſland of Sicily was the earlieſt conqueſt of the Romans beyond the limits of Italy, was therefore the firſt of all their provinces, and received the firſt model of their provincial regimen. And this and every other was governed by its own prætor and quæſtor. The former officer was charged with &c.

P. 241.

L. 2—3 thus—Canterbury, Exeter, and Leiceſter, in particular.

P. 244.

P. 244.

L. 26—29 thus—Together without any great intermixture of the natives; allowing few probably to reside with them, but the useful traders and necessary servants.

P. 246.

L. 21 thus—The Roman citizenship was extended to every Briton &c.

P. 247.

L. 2—3 thus—Appellata,—and Strabo p. 1197.

L. 19 thus—Horsley b. I. ch. vi. So a number of the legionaries at Camulodunum had been draughted out for service, just before the insurrection of Boadicia: Inerat modica militum manus, tutelâ templi freti, says Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32.

L. 25 thus—" Agricolæ Vit. c. v, Incensis &c.

P. 249.

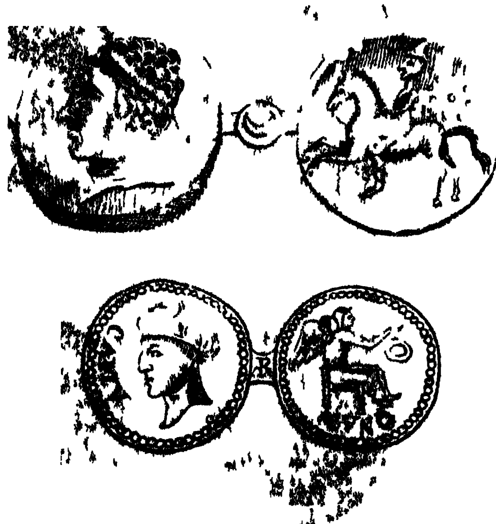
L. 9—13 thus—The intervening tribes of the Proper Belgæ (and their subjects the Hædui and Segontiaci), the Attrebates, and the Bibroces. And this extended empire over a part of Warwickshire, a considerable portion of Buckinghamshire and Somersetshire, nearly all Wiltshire, and actually all Berkshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Surry, and Suflex, &c.

P. 254.

L. 30 thus—And bedding; and to this day receives at a coronation the furniture of the chamber, the bed, and the bed-dress, in which the sovereign slept the night before. But, in the palaces &c.

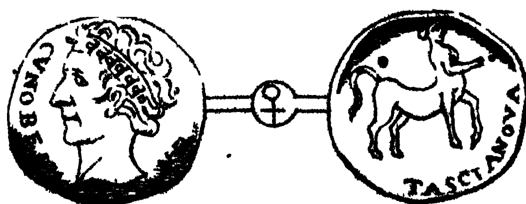
P. 255.

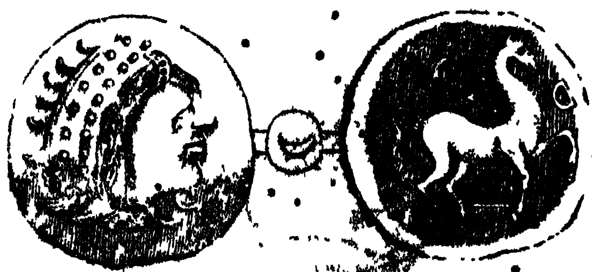
L. 17—26 thus—The cuſtomary enſign of royalty for the ſovereigns of the Britons was the imperial diadem, which was common to them and the eaſtern monarchs. This was ſometimes only a plain fillet tied round the head, as it is ſtill worne occaſionally by the loweſt of our people at Mancheſter, and regularly by the young unmarried women of the Highlands; and as it appears upon theſe two coins of the Britons.



But

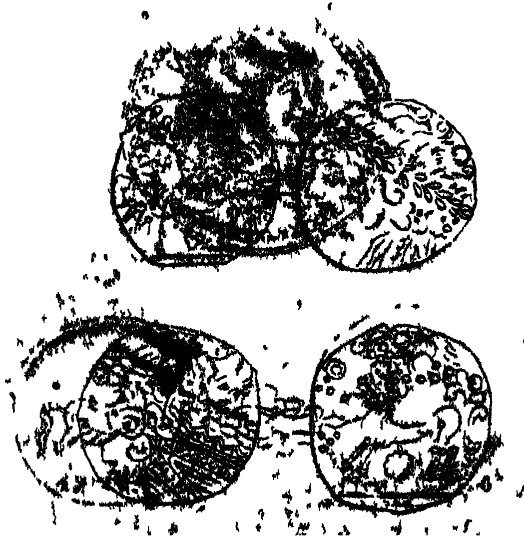
But at other times it was ornamented with the muſcle pearls and ſparry diamonds of the country; as in theſe.





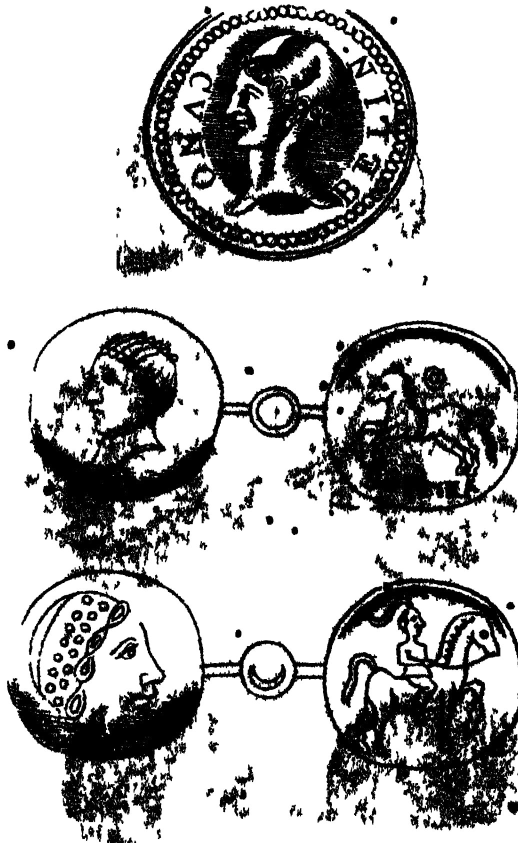


It was frequently worne by the monarch immediately over his hair, which was raiſed in one, two, or three rows of curls above it;



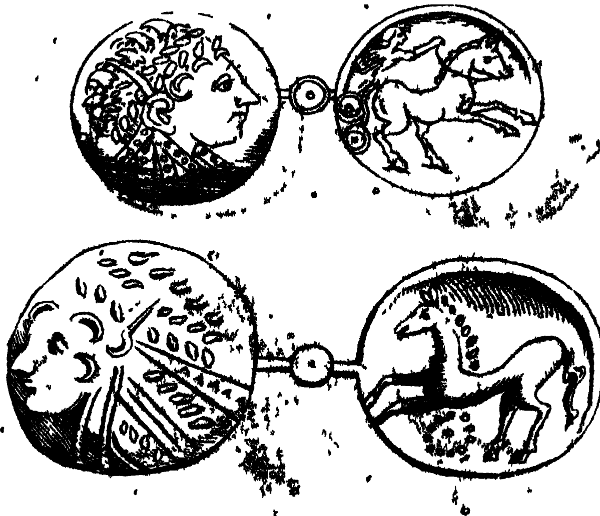
and frequently upon a ſmall cloſe cap, that juſt covered the head and was edged by the fillet [a].

[a] [illegible] p. 165. Stukeley [illegible]—9 and Pegge 2—3 and [illegible] 14—8, 1—5 and 1—6, [illegible] ch. ix. [illegible] Agric. Vit. c. xii. [illegible] III. [illegible] 16 and [illegible], Pegge 1—5, and Stukeley [illegible] and [illegible]—8.

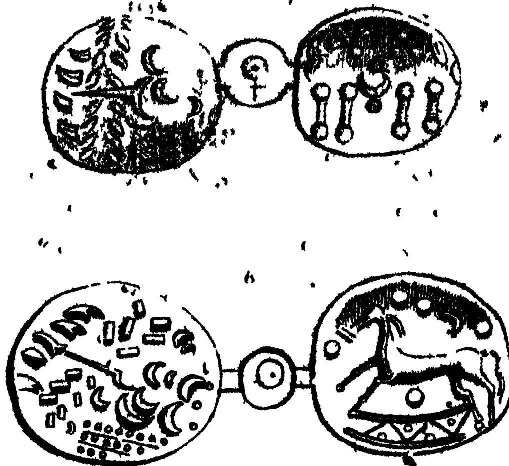


And it was often accompanied with an ornament, which has been taken by Dr. Borlase and myself for a cross fillet and a clasp. This appears upon two of the coins above, and again upon these;

and

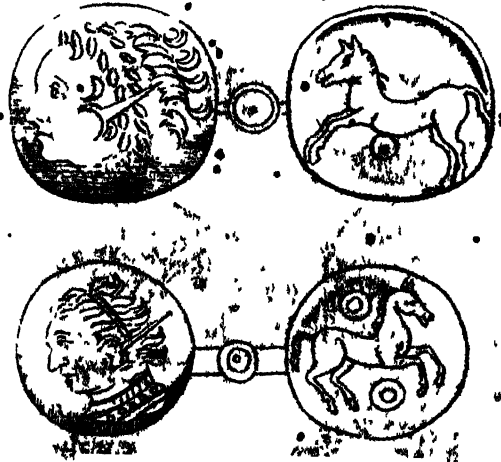


and is engraved by itself upon the following.



These

These concur with others here,



to prove it a diſtinct and ſeparate ornament, and ſomething very different from a clasp and a fillet. And I take it to be a bodkin for the hair. It carries great reſemblance to ſuch an implement. And, what ſeems a ſtrong confirmation of the conjecture, in a Britiſh ſepulcher that was opened ſome years ago on Saliſbury-plain, along with beads of earth, glaſs, and amber, and one even covered with a film of pure gold, was actually found a bodkin of ſilver[b].

But after the coming of the Romans &c.

[b] Stukeley 3—10, 3—7, 1—2, 3—4, 15—10, and 20—5, and Stonehenge p. 45 and Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 174. This bodkin ſeems to have loſt its crook-like or ſemi-lunar termination either by the fire which has injured the reſt, by time, or by accident.—And the creſcent, which appears at the ears of ſeveral monarchs on the Britiſh coins, as in one of thoſe exhibited above, Stukeley 14—8, and in Pegge 2—B, and Stukeley 6—10, 8—7, and 9—4, is nothing but the head of this bodkin projecting from the hair, while the body is buried in it; as appears from the ſame creſcent appearing upon two of the coins above, Stukeley 3—10 and 15—10, with the body of the bodkin plainly connected to it.

P. 256.

L. 1—5 thus—Crown; the former being a ſtrong weapon of iron pointed in the form of a lily, and the latter a circlet ſtudded with ſtars and decorated with flowers.



P. 264.

L. 31—34 thus—Britiſh ſeemingly is the characteriſtick term of the whole, Feod or Fee, occurring particularly in the language of the Iriſh, and ſignifying literally Glebe or Land. Britiſh &c.

P. 266.

L. 8—9 thus—In the Britiſh as Fich and Fod, the addition &c.

L. 12—14 thus—What Fee and Feud ſignify at preſent, a free tenement and its appurtenance, a noble eſtate and the modal tenure of it.

P. 267.

L. 9 thus—Of a feud left one ſon &c.

P. 269.

L. 19 thus—" Ibid. a. 6. See alſo Davies of the true cauſes why Ireland was never ſubdued, 1761, p. 189, for the villains

in

in Ireland, paying rents in butter, oatmeal, and the like, to the reign of James the first, when they were reduced to money.—[19] Lib. &c.

L. 21 thus—A. 3, and Davies p. 124.—[22] Lib. &c.

L. 22 thus—A. 8, 14, and 15, and Davies p. 124.—[24] Lib. &c.

P. 270.

L. 2—4 thus—And Davies p. 124, &c.—[39] Howel &c.

L. 22—24 thus—[44] See b. II. c. iv. C. 4.—[45] See an Irish-English Dictionary printed at Paris, quarto, 1768. So Tir or Land is used for a Feud in Howel Dha; see lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 8 and 10, p. 347, 348, 365, &c.—And Fich or Fioch, which is only Fiudhuc pronounced in the Celtick manner, by melting down the intermediate DH (see the Dictionary), is the origin, I think, of the Saxon Feoh and the English Fee; as Beach, Irish, is of Beo and Bee. Fich or Fioch, accordingly, signifies either a portion of land or a fee-farm in Irish at present (see Dict.). And Fod, Fiudhuc, Fioch, Fich, and Fith, are all one and the same word most probably; as they all equally signify land, as Feud and Feod is now melted amongst ourselves into Feoh and Fee, and Feuders (or Feudatories) are called Feuers in Scotland to this day—[46] Lib. i. &c.

P. 271.

L. 1 thus—[52] Ware c. 8, Davies p. 93 and 117, Howel &c.

L. 3 thus—[53] See Gafael for a Feud or Estate in Howel Dha, lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, &c.—Silas Taylor &c.

L. 15 thus—Powel's Hist. of Wales by Wynne, 1697, p. 22, Davis's Dictionary, &c. &c. Nor is Gavelkind, as is generally supposed, confined to Kent at present. It is equally retained in Yorkshire, and is the custom of Swaledale to this day: see Thoresby's Leeds p. 215.

P. 276.

L. 17 thus — And these were called Brethons, Brehons, or judges, in Ireland &c.

P. 279.

L. 9 thus—Britons.' And the oath was administered probably upon some of their arms, as it seems to have been with all the nations of the north; being taken upon their military standards, among the Gauls, by the Irish about two centuries ago upon their swords, among the Highlanders lately on their dirks, and by the Danes antiently upon the military bracelet of their monarch [c]. The accused having thus asserted &c.

P. 282.

L. 11 thus—"So the Brehons in Ireland, within these two or three centuries, always brought up their children or relations to the same profession, and left one of them to succeed (see Camden p. 788).—Kuerden &c.

[c] Cæsar p. 135 for the Gauls, Birt's Letters v. II. p. 244. for the Highlanders, Spencer's View of Ireland p. 220 of his Works, 1679, for the Irish, and Asser p. 28, Wise, Spelman's Alfredus, Oxon. p. 22, and Ethelward F. 480, for the Danes.

CHAP.

P. 284.

CHAP. IX.

THE COINAGE OF THE BRITONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE ROMANS—THE STATE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS AMONG THEM—THE FURNITURE &c. OF THEIR HOUSES—THEIR PLANTS, FLOWERS, AND DOMESTICK ANIMALS.

I.

THE whole commerce of the Belgick and interiour Britons was carried on without the assistance of money, and in the course of a regular exchange. Such appears &c.

P. 285.

L. 1 thus—Colchester. And about twenty coins, the production of so many different coinages, have descended to us, bearing the appellation of the town upon them [a]. The instruments used in the work appear &c.

L. 16—17 thus—And about fifty of Cunobeline's coins, impressed with his own name in part or in whole, have come down to the present age [b].

P. 286.

L. 7—9 thus—He set up two others in two other towns of his dominions, at Verulam and London [c]. And we have four of the former mint, and six of the latter, that have been safely

[a] Do p. 959, Pegge's class 2, Stukeley's British coins, 6—6, 6—10, 8—4, 8—8, 9—4. 10—1, and Camden's 1—24.

[b] Pegge's and Stukeley's plates.

[c] Pegge 4—1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and 5—1. The new mint-town, as it seems in Mr. Pegge 2—5, is produced only by a mistake in copying the inscription (see Camden 2—12), the name being only Camu in the original, which is Dr. Stukeley's 19—2. And see Dr. Stukeley 4—2, 4—3, 4—10, and Mr. Pegge 4, and 6—1, for Verulam and London.

transſmitted to us. Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard, a Britiſh coin [d], and the Triades) Charaticus, Caratacus, and Caradauc, &c.

L. 14 thus—Scheme, and equally minted money. But in all &c.

L. 17—18 thus—And we have only four of his coins at preſent [d].

L. 27—30 thus—Even the word Taſcia, which occurs ſo often on the coins of Cunobeline, appears equally inſcribed upon ſome of theſe.

P. 287.

L. 7—13 thus—Would firſt have travelled in all probability, whither it would moſt eaſily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni, and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the ſon of the one and brother of the other. But the Caſſii, the maſters of the Dobuni, appear to have minted for them. This is evident from a remarkable coin, which preſents us with a head on one ſide and a houſe on the other, and bears inſcribed the name of the people, BODO, and the appellation of their and the Caſſian metropolis, CAM or Camulodunum. And we have five others of the Dobunian coins, all, as we muſt preſume from this, equally minted at Colcheſter, and exhibiting upon them only the name of the nation or the denominations of their monarchs [e]. The art, therefore, was firſt taken from the Caſſii probably by their immediate neighbours, the Iceni; and we have ſeven or eight of their coins at preſent [f]. And it was afterwards extended gradually through the iſland, being practiſed by the Attrebates, and at their capital Calleva, Calleva, or Wallingford; by Comus and Calle, the ſovereigns of two other principalities; by the Segontiaci of Hampſhire and Berkſhire [g]; by the Durotriges of Dorſetſhire, and at their metropolis Durnum &c.

[d] Stukeley 12—2, 12—3, and 12—4, and Pegge 6—4.

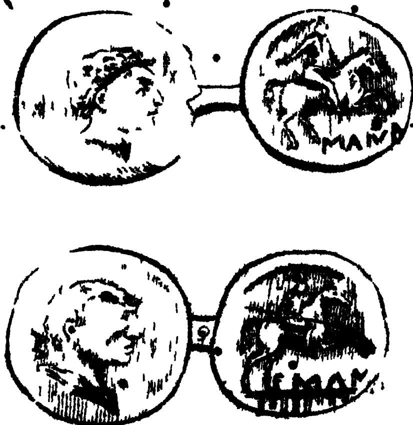
[e] Dio p. 957, Camden 1—8, Stukeley 11—9, 20—10, 18—2, 11—7, 11—2, and 11—6, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric.

[f] Stukeley 3—3, 15—6, 16—10, and 17—5, for Iceni or Cenomes; 11—7, for Prasutagus probably; and 11—10 for Boadicia.

[g] Stukeley 12—10 and 13—2.

L. 25.

L. 25 thus—And none of it is known to have reached the present age, except the following pieces may seem to carry the name of Mancenion upon them; and to prove the establishment of a British mint at Manchester as well as York [h]



Last line thus—But there is one particular in these monies of the Britons, which has now for two centuries puzzled all our criticks, and loudly calls for some probable explanation. And that is the word TASC, which appears inscribed upon several of them, and especially upon those of Cunobeline. It was first interpreted by the great Camden, as Tasc signifies equally in Welsh, Irish, and old English, a tax or tribute; and to point out the original designation of the money, for the payment of the tribute imposed on the Britons by Cæsar. And this opinion has been almost universally received by our antiquarians since, and particularly vindicated of late with a profusion of learning by Dr. Pettingall [i]. But it is greatly erroneous, I think, and for these short reasons. As only some of the coins are inscribed with the letters TASC; this hypothesis accounts merely for a part of the whole, and leaves the rest to stand as the regular and

[h] Stukeley 3—9 and 3—8. And Man, a place, in Man-cenion, is written to this day, as in one of these coins, with a double N both in the Welsh and Irish.

[i] Camden c. cix. Gibson, and Dr. Pettingall's Diss. quarto, 1763, p. 7.

current

current money of the island. And, had even these been intended for the discharge of the Roman tribute, they would have been principally found, not in the island where they were minted, but on the continent whither they were sent, and where, however, not one of them is known to have been discovered. And, what winds up the argument at once, a writer who was cotemporary with Cunobeline or a little before him, Strabo, repeatedly assures us, that in his time the Britons paid no tribute to the Romans[k]. TASC therefore cannot stand as the mark of a payment that was not discharged. And we must look out for some other interpretation of the letters.

The only others are the suppositions of Mr. Wise and Mr. Pegge. The former would refer the words, without argument and without authority, to a nation at the other extremity of Gaul that was called by a somewhat similar appellation[l]. And such an ungrounded and fantastical hypothesis is not worthy a serious refutation. It falls from its own airiness of nature, and is directly contradicted by the fact that I have alledged before, the discovery of the coins in Britain only. But the latter has advanced a supposition much more rational and manly, that the word is the personal or national name of the Roman-Gallick mint-master whom Cunobeline invited into Britain[m]. And I adopted the opinion in my first edition. Tascaire in Celtick signifies a tributary or servant. It might easily, therefore, become an appropriate appellation. And the same principle, which stamped the figure of a mintmaster upon three of the coins, would as readily inscribe his name upon them or others. These reasons, and the want of a more probable hypothesis, induced me to follow Mr. Pegge in his opinion upon this subject. But I have since seen reason to change my sentiments. The word occurs too often on the coins, to be merely the name of a minter. His person is exhibited only upon three of them: but the name appears upon no less than twenty-two out of thirty-nine in Mr. Pegge's tables. And it equally appears upon ten others in Dr. Stukeley's collection[m]. This is evidently

[k] P. 306—307. [l] Nummi Bodleiani, p. 226—227. [m] Pegge p. 54—55. —See 4—10, 5—5, 6—8, 7—2, 9—1, 9—6, 13—5, 15—9, 20—8, and 21—7, of Stukeley.

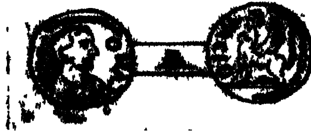
too

too much for a mere mint-master, however honoured. And it even occurs in some forms, that cannot agree with the idea of a coiner. Thus in Mr. Pegge's and Dr. Stukeley's plates we have TASC NO, TASC NOVA, TASC NOVANE, and TASC NOVANIT [n]. And in the latter we have TASC RICO [o]. Here the word is found associated with others, that cannot with any propriety be applied to the minter. And some meaning must be sought, that will agree with the use of it both as it stands singly by itself, and as it is found confederated with these. And such a meaning, I think, I have discovered.

The word is written differently TASC, TASCI, TASCE, TASCIE, TASCIO, and TASCIA [p]. And it is nothing more, I apprehend, than the British and official appellation of the king whose coins exhibit the inscription; and signifies only the Leader. Tus, Tuis, Tos, and Toshich mean the beginning or head of any thing in the Irish language at present [q]. And hence Tuis imports a nobleman, and Toshich the leader of an army; as Macintosh, the family name of a clan in the Highlands, and denominated Mac-in-toshich in the Erse, signifies the son of a general [r]. Thus Toshich became an honorary title among the highlanders of the middle ages [s]. And Tuiseach and Taoiseach are the Irish appellatives for a commander at this day. The latter I imagine to be the Tasc of the coins, as the Irish Gaoidhilge is the word Gathelic, and as Wallic is pronounced Welch. So we have Tasg-etius and Mori-Tasgus cotemporary with Cæsar in Gaul, two personages whose ancestors had obtained the sovereignty of their respective states, and who were themselves raised to the throne of their fathers [t]. And in this acceptation of the word, I believe, every thing will be found coincident and proper. There is a remarkable variation in writing the word, that has not been noticed by any of the criticks. It was particularly overlooked, with a strange composure of inattention,

[n] Pegge 4—C, 4—5, 4—1, 4—2, and Stukeley, 6—4 and 5—1. [o] [illegible] 15—9. [p] Pegge 3—5 and 4—1, and Stukeley 5—5, Tasc; Pegge 3—2 and 6—[illegible], Tasce and Tascie; Stukeley 13—5, Tascia; Pegge 5—1, 3—1, and Stukeley 7—2 Tascia and Tascio. [q] Cut. Diss. p. 184. [r] P. 185—[illegible]. [s] P. 191. [t] Cæsar p. 94 and 108.

tion, by Dr. Pettingall, who firſt engraved it from Mr. Duane's collection, and with one of whoſe opinions it directly agreed, and by his antagoniſt Mr. Pegge, who re-engraved it from Dr. Pettingall's table, and objected the want of ſuch a witneſs to the Doctor [u]. And it ſtrongly favours the whole of my notion. The word, that is written upon all the other coins TASC or TASCIO, is inſcribed upon this TACIO [x].



Thus the Welſh Tuyſog, the ſame with the Scotch Toſhich and the Iriſh Taoiſeag, is ſometimes altered even now into Dŷg, and was formerly changed into Tog, in the TOGU of one of theſe coins and the Togudumnus of Dio. And, as Dr. Pettingall has fully ſhewn, Tac or Tag ſignified a leader among the Britons, as in Taxi-magulus, Praſu-Tag-us, and Carac-Tac-us [y]. Both theſe forms of the word, therefore, coincide exactly with my interpretation of it. And, Taſcio anſwering to the Rex of the Latin inſcriptions and the Togu of the Britiſh, Cunobeline Taſcio, Cuno Tacio, and Cearatic Taſcie, upon ſome coins, will be the ſame as Cunobelinus Rex and Cunob Rex upon others [z]. Thus Taſc is frequently the only inſcription upon the coins, and is actually

[u] For Pegge ſee p. 22—23. And, what adds to the ſtrangeneſs, it hath alſo been a third time overlooked by Dr. Henry in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, 1771, v. I. p. 406, who even recites the legend, and gives it Taſcio, though his own repreſentation of the coin exhibits it rightly TACIO. [x] Pegge 3—7. [y] P. 1—2. [z] Pegge 3—5, and Stukeley 14—7 and 9—4.

inſcribed

inscribed upon both sides of one of them [a]. Thus Tasc Novanit and Tasc Ver signify the King of Verulam and London, the two capitals of the Cassii and Trinovantes. And we have Cunobelinus Rex upon the face of one coin and Tasc on the reverse, and Tasc Rico or King Commandant upon another; both inscriptions asserting only the monarchical authority of Cunobeline over his subject states [b].

In this view of the word TASCIA, I think, all the difficulties, that have hitherto attended the subject, are resolved and removed. We do not embrace the strange incongruous idea of a nation taught to coin money, merely for the sake of paying their tribute in it; remitting it in a coinage, that was too inelegant and barbarous to circulate on the continent, and could only be melted down by their masters; minting it merely for exportation into Italy, and yet frequently marking it with British terms that were unintelligible there; and sending it for the discharge of a tribute, that appears not to have been paid at the time. We do not take up the wild and fantastical hypothesis, that the pieces were not the coins of our islanders, when they are found only in the island; and that they were minted by a nation on the continent, when they actually bear the names of British sovereigns upon them. And we do not acquiesce with the notion of their being so frequently inscribed with the appellation of a minter, that has no existence but in the visions of conjecture; and of his arrogating to himself an equality with his king upon the coins, assuming the sovereignty of his states, and even parading with the express appellation of Monarch. We take the word in its obvious and natural signification. And we apply it, as we find it applied by the Celtæ of Gaul about the same period, and as it has been applied by those of Britain for ages. It is referred directly to the king, with whom it is immediately connected. And it is what one would naturally expect upon a British coin, a British appellative of royalty.

[a] Pegge class 5, and 5—5. [b] Pegge 3—5 and Stukeley 14—7 and 15—9.

P. 288.

L. 3—7 thus—Eleven mints in all probability, and perhaps more, were eſtabliſhed within the pale of their own government, two in the two municipia, nine in the nine colonies, and ſome in the legionary ſtations. And coins minted at Cheſter, London, and York, at Richborough, Colcheſter, Lincoln, Verulam, and Glouceſter, and at Conovium perhaps, the ſtationary head-quarters of the tenth Antonian legion [c], have been ſafely &c.

P. 290.

L. 9—11 thus—I am ſorry to obſerve, that Mr. Pegge has ſullied his very uſeful treatiſe on the coins of Cunobeline with a rude ſtricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. "I am ſenſible," he ſays, "the Dr. has his admirers; but I muſt confeſs I am not "one of the number, as *not being fond of wildneſs and enthuſiaſm* "*upon any ſubject.*"—(P. 106). Let the wildneſſes of Dr. Stukeley &c.

L. 20—21 thus—And generally ſeduces the mind into extravagancies while it raiſes it to excellences.

L. 26—30 thus—Itſelf. And the ingenioſneſs of contrivance and neatneſs of execution, in theſe carriages, proves them even to have been intimately converſant with ſome of the beſt principles of mechanicks. Their cars were admired &c.

P. 291.

Laſt line thus—The only drinking-veſſels of the Britons, and are even uſed by the Highlanders at preſent [d].

P. 292.

L. 6—14 thus—And a pottery was naturally erected at every ſtationary town in the kingdom. And our own at Mancheſter, which was moſt probably ſettled within the projection of the river-bank in Caſtle-field, and on the ſouth-weſtern part of it, might be ſupplied, I believe, with proper clays from many pla-

[c] See Gale's Antoninus p. 122.
[d] Birt's Letters on the Highlanders, v. II. p. 43, and Oſſian v. I. p. 27. a note.

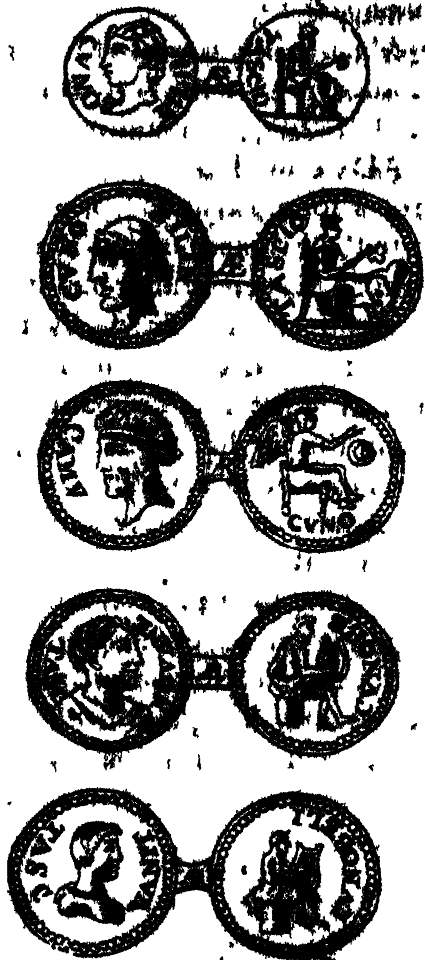
ces in the parish, seems clearly from those specimens of its skill that I have mentioned in the former part of the work. and particularly from the coral-coloured urn at Worsley, to have been a very considerable one, and to have had excellent artists engaged in it. And here, under the direction of Roman or Roman-Frisian masters, the Mancunians learnt to model their vessels with a lathe, to give them a glazing, and embellish them with carvings and figures. Of these masters we know the appellations of four. The ADVOCISI of the Worsley urn is plainly the romanized name of a foreigner, and in all probability of some Frisian master-potter to the Frisian garrison. And, among many fragments of vessels that have been discovered in the ruins of the Roman slaughterhouse and cowstall in Castle-field, and on the opposite bank of the river and the site of Mr. Wallford's house, have some been found that were inscribed with the names of three others. One was the unglazed handle of a massy pitcher, and had VABEO rudely stamped upon it; the name of an Italian potter in all probability, as we have Phoebio upon a vessel at Rome, and Vibia on a Roman tombstone in Britain. Another was equally the handle of a pitcher, and equally large and unglazed, and had upon it the appellation NONOVI. And the third was a red stand for some little vessel, and on the bottom exhibited the letters OF A ASCUI, Officina Auli Ascui; signifying the piece to have been formed in the pottery of one Aulus Ascuus, plainly the name of a German, and the same with the Ayscue of modern times.

P. 293.

L. 1—9 thus—Below them. The British chairs were either tall and rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day distinguish by the British appellation of Crickets, were provided with backs and mounted on four supporters, or rested upon a square basis of timber. And, as we have specimens of all the three delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, so we have

 a cricket,

a cricket, particularly, exhibited twice upon them, and in the very form which it bears in Manchester at present[e].



P. 294.

L. 30 thus—It was mingled with three-fourths of their nitre, which was a fixed salt[f]; and both &c.

[e] Pegge 3—9, 3—1, 2—5, 4—1, and 4—3.
[f] See Hill's History of Fossils, p. 387.

P. 295.

P. 295.

L. 13—26 thus—At the stations or towns of either, appear to have generally consisted of a thick, sometimes white, but mostly blue-green, metal[a].

Native amber, very naturally supposed for ages to be a distillation from the gummy trees that formerly lined all the northern coast of Germany, and are said to remain in various places on the Baltick at present, appears upon a closer examination to be a fossil, generated in the earth, and disclosed by accident. And it is the production of our own island, as well as North-Germany. Formed in the fissures of the cliffs that line the eastern shore of Britain particularly, it is thrown down by the falling of the rocks, and picked up on the beach or found floating on the waters. It is sometimes gathered in large masses, not so bright and transparent as those of the Baltick, but of a pale yellow and agreeably clouded. And it is inclosed in a thin coarse coat, the nest or shell of this equivocal creation, the semblance of a gum and a gem in one[b]. And the Britons appear to have possessed considerable quantities of it. This they molded into squares and circles, and their females strung them as beads and wore them as necklaces. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of Britain. The Gallick women in the north of Italy did the same, as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancashire. And the Scotch retained the custom within these two centuries[c].

P. 393.

This page now runs thus.

In this state of our island manufactures, when the hills of Britain were found to be replenished, as they are expressly de-

[a] Of Roman glass-ware, says Thoresby in Leeds p. 560, I have from London, Aldborough, and Adel: the bluish green, and some of the white, are very thick, above three fourths of an inch; but a piece of the white, found five or six yards in the Roman wall at Aldborough, is remarkably thin for those ages.

[b] Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 13, Boetius Scot. Reg. Descr. fol. 10, and Leslæi Hist. p. 29.

[c] Leslæi Hist. p. 29.

claimed to have been in the third century, with a rich variety of all sorts of metals; the inhabitants of Manchester, and the rest of the county slept upon skins of beasts, and lay on the floor of their apartments. This was the practice universally in the first ages, and originally the custom of the Greeks and Romans. But the skins were afterwards changed for loose rushes and heather, as the Welsh a few ages ago lay on the former, and the Highlanders sleep on the latter to the present moment [k]. And the example of the Romans now suggested to the Mancunians the use, and the introduction of agriculture supplied them with the means, of the neater conveniency of straw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Italians were constantly composed of straw, and it still formed those of the soldiers and officers at the conquest of Lancashire. And from both our countrymen learnt the use of them at this period. But it appears to have been taken up only by the gentlemen; as the common Welsh had their beds thinly stuffed with rushes, as late as the conclusion of the twelfth century [l]. And with the gentlemen it continued many ages afterwards. Straw was used even in the royal chambers of England, as late as the close of the thirteenth. Most of our Mancunian peasants lie on chaff at present. And straw-beds remain to this day general in France and Italy. But they were no longer suffered to rest upon the ground. The better mode that had antiently prevailed in the east, and long before been introduced into Italy, was adopted in Britain. And they were now mounted on pedestals. This, however, was equally confined to the gentlemen. The bed still continued on the floor among the common people. And the gross custom, that had prevailed from the beginning, was retained by the lower Britons to the last; and these ground-beds were laid along the walls of their houses, and formed one common dormitory for all the members of the family. This fashion continued universally among the inferiour ranks of the Welsh within these four or five

[k] See Giraldus's Des. Cambriæ p. 888.
[l] Ibid.

ages,

ages, and with the more uncivilized part of the Highlanders nearly to our own times[m]. And even at no great distance from Manchester, in the neighbouring Buxton, and within these sixty or seventy years, the persons that repaired to the bath are all said to have slept in one long chamber together; the upper part being allotted to the ladies and the lower to the gentlemen, and only partitioned from each other by a curtain.

The hearth of the Britons seems to have been fixed in the center of their great halls; as some of the common people even in the nearer parts of Scotland, to this day, have the fire in the middle of the room, and the family sit all around it[n]. This was perhaps nothing more than a large stone, depressed a little below the level of the ground, and thereby adapted to receive the ashes. And about a century ago in Cheshire it was only the floor of the room, with the addition of a back or hob of clay[n]. But it was now changed amongst the gentlemen for a portable fire-pan, raised upon low supporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars.

P. 303.

L. 1—15 thus—And others were found in the same bed of sand sixty yards to the west of it, and in the year 1770. But, what is more remarkable, the number of pieces in the former discovery was not less than thirty or forty, and a quantity of slack was dug up with them. And these circumstances shew the coals to have been lodged upon the spot, before the road of the Romans covered it.

L. 20—26 thus—That the Britons in general were acquainted with this fuel, is evident from its appellation amongst us at present, which is not Saxon but British; and subsists among the Irish in their Gual, and among the Cornish in their Kolan, to this day.

[m] Ibid. for the common Welsh having their beds upon the ground, and Ibid. and Crit. Diss. p. 140 for the Welsh and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.

[n] Gent. Mag. March 1754, and King's Vale Royal, Pt. I. p. 19.

P. 307.

L. 8—14 thus—Lined the inside of their brazen vessels with it, and thereby prevented the tincture of brass. And receiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, they as probably practised the curious art which the Gauls had discovered, and which was recently used in making our bell-metal, of incorporating &c.

P. 309.

The first paragraph of Sect. IV. now runs thus.

AT the period of Cæsar's expedition into the island, the woods of Britain were replenished nearly with the same varieties of timber as the forests of Gaul. And the beech and fir are the only trees excepted by Cæsar. He asserts them both to have been strangers to Britain at that æra. This, however, the generality of our criticks have affected to disbelieve; and have appealed against it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, the fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and the fir-apples discovered in draining our Marton Mere. But these arguments, surely, could never have been thought of sufficient moment to overthrow one of the best historical authorities in the world, if they had not fallen in with that frivolous petulance of criticism, which has lately been very prevalent among us, and continually exalting itself against the testimony of Cæsar. Cæsar has explicitly asserted the fact. Cæsar appears in general, whatever the humoursomeness of antiquarianism has suggested, to have gained very accurate informations concerning the island. And if, in such cases, the credit of cotemporary relations was to be superseded by hypothetical reasonings, and the authority of peremptory assertions overborne by problematical arguments, the faith of records would be destroyed at once, and the authenticity of history utterly annihilated.—I cannot, however, subscribe entirely to the relation of Cæsar. Other and more forcible arguments present themselves to the inquisitive mind, that supersede the authority

of

of that great historian, and shew one of the trees to be a native of Britain.

P. 312.

L. 4—6 thus—But they introduced the beech into it. And the tree, which they found, was not precisely the same that now grows amongst us. Our moss-fir is daily experienced in Lancashire to be of a much more resinous quality than the other. It could not have acquired this property, by lying in the mossy soil. And it is therefore of a different species, and the same assuredly with the Scotch fir, now totally extirpated in England, but preserved in the Highlands of Scotland °.

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans &c.

P. 318.

L. 13 and note [35] thus—Lib. xv. c. 23.—In the Phil. Transf. vol. LIX. p. 23 and vol. LXI. Pt. i. p. 136—169 is a dispute betwixt my learned friend Dr. Ducarrel &c. and the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, concerning the origin of the chestnut in England. The latter would gladly prove it to have been lately transplanted into the island, and from Spain probably. And the former would make it a native of the country. The arguments for its recent introduction have been overthrown, in the compleatest manner, by the Doctor and his two associates (p. 136—166). Nor has Mr. Barrington, in his reply (p. 167—169), even ventured to support them. And we may add to the reasonings one decisive observation, That the chestnut was in this island even as early as the twelfth century, was then common in it, was spread over the surface of the country, and even constantly grew wild in our woods. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of Ireland, says: arborum—species quatuor, quas *insula Britannica circa cultoris operam per se producit*, hic deficiunt; *castanus* et fagus &c. (Top. Hib. p. 739).—But, after all, is there not an errour running through the whole controversy? And are not

° And this, I suppose, is the old fir of Ireland, thus described by Giraldus: Ireland (he says) abundat abiete—, *thuris et incensi matre* (Top. Hib. p. 739. Camden).—,

all the disputants mistaken in their main position? The chestnut-tree is demonstrably an antient inhabitant of the island. But it is not, therefore, a native. It may have been introduced in the earlier ages of our history. And, if my argument here from the Roman-British appellations be just, and reason suggests and history shews that it is, the tree was first brought into Britain by the Romans.

P. 319—320.

Among the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain, the most curious undoubtedly was the vine. And it appears to have been very common in the island a few centuries ago. From the name of vineyard yet adhering to the ruinous sites of our castles and monasteries, there seem to have been few in the country but what had a vineyard belonging to them. The county of Gloucester is particularly commended by Malmesbury in the twelfth century, as excelling all the rest of the kingdom in the number and goodness of its vineyards. In the earlier periods of our history, the isle of Ely was expressly denominated the isle of vines by the Normans[p]. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the descriptive accounts of Doomsday. And those of England are even mentioned by Bede, as early as the commencement of the eighth century.

That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other testimony than the British appellations of it. Being brought by them into Gaul, it was denominated the Vigne by the natives. And, being carried by them into Britain, it was similarly called by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen, the Guin-bren, the Guin-ien, or Fion-ras, as it is still denominated in the Welsh, Cornish, Armorican, and Irish dialects. These appellations, like the Gallick, do not directly signify the vine, and only speak of it characteristically as the wine-tree. And, as they shew the Romans to have been the first planters of it in both kingdoms, so this little peculiarity pretty plainly intimates

[p] Harrison's Description of England prefixed to Hollingshead's Chron. p. 110—111, 1586.

the

the natives of both to have been acquainted with the liquor, some time before they cultivated the tree. Such would naturally be the case of both. Such appears to have been actually the case with the Gauls. And the Caledonian Britons, who were strangers to the plant, were conversant with its produce before the middle of the third century.

The former was not brought into Britain in the first, but was introduced before the close of the third. And, confined as it would for ages be within the pale of the Roman government, it was transplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth. But the grape, or, as with an agreeable simplicity it was called by the Britons, the corn of the tree, the winegrane, and the apple of the vine, was not, as it now is, merely raised for the uses of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the plant. They were carried with it into Gaul. And, that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a presumptive evidence, and the British appellation of wine-tree for the vine seems a strong argument. But Doomsday exhibits to us a particular proof of wine made in England, during the period preceding the Conquest. And, after it, the bishop of Ely appears to have received at least three or four tuns of wine annually, as tythe, from the produce of the vineyards in his diocess; and to have made frequent reservations in his leases of a certain quantity of wine for rent. A plot of land in London, which now forms East-Smithfield and some adjoining streets, was with-held from the religious house within Aldgate by four successive constables of the Tower, in the reigns of Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, and made by them into a vineyard to their great emolument and profit. In the old accounts of rectorial and vicarial revenues, and in the old registers of ecclesiastical suits concerning them, the tithe of wine is an article that frequently occurs in Kent, Surry, and other counties. And the wines of Gloucestershire, within a century after the Conquest, were little inferiour to the

 French

French in ſweetneſs[a]. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a ſingle vine in the days of Cæſar, had numbers ſo early as the time of Strabo. The ſouth of it was particularly ſtocked with them; and they had even extended themſelves into the interiour parts of the country. But the grapes of the latter did not ripen kindly[b]. And France was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Veſpaſian, and even exported its wines into Italy. The whole province of Narbonne was then covered with vines: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knaviſh dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with ſmoke, colouring it (as was ſuſpected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taſte and appearance with aloes. And, as our firſt vines would be tranſplanted from Gaul, ſo were they in all probability thoſe of the Allobroges in Franche Compte. Theſe were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. They ripened even in the froſts of the advancing winter. And they were of the ſame colour, and ſeem to have been of the ſame ſpecies, as the black Muſcadines of the preſent day, which have lately been tried in the iſland, I think[c], and found to be fitteſt for the climate.

P. 323.

L. 15—19 thus—With ſaddles. Thoſe in the coins of the Britiſh ſovereigns have not the ſmalleſt appearance of one. The Iriſh had none on their horſes, even within theſe three or four centuries[d]. And the Britiſh appellation of that covering is purely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Saddle. In the annals of the Romans is it firſt mention[illegible]. And th[illegible] earlieſt perſon, that is noticed in hiſtory to h[illegible]le, is Conſtantine the Younger, the ſon and [illegible] of [illegible] great emperor, and in the year 340. The necks of the garrons, however, were &c.

P. 324.

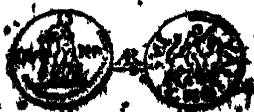
L. 15 thus—Fernandes. And the very word Brach, which ppears from Shakeſpear to have been uſed among us about two

[a] Ibid.
[b] Strabo p. 269.
[c] At Bath.
[d] Top. Hib. p. 738, Sellis equitando non utuntur.

centuries

centuries ago even for a lady's dog, is evidently the same with the Irish Brech, and a British appellation for a wild hound [u].

L. 26—34. thus—The first is furnished with no sagacity of nose, but has an uncommon degree of vigour and courage. The fast hold which it takes with its teeth, and the general strength of its limbs, are incredibly great. And three of them have been always reputed a match for a bear, and four even for a lion. But we have some instances of their courage and vigour, that rise greatly above this general estimate. Henry VII. is said to have ordered one of them immediately to be hanged, in an exuberance of zeal for the pre-eminence of royalty, because it had the hardiness to engage singly with its lord and sovereign, the lion. And in the reign of Elizabeth and the year 1572, my lord Buckhurst, our ambassador at the court of France for a few weeks, one day produced an English mastiff before Charles IX; which alone and without any assistance successively engaged a bear, a pard, and a lion, and fairly pulled them all to the ground [x]. These dogs are equally distinguished from others by a surly dignity of aspect, a genuine good-nature, and an honest fidelity. We have a breed of them at Manchester, that is enormously tall and large; and children frequently ride upon them in play. And just such an one is represented on this coin of Cunobeline, and a child appears mounted sideways upon it; the worthy animal waving its tail, and turning up its face, with a sensible satisfaction in its rider.



[u] "Truth's a dog must to kennel; he must be whipped out, when the lady Brach may "stand by the fire, and stink."

[x] Description of England prefixed to Hollingshead's Chronicle p. 231, taken from Caii opera, Jebb, p. 19. But the former fact is evidently a little misrepresented in both. They extend the king's order to all the mastiffs in the realm; when the nature of the case, and the correspondent order concerning the falcon (ibid.), shew it to have been confined to one of them.

P. 326.

P. 326.

L. 8—14 thus—And Symmachus, the cotemporary of Claudian, mentions seven Irish bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then first produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people; who were so struck with their ferocity and boldness, the two characteristick qualities of this species, that they universally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron. James I. is also known to have singled out one of his fiercest lions in the Tower, and to have turned him loose upon a couple of our bull-dogs; curious to observe how far their spirit and activity extended. And, to the astonishment of the whole court, the dogs shewed no signs of apprehension, did not decline the combat, and even provoked it; sprung upon the lion, engaged him closely with an equal courage, and at last, in spite of all his efforts, mastered him, and threw him on his back.

P. 330.

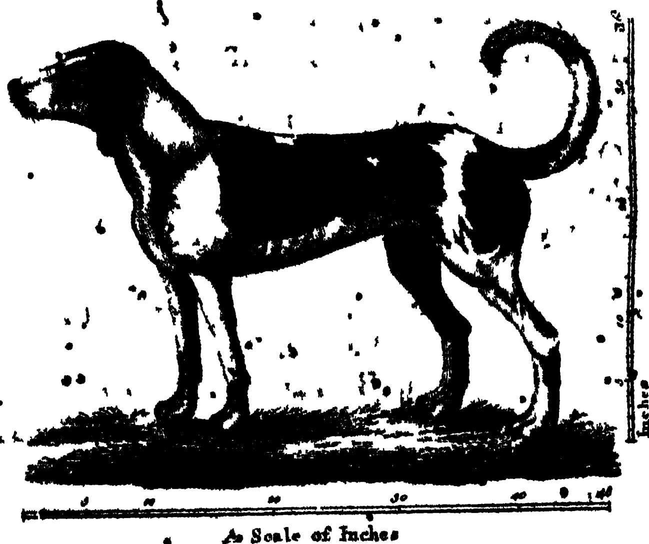
L. 9—19 thus—Southern hound. At Manchester it was noted by the observing eye of our poetical chorographer, Drayton, so early as the beginning of the last cent[illegible] and in his rough and dancing numbers is thus strongly chara[illegible], as one of the illustrious [illegible]:

And for the third, [illegible] aires exceed,
Be those great race [illegible] mouth'd of all
The others of this [illegible] we our [illegible]ers call;
Which from their bello[illegible] [illegible] sent so roare,
That you would [illegible] earthe they tore
With their wide [illegible] the clouds in sunder,
As though [illegible] mocke the
thunder [y].

And being lately carried from us into many of the neighbouring districts, and even into some of the southern counties, it there

[y] Polyolbion p. 134, part 2d.

retains the note of its recenter descent in its newer appellation of the Manchester or Lancashire hound. But it has long been neglected by carelessness or design. Its characteristick bulk has been gradually diminishing for some time. And this old and venerable breed is dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of harriers. To preserve, however, what nothing but the pencil can; and to perfect the account that I have given of this hound, I have here added a view of one of them; which was taken a few years ago from the life and in full proportion, and has been reduced into miniature for the present work by the same person who made the drawings for the former edition, that example of a strong and extensive genius un-depresst by poverty; and yet almost lost in obscurity, the modest Mr. Clarke of Salford.



A Scale of Inches

These were some of the original hounds of the island. And the Romans seem to have introduced into the one, and to have added to the other, the present breed of our common spaniels and harriers. The former carries evidently the signature of its origin in the singularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniard being a sufficient indication of its country, and the Roman termination, Hispaniolus or Spaniol, a full declaration of its Roman introducer. And the same race of our dogs is probably meant by the same denomination in these lines of Nemesianus,

> Nec tibi Pannonicæ stirpis temnatur origo,
> Nec quorum proles de sanguine manat Ibero,

> Praised are the sires that own Pannonia's brood;
> And praised the puppies of Hispania's blood;

And in these of Oppian,

> Εξοχ' αριζηλοι, μαλα τ' αγρευτηρσι μελονται,
> Παιονες, Αυσονιοι, Καρες, Θρηικες, ΙΒΗΡΕΣ,

> First on the field appear Ausonia's race,
> Thy dogs, O Caria, and thy hounds, O Thrace;
> First from the hunter claim the favourite's meed
> Pæonia's offspring, and Hispania's breed.

The harriers, I suppose, are equally foreigners with these; as their only game, the hare, will appear hereafter to have never been hunted by the primitive Britons. And they are probably Tuscans. Nemesianus has given us the following account of the Tuscan dog: and the description agrees exactly, I think, with the common harrier;

> Quin & Tuscorum non est extrema voluptas
> Sæpe canum; sit forma illis licèt obsita villo,
> Dissimilesque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
> Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;

Namque

Namque & odorato noscunt vestigia prato,
Atque etiam leporum secreta cubilia monstrant:

Nor on the file of hunters last is found
The merit, Tuscans, of your native hound;
What though their form be shagged with roughening hairs,
Nor one faint semblance of the greyhound wears,
Still will the table thank their useful care,
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare;
They snuff her footsteps on the scented mead,
They round her mazes to her secret bed.

And from the union of these and our Manchester dogs, I suppose, was that race of harriers originally generated, which is as remarkable for beagles as the other is for hounds, and almost equally confined to Manchester. These are evidently the great hounds in miniature, preserving on a smaller scale and in fainter colours all the striking peculiarities of their size, their aspect, and their note. And they have hitherto escaped the particular observation of the curious, because they were placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the others. The brightness of the sun throws every lesser luminary into shade. And, had the greater breed been now lost in Manchester, as it has lately been in the south, and as, before the present history was published, it seemed likely to be in two or three generations amongst ourselves; these large and remarkable beagles would have appeared with peculiar lustre, and been considered equally by the historian and the naturalist, at present, as the valuable and only representatives of our antient hounds.

P. 333.

CHAP. X.

THE BRITISH PROVISIONS AND RECREATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE ROMAN ARRIVAL—THE WOODS, MOSSES, AND WILD BEASTS—THE STREETS, BUILDINGS, TRADES &c. OF MANCHESTER—AND THE BRITISH MARRIAGES, BURIALS, LETTERS, LANGUAGE, AND MILITARY ART.

I.

IN the whole round of intellectual entertainments, few things carry ſo agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the hiſtory of human manners. And that lower ſpecies of patriotiſm, which ſhoots up inſtinctively in every breaſt, makes it particularly pleaſing to view our own national cuſtoms genuine as they riſe in our annals, and to ſee thoſe accidental combinations of ideas or national modes of opinion, which prevailed in the more diſtant ages of our fathers, faithfully repreſented in the mirrour of hiſtory. Nor is this ſatisfaction confined to their ſublimer exertions of the underſtanding, their theories of political ſcience, or their taſte in literature. It is even better felt on the ſurvey of their little faſhions and fancies in the more characterizing ſcenes of lower life, in the exhibition of their private manners, and the detail of their domeſtick œconomy.

The proviſion for the table among the original Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their goats [a], ſheep, deer, and hogs.

[a] B. I. ch. i. ſ. 2. and Howel Dha l. II. c. 26. a. 7.

P. 334.

L. 1—12 thus—And the latter seem to have been the duck, teal, widgeon, and swan; the crane, stork, bustard, capercalze, and cock of the wood; the woodcock, quail, snipe, and heath-cock or grouse; and the lark, the quoist or stock-dove, and others. These are all natives of the island, as either the appellations of them in the British language, or the incidental notices of history, suggest to us. And none of them appear to have been prohibited, as some certainly were, by casual customs or religious obligations. The crane and the stork, once familiar to our tables upon great entertainments, and the indigenous inhabitants of our country, are now known to us only by relation. The former was common in Kent during the ninth century, among the mountains of Wales in the tenth, and in the fens of Lincolnshire, one of the isles of Sylley, and various parts of Scotland, to the beginning of the last. And both of them were residents in Ireland at the close of the twelfth; the storks however being very rare there, and all black; but the cranes so numerous, as frequently to be seen in flocks of a hundred together. The Bustards also (or, as in the British mode of variation they were popularly called in the north, the bustards) are pretty frequent in Ireland to this day: were found, though rarely, in the Mers of Scotland within these two centuries, and on the plains of Lindsey in Lincolnshire within one and a half; and still continue equally rare on Newmarket and Royston heaths and the downs of Salisbury. These birds are scarcely able to raise themselves from the ground because of their bulkiness, being even obliged to run against the wind, and beat their pinions, before they can take a flight; and are equally slow in their motions afterward. And for both reasons they are very shy, approachable by the fowlers only in covered carts; and are reckoned a very excellent dish in season. The capercalze or caperkelly, or, as its appellation signifies in Erse, the hobbit of the woods, seems to have been so called exaggeratingly from its size, being about the bigness of a turkey; and is therefore, like the

the bustard, frequently denominated a wild turkey in English. This was once assuredly common to all the island, but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving high and solitary mountains and woods, has now for ages been peculiar to those of the Highlands. And it was even there, and even two centuries ago, confined to the firwoods of Ross, Lochaber, and other mountainous parts of the country, being then highly prized for the delicate flavour of its flesh; and is at this day in still higher estimation because of its additional rarity. But the cock of the wood, which has been recently confounded with the capercalze, and even by our British zoologist himself, though it is strikingly distinguished by its inferiour size, the feathery covering of its legs, and its scarlet eyebrows, is about the bigness of a peacock, and is actually mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis under the name of a sylvestris pavo or peacock of the woods. And it was once, like the capercalze, an inhabitant of England in all probability, as it was very common in Ireland during the twelfth century, and in the Highlands during the sixteenth; having gradually retired from England as it is now retreating from Ireland, on cutting down the woods that sheltered it; and is now very rare even in the latter and the Highlands, but much valued for the uses of the table[b]. The markets of

[b] See Top. Hib. p. 706 for Grutæ or Grouse; Howel Dha p. 25, b. I. ch. 10. s. 2. and note 22, Polyolbion p. 107 (pt. 2), D. of Engl. in Hollingshead, p. 34, and Leslæi Hist. 1675, p. 24, for cranes; Smith's Cork vol. II. p. 329, Polyolbion p. 113 (pt. 2), Boethius Scot. Des. 1576, fol. 7, and Leslæi Hist. p. 24, for bustards; Top. Hib p. 705 and 706, for cranes and storks; Leslæi Hist. p. 24, and Birt's Letters p. 169, for the capercalze; and Top. Hib. p. 706, Pennant's Tour p. 278, Harris's Ware p. 172 and Smith's Cork vol. II. p. 328, and Leslæi Hist. p. 24, for the cock of the wood.

Mr. Pennant in his Scotch Tour says thus; "Cock of the wood—formerly was common "throughout the Highlands, and was called Capercalze and Auercalze, and in the old law-"books Capercally" (p. 278—270). But bishop Lesley has accurately distinguished one from the other. And Mr. Pennant has totally omitted the real capercalze, as the author of the letters from the Highlands has equally omitted the cock of the wood, or confounded it with the black cock (see him p. 169). The bishop has noted all three. In Rossiâ (says he)—, Loquhabriâ, & aliis montanis locis, non desunt abietes, in quibus avis quædam rarissima, capercalze, id est, sylvester equus, vulgò dicta, frequens sedet, corvo illa quidem minor [The bishop is greatly erroneous here in the size of his capercalze], quæ palatum edentium sapore longè gratissimo—delinit. Victitat ex solis abietis extremis flagellis. *Alia*

Rome,

Rome, in the reign of Vespasian, were supplied with geese even from Picardy and Flanders, and the flocks travelled all the way on foot thither; a much longer expedition for these birds than what has been so often admired among ourselves, their yearly journeys from Lincolnshire to London; and, when any of them tired, they were removed into the front, and so pushed on by the advance of those behind [c]. And the Cheneros of Britain, most probably the Goosander of the present day, was particularly esteemed by the Romans as a dainty, and preferred by them for the table to most of the animals in the island [c].

P. 335.

L. 4 thus—Shores. And, when any object has been employed in the ministeries of religion, it has naturally such an odour of sanctity thrown over it, as must prevent it from being used in the common offices of life. Thus the hare, being made use of by the Britons in that curious inquisition into futurity which has always made a part of every, merely human, religion, was therefore interdicted the table. Thus also the goose and hen, which were equally interdicted the Britons, in all probability therefore were equally employed in augury among them. And their abstinence from fish seems to have resulted from the same principle. They exalted their rivers into divinities, and made the turbulent ocean around them an object of adoration. And some remains of the

avis est etiam in his regionibus numerosa, *superiore minor, hirsutis pedibus, palpebris rubricantibus*; nostri *gallinam tesquorum* dicunt. *Est et alia* nusquam nisi in tesquis victitans, fasiano illa quidem minor, sed colore, atque partim sapore, haud dissimilis; nostri *nigrum tesquorum gallum* appellant. This last is the black grouse of our mountainous heaths in the north of England, though mentioned in Burt's Letters as peculiar to the Highlands.

[c] Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—Anserini generis (says Pliny) sunt chenalopeces, et, quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, Chenerotes, fero ansere minores. The Cheneros was not the wild-goose, being expressly distinguished from it. And yet it was of the goose kind. It was most probably the goosander, which corresponds exactly with the only mark in this description, in being less than a wild goose. It is generally about four pounds in weight, while that is seven. And it is, what none of the kind are besides, of a beautiful aspect. The rest would repel, while this would provoke, the appetite of luxury or hunger. The head and upper part of the neck are of a shining green, the body is variegated with white and black, and the feet are a fine red. It is found in Lincolnshire &c.

worship

worship of both have continued to the present times, in the practices which the Scotch have preserved among their sequestered mountains and islands. The Highlanders to this day talk with great respect of the genius of the sea; will not bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit that resides in it should be offended and remove; and never mention the water of rivers without prefixing to it the appellation of Excellent[d]. And in one of the western islands the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. A quantity of ale having been prepared by a general contribution against All-Saints day, and the whole body of the islanders being assembled on the shore, the occasional priest of the festival walked up to his middle in the sea, bearing a full cup in his hand; invoked the deity by the title of Shony or Water, supplicated his kindness towards them, and poured the liquor in libation to the god. And then they all concluded the anniversary with feasting, dances, and songs[e]. This was the reason probably, why the Britons never fed upon fish. The same inventive spirit of religion, which stamped divinity upon rivers and the ocean, which offered a sacrifice to the sea, and feared to offend the elegant genius of a fountain by bathing in it, would, in the full height of the superstitition, naturally consider the scaly inhabitants of the sea and rivers as the little naiads of both, and as sharing a part of their divinity with them. And in the interiour parts of the Highlands, where original customs are preserved the longest, and the lower ranks of people subsist only on a little oatmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle and boiled into cakes; even in such circumstances of distress for the necessary provision of life, the fishes of their brooks

[d] Mr. Macpherson's Introduction to the Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland p. 163—164.

[e] Harris's W. Islands, Ed. 2, p. 28—29.—And Shony is the same word as makes the British names of some rivers in these islands and on the continent, the Sena or Shann-on of Ireland, the Seine of France, the Senney of Brecknockshire, and the Seny of Leicestershire, which all signify only Water.

and

and lakes are ſeldom or never eaten by the natives to this day [f]. —But theſe were now laid open to the ravages of hunger and luxury among the provincials.

L. 28—29 thus—The ſame places, as thoſe of Folkſtone at preſent, which Mr. Twyne about two centuries ago commended above all the reſt in the iſland, and therefore reaſonably argued to be the genuine favourites of the antients [g].

P. 336.

L. 6 thus—The peacock was probably brought into Europe from the Eaſt-Indies, where it is univerſally common; but muſt have been introduced in ſome very early period of time, ſince even Pliny ſpeaks of it only as an European. And it was a diſh &c.

L. 19 thus—Brought into the iſland by the Romans. Here it is not conſidered as a bird for the table, but has been eaten by a few curious adventurers in feaſting, and is ſaid to be a delicate diſh. And the Italians retain the fondneſs of their anceſtors for it to this day. The domeſtick &c.

P. 339.

L. 1—7 thus—And a ſmaller breed of them, the ſame that are denominated the Grey-Mooſes or Wampooſes in America, actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century: being deſcribed by an author, the cotemporary of Henry the Second, among the wild beaſts of the iſland; as ſtags little calculated for

[f] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 121.—Mr. Macpherſon, with his uſual unhappineſs of argumentation, contends in p. 163—164 againſt the notion of the Britons worſhipping rivers and the ſea, in direct oppoſition even to his own evidence, and in full contradiction to the cuſtom of the weſtern iſlanders and the teſtimony of Gildas. I mention not, [illegible] the latter, montes ipſos, aut colles, aut *fluvios*—, quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur [illegible].—Mr. Macpherſon alſo informs us in p. 163, that the Highlanders ſpeak with great reſpect of the Spirit of the Mountain. But he argues, notwithſtanding, that the Britons never worſhipped mountains; though the Highland practice plainly ſhews that they did, and though Gildas here expreſsly aſſures us of the fact: *montes* ipſos, aut *colles*, quibus divinus honor—cumulabatur. And, if there were any wild beaſts that could be ſaid to be the peculiar and appropriate inhabitants of mountains, as fiſhes are of the ſea and rivers, the Britiſh abſtinence muſt have naturally extended to thoſe as theſe.

[g] Lambard's Kent, 1596, p. 170.

flight because of their extreme bulkiness, rather short in the body, but greatly superiour to all others in the largeness of their heads and dignity of their antlers. The large black moose would naturally be the first destroyed. And the smaller would continue the longest, because it could shelter itself the best.

Both, however, were only &c.

L. 14—17 thus—The Irish wolf-dog. Ireland, says an author who wrote two centuries ago, is not without wolves, or greyhounds to hunt them, that are bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Scotland, says another of the same period, in the first class of her hounds ranks a breed which is superiour to a yearling bull-calf in size, and used equally in hunting the stag and the wolf[h]. And the buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and well-scented, active enough to run down and strong enough to master a British stag. Both are therefore the same with that Irish greyhound, for which particular court was made by a Spanish nobleman to Henry VIII, and a privy seal issued to the lord deputy and council of Ireland; and which was even sollicited as the most acceptable of all presents by the great Mogul in 1617. And all are the same with that old greyhound of the Highlands, which is now become as rare among them, as the other is in Ireland, but was formerly in great repute for the magnificent stag-hunts of the chiefs; being very swift, bold, and large, very strong and deep-chested, and covered with very long and rough hair[i].

But entirely different &c.

[h] Stanyhurst's Desc. of Ireland in Hollingshead's Chron. p. 19, and Leslæi Hist. p. 13.—

[i] Ossian p. 4 and 81, vol. I, and p. 11 vol II; Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 127 and 275; and Harris's Ware p. 166—167.—This dog was once common to the whole island assuredly, and seems from the following passage to have been so within these two or three centuries. "The fifth" (says Harrison, enumerating our dogs) "is a *greyhound* cherished for its *strength*, "swiftness, and *stature*, commended by Bratius in his De Venatione, and not unremembered "by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but above all others of Britain, where he saith, Et "*magna spectandi mole* Britanni." See D. of B. in Hollingshead p. 230, 1586.

P. 340.

P. 340.

L. 17—19 thus—The wolf, which in some respects seems nothing more than a savager species of dogs, is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh, or the wild hound by the Irish to the present day, and was actually employed as a dog for hunting by the original inhabitants of North-America. This animal is well known to &c.

L. 27—35 thus—The common cattle of the island, I suppose, must often have run wild along our heaths and forests; as the kine of Europe range freely in herds at present along the levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and bulls of the country continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and even for several ages afterward. These were merely of the usual size, but all milk-white in their appearance, all furnished with thick hanging manes &c.

P. 341.

L. 31—34 thus—This also explains that considerable difficulty in natural history, which is scarcely explainable on any other principle, the transportation of savage beasts from the continent into distant islands [k].

P. 342.

L. 12—14 thus—Romans; and those of the bull and bear are the great diversions of our dogs and populace at present. In some very antient constitutions of the Welsh it is expressly declared, that, of the nine sorts of wild beasts which were hunted, only three of them were baitable, and that the bear was one [l]. And, as I have lately shewn, Norwich was obliged by the Saxons to furnish even the king with one bear annually, and six dogs for

[k] In the Genuine History of the Britons Asserted, I have hinted at another supposition. And the reader may decide betwixt them. The Gauls about Calais, as I have observed, being accustomed to see this island daily from their own shores, "soon passed over in all probability from mere motives of curiosity,—*perhaps stocked some of the nearer woods with wild beasts for hunting*, and ages afterward settled &c." p. 99.

[l] Ray's Synopsis Method. Quadr., 1693, p. 214.

baiting it. For these exhibitions edifices were constructed at Rome, of squared stone &c.

P. 343.

L. 21—26 thus—And in this state hawking remained, the favourite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages; and the predominant spirit of inclosing, and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces, have not yet banished it entirely from the kingdom. Driven from the south, and practised, I believe, in no one part of England at present, it has taken refuge in Scotland, and is still kept up by the gentlemen of the Highlands *.

P. 344.

L. 3—4 thus—Roman-British remains among us. The Britons and Romans may even seem, perhaps to have particularly cultivated this diversion, and to have formed a remarkable species of harriers for the purpose. And the race remains at Manchester to the present moment.—When the great hound was lost there many centuries ago, the name and the breed would soon be forgotten together. And, on its re-appearance from the south, the seeming stranger assumed the denomination of the southern hound. But it had probably been coupled with the common harrier before it was destroyed among us, and had left its progeny in the present beagle behind it. And the fact perhaps happened about the Roman period. As the moose-deer became gradually rarer, and was at last exterminated in our woods, the moose-dog would be found more and more useless in its original dimensions and strength. And, the hare becoming a principal object in hunting, the strain would naturally be crossed with the harrier, to reduce its size, augment its speed, and yet preserve its form and note. Hence arose probably the generation of our Manchester beagles, the exact miniatures (as I have formerly observed) of our large hounds. And when this had been done, when the only peculiarities of the dog, that were now of any moment in the estimate of a mere hunter, had been happily

* Birt's Letters on the Highlanders v. II. p. 299, and Pennant's Tour p. 127.

transferred

transferred to another, it would be thrown aside, suffered to mingle casually with every species, and so be gradually diffused and lost. But it would naturally keep the same appellation in its diminished state, that it had borne before. And, when the parent breed became extinct, the new one would enjoy the denomination without a rival. Hence our Manchester beagles retain to this day the familiar and appropriate title of the Kibble-hounds; one equally confined as the race, and totally unknown among us as to its etymology or import. But the appellation is purely British, transmitted to us from our British ancestors, and remaining at present in the language of Ireland. The terms Cuib and Gilune are both of them used by the Irish for their greyhound, and are evidently the same with our Kibble; as we have Kurak in Irish and Korug and Kurugl in Welsh for a Coracle, Kryd and Dysgl in the latter for a cradle and a dish, and Greideal in the former for a grid-iron. And the name, which is thus applied in Ireland and at Manchester to two such different kinds of dogs as the beagle and the greyhound, properly signifies only a hound in general. Thus does the remarkable moose-dog of the Britons appear to have been distinguished among them by the peculiar denomination of the Kibble. And the Manchester beagles preserve to this moment the primary appellation that was given to the Manchester hounds. The latter were a new colony introduced into the parish from the south, and some time after the extinction of its original number. And the former are therefore more dispersed over the neighbouring country than they, and not marked, like them, with titles expressive of their derivation from Manchester.

The Spaniards used originally to dislodge the rabbets from their holes, with wild African cats that had their mouths muzzled; but afterwards employed the ferret in the sport. And, when the Romans introduced the rabbet into Italy and Britain, they brought in the same custom of attacking it with ferrets[a].

[a] Strabo, p. 214, and Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.

P. 346.

L. 16—17 Note [u] thus—Boetii Scot. Reg. Desc. fol. 6. and Leslæi Hist. p. 18. And hence is the popular story of the fierce wild cow of Dunsmore in Warwickshire, slain by Guy earl of Warwick.

L. 20—22 thus—P. 777. Gale's Scriptores from Doomsday.—In Ray's Synopsis Method. Quadr., 1693, Mr. Lhuyd acquaints us, that in some antient laws and customs of the Welsh, now preserved in MS. among them, there was one among other maxims of hunting, summam seu præcipuæ æstimationis ferinam esse *ursi*, leporis, & apri; p. 214. And bears appear in Normandy and Scotland nearly to the conquest of England: see Gemeticensis p. 667. Camden, and Pennant's Tour p. 169.

P. 349.

L. 13—22 thus—A range of meadows upon it.

Thus was the parish of Manchester overspread at this period with woods. And no parts of it seem to have been free from the trees, but the cultivated area and the mosses.

P. 354.

At the end of the notes is this additional paragraph.

To take off the seeming strangeness, which the notices in this section concerning the Lancashire mosses may carry to some of my readers, it may be proper to observe, That the same causes have operated in a still more extraordinary manner, where their instruments have been greater and their scope of action larger. Where the former have not been merely brooks, or the latter confined to small valleys; but when rivers have concurred in the production, and the scene of operation has been the levels of our eastern coast; the effect has been much more astonishing, than any which I have here recorded. On deepening Wisbech river in 1635, at eight feet below the channel the workmen came to another, and found no less than seven boats in different parts of it. And, at Salters Lode, the adventitious earth was observed about 1660 to be ten feet deep, over a firm moorish soil of three

in

in thickness; to be succeeded by a bluish sort of earth, which was judged to be original silt, and by another layer of moorish soil below it, as thick as the former, but much firmer and clearer; and to be followed by a whitish clay, which appeared to be the natural ground. But, in digging through the moor at Whittlesea about the same time, at the depth of eight feet was found a perfect mold, and swaths of grass lay as they were mowed upon it. And, at Skyrbeck sluice near Boston, the labourers sunk fixteen feet, and then discovered even a smith's forge, furnished with all the requisite tools, horseshoes, and other implements of iron. See Dugdale's Hist. of Embanking, 1662, p. 178, &c.

P. 358.

L. 11—15 thus—By the Romans. This, however, would naturally be confined to the chiefs. And in these northern parts of England, and even in our neighbouring county of Chester, as late as the commencement of the last century, the common people had their fire in the midst of the house, and no chimney above to discharge the smoke*.

The covering of edifices in the north &c.

L. 25—27 thus—These were equally so amongst ourselves in former ages, and continued even in Edinborough beyond the beginning, and in most parts of Cheshire below the middle, of the last century†.

P. 359.

L. 17—18 thus—The windows seem generally to have been &c.

L. 32—33 thus—And, that transparent fossil, Lapis Specularis or Ising-glass stone, which &c.

P. 360.

L. 7—14 thus—Present moment.

One or more wells would &c.

* See King's Vale Royal part I. p. 19.

† King's Vale Royal ibid. and Maitland's Edinborough, 1753, p. 62.

P. 363.

P. 363.

L. 25 thus—Scotland. Nor was this all. Medicinal botany, originally the only branch of medicine, was even engrafted upon the stock of the Celtick religion; and the druids of the Gauls and Britons were at once their physicians and priests [q]. And the magick rites, which were practised with such a wild solemnity in our own island at this period, were merely the mixt effusions of medicine and superstition, each acting upon the other, and both heightening the whole. Magick, as Pliny has justly observed [r], was nothing more in its origin than the daughter of Medicine; calling out the secret powers of nature in the vegetable creation, and yet concealing their agency under the mantle of religion. And we have three or four plants pointed out to us by the antients, that were peculiarly the favourites of the druids. One was what they denominated the Samol, and which has been very differently interpreted, as the botanical mind had no standard of determination; but was probably, as the L and the R are frequently interchanged, the Seamar or wild Trefoil, to which the Irish Britons pay a particular attention at present, wearing it in their hats on St. Patrick's day under the diminutive appellation of Seamrog. This was esteemed an excellent remedy for all the diseases of their droves and herds, if it was bruised, and then mingled with the water that the cattle drank. But, when it was gathered in the swamps where it grew, it was constantly plucked by the left hand alone; and the simpler was fasting, never looked back while he gathered it, and deposited it no-where till he put it into the watering-troughs [s]. Another was Vervain, by which the druids pretended to predict future events, and from which they really extracted an ungent, that (besides its power to conciliate friendships and procure the accomplishment of every wish) was thought to be efficacious in preventing fevers and curing every other disease. And it was

q Pliny lib. 30. c. 1, Druidas,— hoc genus vatum medicorumque.

r Ibid.

s L. xxiv. c. 11.

gathered

gathered about the commencement of dog-days and in a moonless night; the leaves, the stem, and the root were dried separately and in the shade; and an infusion of it in wine was prescribed for the bite of a serpent[t]. The Selago also, a kind of Savin, was esteemed a preservative against every calamity, and the smoke of it beneficial for any complaints in the eyes[u]. And the Misletoe of the oak, which was then as rarely found upon that tree as it is at present, naturally became therefore a peculiar object of regard in a botanical system of religion; was thought, when it was taken in a draught, to give fruitfulness to barren animals, and to be an useful antidote to poisons; and was called by a Celtick appellation, that shews it to have been considered as an universal medicine[x]. Thus, out of four prescriptions that have been communicated to us from the Celtick pharmacy, the samol was thought a remedy for all the diseases in hogs and kine, the vervain was a cure for every disorder in man, and the misletoe was denominated the All-healing plant. And, in these first stages of her progress, Medicine would naturally be struck with astonishment at the virtues which disclosed themselves in plants; and, by the influence of her associates, Credulity and Superstition, be strongly tempted to carry her faith into extravagance, and attribute infallibility and universality to almost every remedy. Thus the vulgar mind, we see at present, is ready to receive every medicine that is obtruded upon it by the hand of quackery; as equally applicable in all the stages of a disorder, and certainly successful in all its operations. The misletoe of the oak is to this day considered as a curiosity by our naturalists, and within a century and a half was reputed very medicinal by our physicians, and composed a regular part of the Materia Medica of our shops[x]. And the many prescriptions which remain traditional all over the kingdom, that either work as amulets on the fancy in agues and the like disorders, or apply the powers of plants to the bodies in diseases of a more fixed and inveterate nature, and are generally the only medicines of

[t] L. xxv. c. 9.—[u] L. xxiv. c. 11.—[x] L. xvi. c. 44. and Selden on Polyolbion. p. 153.

our

our peasants at any distance from Manchester, have been mostly derived, I apprehend, like those of the Highlanders mentioned above, from the botanical and medical notices of the Britons.

L. 32 and note 6 thus—Brick is Brike, plural Bricion, in Irish.—Mr. Macpherson, in p. 222. of his Introduction, asserts the Britons to have had bricks, on the pretended authority of Herodian lib. vii. But in this, as in five hundred passages besides, he has adopted that strange mode of reasoning which has been used by so many of our historical writers, of applying to the Britons every trait of character which occurs concerning the Germans, without attempting to prove them of the same blood and in the same circumstances, and when both were very different.

P. 364.

L. 11—16 thus—Window is yet provincially denominated Windor in Lancashire &c., or the passage for air; as that for people was peculiarly called The Door. And the word is Welsh, Uynt Dor signifying the passage for the wind.

P. 365.

L. 1—7 thus—The primitive Britons are charged by two of the most respectable historians among the Romans, with the gross barbarisms of a community of wives; incestuous loves, and unnatural mixtures. And the accusation is too surely as just, as it is scandalous. A community of wives was the principal crime; and the incestuous and unnatural cohabitations were merely the result of that. The Britons formed themselves into a strange sort of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twelve families; and each husband had free access to each wife in it. And, as these associations would most naturally consist of the nearest relatives, brothers carried on an intercourse with their sisters-in-law, and daughters-in-law became the concubines of their fathers.

L. 24—26 thus—Incorporated into the society. And an &c.

3 P. 367.

L. 20 thus—Husband Cairbar. And some of the wilder Irish retained the custom, in part, within these two or three centuries[y]. The whole &c.

P. 368.

L. 6—17 thus—Heroes. And they have been preserved in many families of the Highlanders, nearly to the present period. Nor is the practice yet forgotten in Wales. The lower women among the Welsh frequently gird themselves in their pregnancy, to this day, with the cast slough of a snake as a charm.

The mode of interment &c.

P. 369.

L. 18 thus—The body of the king in it. Even the century after Vortigern, a person dying in the presence of the celebrated saint, Columba, and in the isle of Sky, it is expressly related that he was buried in this manner; Socii congesto lapidum acervo sepelierunt[z]. And the practice is retained in part among all the remains of the provincial and extra-provincial Britons to this day. When a wretch dies by the act of suicide in Ireland, and is buried, as in England, at the intersection of two highways; or when the greatest of criminals suffer the sentence of the law either in Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, and are interred under the gallows, the passengers for some time afterwards have a custom of throwing stones upon their graves, till they have raised a considerable heap over them. And a proverbial sort of curse prevails both in Wales and Ireland, of wishing an enemy what Hector wishes to Paris, to have a Cairn over him, or (in the language of Homer[a]) to be clad in a coat of stone[b]. But the original custom is still more perfectly preserved in Scotland. If a person there suddenly falls down dead, or loses his life by any accident in his journey, whether the fact happens on a road or in the field, a rude heap

y Stanyhurst's Des. of Ireland in Hollingshead, p. 45.

z Adamnan's life of Columba lib. I. c. 33. in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, vol. II. p. 345.

a Λαινον εσσο χιτωνα κακων ενεχ' οσσα εοργας. Iliad. lib. iii.

b Ware, Harris, p. 142, and Mona p. 214.

of stones is immediately thrown together upon the spot by the first who discovers the corps; and the common people contribute to increase the pile, by adding each of them a stone to it. And there are some persons so religiously scrupulous in this respect, that they will turn out of their way for a quarter of a mile, in order to fetch a stone for the purpose; as the neglect, they apprehend, will be punished by some subsequent misfortune to them [c].

In these barrows &c.

P. 300.

L. 6—7 thus—Third century.

Thus formed, these barrows have been generally preserved inviolate to our own times, by the reverentialness which the religious principles of the Britons bestowed upon them. And of this we have very lively traces remaining among the Highlanders at present. They are firmly persuaded to this moment, that if a dead body shall be known to lie unburied, or to be removed from its sepulcher either by malice or accident, and immediate care is not taken for the interment of it; storms and tempests will arise to destroy their corn, overturn their cabins, and carry desolation through their country [d]. And the late construction of the military roads in Scotland afforded a remarkable proof of the notion. As the way which runs from Crief northward was carried on through Glenalmond, an enormous stone was removed that crossed the intended line of it, and a British sepulcher found below, containing ashes, fragments of bones, and half-burnt stalks of heath. And, as soon as it was known to the Highlanders of the country, they assembled in arms even from distant parts of it, and formed themselves in a body; carefully collected the relicks, marched with them in a solemn procession to a new place of burial, and there paid the military honours to the deceased by discharging their musquets over his grave [e].

[c] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 102—103, and Gent. Mag. May 1752.
[d] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 301.
[e] Ibid. p. 299—300.

L. 9—12.

L. 9—12 thus—Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherson (and from them Dr. Henry in his Hist. of G. Britain vol. I. 1771, p. 445) have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, History p. 71, and Crit. Diss. p. 140; and all equally in vain. Their argument is, That, all the members of a family sleeping (as I have shewed before) in one apartment together, they were therefore supposed by foreigners to have a promiscuous copulation. But, to make the apology correspondent to the charge, it should have been shewn, not merely that one family, but that ten or twelve, thus slept together.

P. 372—373.

L. 33 of p. 372 to L. 8 of p. 373 thus—In the one and of Agricola in the other. And the Cornish, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish &c.

P. 373.

L. 11—19 thus—To the Italian. And the long settlement of the Italians in Britain as naturally made a free opening for their language. The latter became nearly as familiar to the ears, as the former to the eyes, of the Britons. And the language seems to have been generally spoken by the gentlemen after the coming of the Romans, and even to have been understood by many before it. Hence, in that period during which Strabo informs us that the Romans became well acquainted with the island, though they had not yet formed a settlement within it, and in which we know the Britons to have introduced a mint from the Gallick continent, we see so many of their current coins bearing Roman inscriptions [f]. And hence we find the epitaphs of the British monarchs, even after the departure of the Romans, all uniformly written in the language of Italy. Such is Pabo's, such is Eneon's, and such Cadvan's, all three in the isle of Anglesey only. Hence also, which is very remarkable, the parental appellations among our superiour ranks at present are purely

[f] Strabo p. 306, and ch. ix. s. 1. before.

Roman, while those among the vulgar are absolutely British [a]. And, though the Italian could never have &c.

P. 374.

L. 2—6 thus—Arms. And, when Ostorius took possession of his government here, he disarmed even such of the allies as he suspected of hostile designs. But, on the peaceable &c.

L. 26—28 thus—Romans, and raised in rotation among the subjects by the monarchs.

When it was requisite for the Britons to call out their warriours into the field, they used a method that was particularly marked by its expeditiousness and decisiveness, and remains partially among us to this moment. They raised a cry, which was immediately caught up by others, and in an instant transmitted from mouth to mouth through all the region. And, as the notice passed along, the warriours snatched their arms, and hurried away to the rendezvous. We have a remarkable description of the fact in Cæsar, and there see the alarm propagated in sixteen or seventeen hours through 160 miles in a line. Ubi major atque illustrior incidit res, says he, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt, et proximis tradunt: ut tunc accidit; nam quæ oriente sole Genabi gesta essent, the insurrection of the Carnutes and the massacre of the Romans, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt; quod spatium est millium passuum circiter 160 [b]. And the same practice has been retained by the Highlanders to our own time. When the lord of a clan received intelligence of an enemy's approach, he immediately killed a goat with his own sword, dipped the end of a half-burnt stick in the blood, and then gave it and the notice of the rendezvous to be carried to the next hamlet. The former symbolically threatened

[a] The Tát or Dad of the vulgar are British for a father, as Mam is for a mother. And the Tata, Papa, and Mama of genteeler life are all Roman.

[b] Cæsar, p. 135.

fire

fire and sword to all his followers, that did not instantly repair to the latter. The notice was dispatched from hamlet to hamlet with the utmost expedition. And in three hours the whole clan was in arms, and assembled at the place appointed [i]. This was within these few years the ordinary mode, by which the chieftains assembled their followers for war. The first person that received the notice set out with it at full speed, delivered it to the next that he met, who instantly set out on the same speed, and handed it to a third. And, in the late rebellion of 1745, it was sent by an unknown hand through the region of Braidalbin; and, flying as expeditiously as the Gallick signal in Cæsar, traversed a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours [k]. This quick method of giving a diffusive alarm is even preserved among ourselves to the present day, but is applied, as it seems from Cæsar's account above to have been equally applied among the Celtæ, to the better purposes of civil polity. The hutesium and clamor of our laws, and the hue and cry of our own times, is a well-known and powerful process for spreading the notice and continuing the pursuit of any fugitive felons. The cry, like the clamour of the Gauls or the summons of the Highlanders, is taken from town to town and from county to county. And a chain of communication is speedily carried from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Thus raised, each corps would march to the place &c.

P. 375.

L. 1—2 thus—Such was, in fact, the usual disposition of the British forces. And every principle of policy and honour concurred to bind the followers closely to their chief. The strong attachment of the Highland clans to their lairds is well known. And we see exactly the same vigorous and implicit fidelity professed and practised among the Gauls and Britons. When Litavicus was detected in his design of causing a defection

[i] Ossian vol. I. p. 160, a note.
[k] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 227, and Pennant's Tour p. 164.

among

among the Ædui, says Cæsar, he fled to Gergovia, and was attended by all his retainers; as, according to the Gallick customs, it was criminal for them to desert their lords in the greatest extremity of distress; quibus [clientelis] nefas more Gallorum est, etiam in extremâ fortunâ deserere patronos[l]. This is evidently as striking a picture, as could be drawn even by a modern hand, of a Highland clan. And two clans of Britons in these north-western parts of England, that in the sixth century broke out into rebellion with their chiefs, against a king equally religious and generous, and for so ridiculous an object as a couple of dogs and a lark's nest, were highly extolled at the time, and are greatly celebrated by a Welsh author of the tenth century, for their exemplary loyalty to their lords. One of them obstinately continued in rebellion after their chieftain was defeated and slain, and maintained a series of daily engagements for no less than six weeks together, in order to revenge his death; and the other, after the defeat, attended their lord in his flight, accompanied him even into Ireland, and there devoted themselves to a perpetual exile with him. And they have therefore been transmitted with applause to posterity by their cotemporaries and the Welsh author above, and distinguished by the highest and most honourable appellation that either of them thought they could give, that of The two loyal clans of Britain[m].

These forces &c.

P. 376.

L. 14—15. thus—Armies afterwards, the disposition that was used among the latter. Thus in 556, more than 100 years after the departure of the Romans from the island, and at the fight of Beranbury against the Saxons, the Britons ranged their numerous army in nine divisions, three forming the front-line, three the rear-guard, and three the center; and the archers,

[l] Cæsar p. 155.

[m] Carte vol. I. p. 211.

spearmen,

ſpearmen, and cavalry were drawn up in the Roman order of battle; viris ſagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibuſque *jure Romanorum* diſpoſitis. And, even thirty-five years afterwards, the Britons poſted their troops, like the Romans, in diſtinct diviſions, *more Romanorum* acies diſtinctè admoverent; while the Saxons ruſhed upon them, as at the former engagement, in one cloſe and confuſed column.

P. 37.

P. 377.

CHAP. XI.

THE MANUFACTURES ESTABLISHED IN BRITAIN BEFORE AND AFTER THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMANS — THE FOREIGN AND INLAND COMMERCE OF THE BRITONS — THE STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THEM — AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT BROUGHT IN BY CHRISTIANITY.

I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the principle of ſhame into the mind, and made a covering requiſite to the decencies of the body; when vengeance had charged the ſeaſons with inclemency and armed the elements with unkindneſs againſt the votary of ſin, and an artificial warmth became neceſſary to the health of his frame; the ſkins of beaſts would naturally be the firſt cloathing of man. The flocks and herds about him preſented their wooly or hairy garments to his hand. And the Moſaical records demonſtrate him to have uſed them. This ſpecies of cloathing continued regularly among the deſcendants of Adam, for a long ſucceſſion of ages. And our own Britons, in particular, retained it to the days of Cæſar; and even ſome of them, the inhabitants of an iſle on the weſtern coaſt of the Highlands, very nearly to the preſent times [a]. But it was &c.

[a] Martin's St. Kilda p. 109, 1698.

P. 378.

P. 378.

L. 28—30 thus—Actually spread, over the whole face of the island. The Highlanders were in the third century, and are to this day, possessed of a manufacture of plaiding; and the striped mantles, which are made of it, they denominate Breacan. And the Welsh had equally a manufacture in the twelfth; and the coarse rough cloth, which they fabricated, was popularly known among them by the similar appellation of Brychan[b]. Such was the introduction of a woolen manufacture into Lancashire, &c.

P. 380.

L. 22—26 thus—And the Caledonians retained these primitive ropes in the third century. The nations to the north of the Baltick had them in the ninth or tenth. And the inhabitants of the western isles of Scotland make use of them at present; cutting the skin of a seal, or the raw and salted hide of a cow, into long pieces, and fastening the plough to their horses with them; or even twisting them into strong ropes of 20 or 30 fathoms in length[c]. But these, in the south of our island and on the continent, were early superseded by the application of iron chains to this purpose. The very maritime and commercial nation of the Veneti, that was so intimately connected with the Belgæ of Britain, had iron chains for its cables in the days of Cæsar[d]. And the astonishing temple of Stonehenge, which lies in the dominions of the Belgæ, and was plainly the work of their improved architecture, could not have been constructed without the assistance of chains. But, in the more distant and refined countries of the south, both thongs and these had long given way to the use of vegetable threads, &c.

[b] For the Highlanders see Birt's Letters v. II. p. 143, Martin's Western Islands p. 57, and Crit. Diss. p. 166; and for the Welsh see Giraldus p. 888.

[c] Martin's Western Islands p. 65, and Macaulay's St. Kilda, 1764, p. 132.

[d] Cæsar p. 55, Strabo p. 297, and Sect. 3.

P. 384.

L. 13 thus—Differt. p. 325. "But this point has been more amply treated, since the first edition, in the Genuine History of the Britons Asserted against Mr. Macpherson, p. 178—181. And to both accounts let me add, That in the time of Columba, who lived in the sixth century, we see a vessel lined with leather, pelliceum tectum, navis penetrales, which went with oars and sails, and had several mariners on board, scudding before a storm, plenis velis, for fourteen days together, without foundering; carried on to the north beyond the track of any former navigators, ultra humani excursûs modum; and yet, after all, safely gaining her port (Adamnan's Life of Columba, written in the eighth century, l. ii. c. 42. p. 362, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ v. II).

P. 386.

L. 22—24 thus—Was discovered in St. Mary's, I think, which bore directly into the sea, and pointed towards the shore of Cornwall; and even many of them were known to be well stored with the metal within these two centuries[e]. And the cargo &c.

P. 387.

L. 22—25 thus—Narbonne. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that resorted to the isle of Wight with their vessels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and transmitted it across the continent afterwards[f].

This isle, which is now separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurst-castle, was then a part of the &c.

[e] Harrison's D. of E. prefixed to Hollingshead, p. 34.
[f] Strabo p. 297. See also Cæsar p. 52 and Richard p. 4.

P. 390.

L. 15—16 thus—Europe, and of the silvery marle or chalk of Kent and Essex, which was shipped off for the marshy countries on the Rhine [s]; bears &c.

P. 392.

L. 11 thus—P. 88.

It is Dr. Borlase, who has ascribed this effect to an earthquake &c., and endeavoured to fix it at a very distant period. But, as I have here shewn the ravages of the sea to have arisen from certain gradual and progressive causes, so they seem not to have reduced the islands to any thing like their present state, till these three or four centuries. "The violence of the sea" (says Harrison in his Description of England, dated 1586) "hath "devoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Devonshire on "either side: and it doth appeere yet by good record, that "whereas now there is a great distance between the Syllan Isles "and point of the land's end, there was of late yeares, to speke "of, scarselie a brooke or drain of one fadam water betweene "them, if so much, as by those evidences appeereth, and are "yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of "those isles" (Prefixed to Hollingshead's Chron. p. 236, 1586). The distance here betwixt Cornwall and the Sylley isles is certainly contracted too much. But the whole serves strongly to shew the original distance between them to have continued a good while below the Conquest.

P. 395.

L. 1—2 thus—The elements, and the ocean; mountains, rivers, and rocks; imaginary intelligences, and departed spirits; would next &c.

[s] In Cannigeter de Brittenburgo, Hagæ Comitum, 1734, is this inscription found in Zealand, p. 14, Deæ Nehalenniæ ob merces rectè conservatas Secundus Silvanus *Negotiator Cretarius Britannicianius* votum solvit lubens merito. It is also, with a little variation, in Reinesius p. 190 and Gale's Antoninus p. 43.

P. 396—397.

L. 35—36 of p. 396 to L. 1. p. 397. thus—Kingdom, concur to ſhew us. They contrived to raiſe the moſt enormous blocks of ſtone, a quarry almoſt in a ſingle pillar; and to balance them as it were upon air. And all this &c.

P. 399.

L. 20—29 thus—Mr. Macpherſon, in his wild efforts to vindicate his countrymen, in the Britons, from the charge of idolatry, has aſſerted them not to have worſhipped either the heavenly bodies, mountains, or rivers, the wind, or the ocean (Introduction p. 159—166). But that the Britons actually paid adoration to the ocean, to rivers, and to mountains, I have ſhewn deciſively before from Mr. Macpherſon's own facts, the recent practice of the Weſtern Iſlanders, and the expreſs atteſtation of Gildas (b. I. ch. x. ſ. 1). And we have as good proof of their adoring the others. It appears from Mr. Macpherſon himſelf, that his countrymen ſpeak to this day with as great reſpect of the ſpirit of the ſun and the ſtorm, as of the genius of the hill, the fountain, or the ſea (p. 163—164). And therefore it obviouſly follows, that they muſt have been equal worſhippers of all. Mr. Macpherſon alſo ſhews us in p. 162, and we had been ſhewn it before in Critical Diſſertations p. 314, that there is a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenoch and Strathſpey, on which are many circles of ſtone, or Britiſh temples, and which is therefore denominated Slia-Grhannas or the plain of the ſun to this day. And, among the Roman-Britiſh remains in the ſouth of Scotland, we have an altar expreſsly inſcribed Apollini Granno or to the Britiſh God of the ſun (Horſeley p. 206). In the Confeſſion of St. Patrick, which he wrote as an epiſtle to the Iriſh heathens, he calls them off from their idolatry to the ſun, by declaring the everlaſting puniſhment denounced againſt all who adore it (Ware, Harris, p. 122). And we ſee the monarch of Ireland, at the ſame period, ſwearing to the performance of a ſtipulation by two of the national divinities, the ſun and the wind (ibid).

P. 402.

P. 402.

L. 1—5 thus—Begun, in the period of the apostles, and has remained ever since in all the Christian nations of the world. No other made its appearance in the church till the year 1541. And no other obtains in it at this moment, except in a few societies of West-Europeans, that, compared with the great body of Episcopal Christians over all the world, appear very insignificant and trifling. This was particularly established in Britain.

P. 405.

L. 16—21 thus—Lib. iii. c. 4.—But how vainly does Mr. Camden talk of a bishop of Gloucester in these days, p. 255; relying in this, as in his account of the Wallbrook and Flamen of London, p. 304—305, on Geoffrey or as redoubtable an authority.

The story of king Lucius also, which has been so greatly canvassed by our historical criticks, is in all probability spurious. And the two coins &c.

P. 406.

CHAP. XII.

THE STATE OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS — THE GREAT REASONS OF THEIR DEPARTURE EXPLAINED — AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR EMPIRE, AND DISPOSITION OF THEIR FORCES, IN THE ISLAND AT IT.

I.

IN the two military municipies and the seven military colonies, which were planted by the Romans in the island, the lands assigned to the legionaries would regularly descend to their heirs. The very nature of such assignments necessarily requires that they should. And the continuance of the same legions in the same municipibs and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the case particularly with the sixth, plainly proves that they did. Thus inherited, the lands were virtually military feuds in themselves, and virtually enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male descendants of the original legionaries would be all equally legionaries by birth, at the military age would all engage by turns in the duties of the garrison at home, and all by turns be draughted out for the occasional services of the island abroad.

P. 410.

L. 33 thus —Resided the Attacotti in Lenox, equally omitted by Ptolemy, and equally subjected by him to the Damnii [a]; extending &c.

[a] He carries the Damnii from the Selgovæ on the south-west to Victoria (or the Tay) on the north-east, and from the Gadeni to the Epidii; giving them all the intermediate regions, that belonged to the Horestii, Attacotti, and Damnii Albani.

P. 412—413.

P. 412—413.

Last line of p. 412 to second line of p. 413 thus — In Surry. And it was at this period &c.

P. 414.

L. 2—5 thus—Though, as king of the Cassii, he lay at a distance from the southern coasts; the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though with relation to them he was only an inland monarch; and the appellation &c.

P. 415.

L. 27—28 thus—Therefore denominated the Fir-Mæ-at or the Men of the Plains.

P. 417.

L. 34—35 thus—They were not a number of &c.

P. 421.

L. 22 thus—Ossian p. 5, &c). See this, since the first edition of this work, more fully discussed in the Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 225—260.—But since the first edition I have also observed, that Richard in p. 32 places all the Caledonians ultra Vararem, making this river by mistake to flow to the west as well as the north of the Roman conquests. And this, I think, reconciles him with himself better than the supposition before. But let the reader judge. Either way there is a mistake in him.—Ptolemy &c.

P. 423.

L. 8—10 thus—See Genuine Hist. of the Britons asserted, p. 136—137.—A. Marcellinus &c.

P. 427.

L. 15—16 thus—Celtæ by Strabo and Appian [b]. And they are equally asserted to be Gauls by Diodorus &c.

L. 31—32 thus—Cimbri. And, what is equally surprizing, and has been equally unnoticed by the criticks, the Welsh distinguish England by the name of Loegr or Liguria even to the present moment. In that irruption these Saxons, Ambrons, or Ligurians composed a body of more than thirty thousand men, and were &c.

P. 430.

L. 21 thus—Down; and having the Logia or Lagan, which falls into Carrickfergus Bay, &c.

P. 432.

L. 6—7 thus—For their metropolis. And the latter was probably that city near Limerick, the site of which is still famous, and retains the appellation of Cathair or the fortress; and where the remains of streets, and other marks of a town, may yet be traced [c]. The Cangani &c.

P. 434.

L. 16—18 thus—Must equally (I apprehend) have possessed all Galloway west of the Dee, and have &c.

P. 437.

L. 9—10 thus—Island. And, so generally inhabited, it naturally received &c.

L. 19—20 thus—Diofna-Fael or Dysn-Wall. The channel betwixt France and England is denominated by a writer of the eighth century only, Sinus Vallicus or the Gallick strait. And as the Dutch and Germans call the French by the name of

[b] Appian says, that all Italy was greatly afraid of the Celtæ, till the Romans under Marius defeated the Cimbri; p. 1169, Amstel. 1670.

[c] O'Halloran's Introduct. to the Hist. and Ant. of Ireland, p. 37.

Walls and Walloons to this day, so the Saxon Chronicle speaks of the Britons by the title of the Brit-walas or Brit-walana[d]. The denomination &c.

P. 430

L. 10—15 thus—Britons. Thus the appellation of a fortress, Kadair and Kathair, is now pronounced Kahir in the Irish, and was formerly resolved into Guiher, and is now melted into Kaer and Gaer, in the Welsh[e]; and the names of Cathbait, Cruthgall, Sithfadda, and the like, are pronounced &c.

L. 19—26 thus — Names of Rauthmell, Rathbone, and Withnell in Lancashire; and a variety of other words, in every part of the island, suffering the same elision in conversation[f]. Thus also the appellation of a district in Caledonia, which was antiently written Ar-Gathel, is now &c.

P. 439.

L. 8—10 thus—Woodlanders. Guylh-t and Guel-z import among the Irish, the Welsh, and the Armoricans, a man of the Guylh, &c.

P. 440.

M E M.

The note here is removed to its proper place in the notes.

P. 444.

L. 8 thus—In Ullin or the county of Down[g], and &c.

[d] See Sax. Chron. p. 11 and 12, and Adamnan's life of Columba l. ii. c. 34. Colgan, vol. II. p. 358, and note p. 384.

[e] See Nennius c. 8, Guiher Cet Guely, or Caer Kidwelly. And the same elision ran through all the Celtick, as in the Gallick Rhodanus or Rhone, Matrona or Marne, &c.

[f] Thus in the Saxon Ethelward pronounced Elward, &c. and in the English Clothes Clo's, Them 'Em, Boatswain Boson, North and South Nor and Sou, &c. &c.

[g] Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 44.

P. 450.

L. 6. thus—In an addreſs of Valerius Flaccus to Veſpaſian, he ſays thus,

Tuque o pelagi cui major aperti
Fame, *Caledonius* poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit
Oceanus. Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Here we ſee the word, *Caledonius*, applied even to the Britiſh Channel, to the ſea which is ſaid to have diſdained the yoke of Cæſar by deſtroying his veſſels. And, even at the death of Veſpaſian, the Romans had not yet entered the real Caledonia at all. And in the Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons I have produced another inſtance exactly correſpondent to this, which ſhews the coaſt adjoining to this ſea, and the very ſhore at which Cæſar's navy was deſtroyed, to have been called Caledonia as early as the reign of Nero. See p. 124.

P. 451.

L. 8—14 thus—[74] Richard p. 53.—[75] Ammianus lib. xxvii. c. 8, &c.

M E M.

For a ſtill further elucidation of this portion of Hiſtory, ſee the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, written ſince the firſt edition, and confirming and improving the notices here delivered.

P. 453.

L. 19—27 thus—Thus Oſtorius, as Tacitus informs us, carried a regular chain of camps along the Severn and the Upper Avon, the Avon of Glouceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, and Northamptonſhire, and the genuine and long-loſt Antona of that hiſtorian; and afterwards continued it, as fact ſeems plainly to ſhew us, along the Nen of Northamptonſhire to the marſhes

of the eastern coast. A second series was also drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, before the reign of Hadrian. And a third was &c.

L. 36 thus—By crossing the Kelvin from the country of the Attacotti below Bemulie, and afterwards &c.

P. 454.

L. 3—6 thus—And the Britons again passing the forts betwixt the friths in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and invading the land of the Novantes; Lollius united the former by another, and carried the wall and the forts into the country of the Attacotti, and nearly up to their capital.

L. 15 thus—All the Caledonians, and had actually reduced the Attacotti. The walls &c.

P. 458.

L. 33—34 thus—The first descent upon the provinces, which had been attempted from that country with a view of conquest, it must &c.

P. 459.

L. 8—9 thus—Had the Irish invaded the western coast with any considerable armament before, the Romans would have left &c.

L. 12—15 thus—Would not have invaded it with so considerable a one now. But apprized of the new military arrangements, and stimulated with the inviting prospect of conquest, they &c.

P. 460.

L. 11 thus—Extended their arms to &c.

P. 461.

L. 15—17 thus—Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 31, and Richard's Iter 14, Sariconio 11, Glebon 15, *Ad Antonam* 15, Alauna 15. This serves to fix the Antona of Tacitus decisively, Gloucester on one side and Alcester on the other settling Ad Antonam about

 Evesham

Evesham or Bengeworth, and on the Upper Avon. And Gale's Essay in Leland's Itin. v. VI. p. 143, 1769, serves to shew, that additional links were made to the chain, to continue it along the Nen to the marshes. By this scheme, the passage in Tacitus is now for the first time interpreted literally, and history and fact are reconciled together.

P. 462.

L. 17—18 thus—Is supposed by Mr. Macpherson, and from him by Dr. Henry in his new History of Great Britain v. I. 4to 1771, p. 425—426, to be the famous Carausius.

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CONCLUSION.

WE have now purſued the hiſtory of Mancheſter to that important period in the annals of the iſland, the conſolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the deſcent of the Saxons on the whole.

We have ſeen the large extent of the pariſh a wild unfrequented tract of woodland, inhabited merely by the boar, the bull, and the wolf, and traverſed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country. And we have ſeen it ſelected by the monarch of Lancaſhire for the ſeat of a fort in the woods, and a fort actually ſettled in the middle of it. Such was the very early origin of the population of the pariſh, and the firſt commencement of a town within it. And the rude outlines of the one, and the faint principle of the other, began about fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field.

The foreſt aſſumes a new life and colouring from it. And the ſilence and ſolitude, that have regularly prevailed before, are now interrupted by the reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs, the excurſions of hunters from the field, and the voices of the garriſon on the banks of the Medlock.

But that warlike tribe of Latium, which, from a ſmall aſſemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber, had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the maſters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe, land upon the iſland, reduce the little kingdoms of the Britons, and advance into Lancaſhire. They penetrate

trate into our woods. They introduce the tumults of war into our parish. And they take the original Manchester.

An additional spirit then actuates the woodland. A Roman station is constructed on the Castle-field. Another is established about a mile to the north of it. And the site of the present town is now cleared in part of its trees, and first receives a colony of inhabitants upon it; one indeed that is but transitory in its nature, and exists only during the continuance of summer. The most north-westerly part of the forest is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle; and four little fortresses are placed for their protection within it. And the whole woodland is intersected with large roads on every side, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and converging to a point at the Castle-field.

One thing more compleats the great change in the aspect of this region. A regular town is now for the first time laid out in the parish. And a neighbouring baron and his clan are settled within it. This is placed in the center of the forest, and founded in the memorable autumn of 79. And the adjoining station in the Castle-field becomes the citadel of the new Manchester.

Under the auspices of the Roman genius in Britain, that principle of population, which had faintly quickened before at the heart of the woodland, now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuses its influence on every side. The beasts are dislodged to a greater distance from the town. The receding forest curves in an amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are successfully transplanted into the wild. Civility, literature, and politeness follow. And Christianity closes the rear.

Immediately a new scene of sorrow arises. A fresh invasion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous savages is hastening from the shores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance, incivility, and barbarism attend upon them. And the fall of Manchester approaches.

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The histories of a town, of a nation, and of man, are nothing but records of human calamities and registers of human woes. These, however, are generally provoked by vices, and are naturally productive of virtues. They re-invigorate by the task of trials that tone of the mind, which was previously weakened by inactivity. And, in forcible appeals to the thoughtfulness of the soul, they assert those powers of religion, which were sinking before in the sensualities of peace. The convulsions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements, and the subversion of empires, are all admirably directed by the controuling influence of the Deity, to the great purposes of supporting the moral interests of the world, and impressing the heart with the truths of religion.

APPENDIX.

Nº I.

I HAVE long thought, that a regular course of remarks upon the incidents and observations, which occur in the principal of our English historians, would be of considerable service to historical knowledge. Our best national accounts, in the period especially before the Conquest, call loudly, I think, for the corrective hand of criticism. Prejudice and partiality, ignorance and inattention, dulness and refinement, have all cooperated to throw their several false colours over the face of our annals, and disguise their real and genuine features. And some bolder spirit has been long wanted among us, that would dare to read, examine, and think for himself; mount up to the fountain-heads of our history, there mark the principles that secretly colour the waters at the source, and then observe the tints that incorporate with them afterwards. Something of this nature is attempted in the present work. But it wants perhaps one addition. It should not only endeavour to open the great and unveiled truths of our history, but also point out the errours, with which the earlier part of it seems to be clouded over. The brightness of truth, like that of the sun, is most fully displayed, not merely by the radiance of its own light, but by a contrast with its opposite darkness. And the many faults that have been committed by all our recent historians, I think, and are continually gleaned by each succeeding writer from the earlier, will be the sooner avoided by being held up to the light,

light, and our island annals more readily purged of their original falsities.

These reasons have induced me to begin here, and to think of continuing regularly in the appendix, a series of remarks, short and decisive, on our two best historians Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume, as the proper representatives of the rest. I shall remark upon them, however, only so far as their accounts run parallel in time with my own. And I shall do it with all the respect that is due to both. From this plan I foresee not a little advantage to myself; as I doubt not but I shall have frequent occasion, in animadverting upon them, to correct myself. And each volume of the History of Manchester, before it appears in publick, will be improved by the light reflected back from the appendix. The observations will, many of them perhaps, appear un-important and trifling in the detail. But all will be found serviceable, I think, as parts of a whole. And, before I finally close the subject, a regular scheme of historical criticism may be given, perhaps, for all the period of our national history before the Conquest.

At this time, I shall notice only such parts of Mr. Hume's and Mr. Carte's histories, as relate to the preceding accounts. And these are not very many. The present work has struck out a new path of history, that seldom comes near to theirs.

CARTE

Vol. I.

P. 4—7. Mr. Carte gives us his etymologies for the names Albion and Britain; deriving the former in the usual strain of our historians from the white cliffs of Dover, and the latter from the Britanni on the continent. But these etymons are entirely overthrown, I think, in ch. i. s. 1. before, and, more particularly, in the Genuine History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson, p. 91—93 and 95—103.

P. 7—15, Mr. Carte is employed in following the course of Monf. Pezron, and tracing those Celtæ who planted Gaul and peopled Britain, in their progrefs weftward from the feat of their original patriarch. But this is a fubject fo compleatly inveloped in darknefs, that we cannot advance a ftep upon certain ground. We are every moment in danger of ftumbling upon ftones or finking into pitfalls. And not a rufh-light appears at a diftance, to direct us in the dubious and dangerous progrefs. I fay not this, however, from the fafhionable petulance of brifknefs and vanity, which often condemns the refearches that it is too ignorant or too indolent to purfue itfelf, and haftily reprobates every attempt as impracticable which is attended with difficulty. And I fpeak it only from the plain nature of the cafe. The Sacred Hiftory frequently lends us information with regard to the father of a people, and the firft place of his fettlement. But it goes no farther. The Great Being, who amazingly condefcended to become hiftorian to man, became fo only to promote the awful purpofes of religion in the world. After the Difperfion, therefore, he confines himfelf entirely to the family of Abraham, and gives us only incidental notices concerning the nations that bordered immediately upon it. And profane hiftory cannot fupply its place; as it does not give us its light, till ages after thefe weftern regions of Europe were all inhabited.

That the ifles of the Gentiles were firft peopled by the defcendants of Japhet, is a declaration of Infallibility; and means, I fuppofe, only the iflands and fhores on the northern fide of the Mediterranean. But that the family of Tiras or Tirax, his youngeft fon, firft planted Europe, and fpread themfelves to the weftern coaft of the Atlantick, as is afferted by Mr. Carte in p. 8—11; and were afterwards fubdued by colonies from the defcendants of Gomer the eldeft, as is affirmed in p. 11—12; is faid without any authority of reafon or of fact. Scripture only can carry us fo far up the current of time. And it is quite filent on the fubject. The only pretended proof of the former is the ungrounded affirmation, that the fons of Tirax

had

had the names of Thraces, Briges, and Phryges; and the wild supposition, that these are the same with Frixi, Frigones, Frisones, Frisii, Parisii, Brigantes, Brisones, Brisones, and Britanni, (p. 9); when almost all these appellations actually appear only as the names of the Gomerians or Celtæ many centuries afterward. And the only argument in favour of that Gomerian history, which is related in p. 13—15, is this, That the fabulous stories of the antients concerning their gods Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and Pluto, seem to have related to the antient princes on the northern coast of the Mediterranean. But this is no evidence, that these princes were kings of the Gomerians. It particularly does not shew, whether they were Gomerian or Thracian monarchs. And it much less proves, that the Thracians were the first planters of Europe, and afterwards subdued by the Gomerians

There are, I believe, no traces in any part of Celtick Europe, of an original settlement there by the sons of Tirax, or of a subsequent reduction of these by the children of Gomer. And this part of Mr. Carte's or Monf. Pezron's system has not even the usual ground-work of such precarious speculations, a semblance of historical probability. If indeed they had thought judiciously over their scheme, and endeavoured to give their airy hypothesis a more substantial form; they would have cut off the whole of the Thracian plantation of western Europe, and made the Gomerian invasion the primary establishment of it. And undertaken upon better principles, and executed in at more argumentative manner, this would pretty certainly have given us the true origin of our Celtick ancestors.

N. B. I pass over the etymologies, with which Mr. Carte has presented us, to confirm his positions. The former indeed have, many of them, been given very often before. But they are as ridiculous as the latter are visionary. And it would be too degrading for criticism, to refute seriously the derivation of the national names of Parthi and Sacæ from the Welsh Parthy and the English To Part and Sack (p. 11); and the deduction of Uranus,

the Greek ουρανος or heaven, from the Armorick Ur-ên a man of the heavens (p. 12); of Mercury from Merc a Latin-British word, and Ur, signifying a man of merchandise (p. 14); of Cronos, the Greek χρονος or time, from Corona, Kroon, or Crown, and of Pluto from the Greek πλουτος or riches (p. 13); the fantastical buttresses of a whimsical building.

P. 16. "This [Thracian or Phrygian] descent of theirs [the "Britons] seems to be sufficiently pointed out, and the memory of it to be preserved, in the name of the Brigantes, who "were known to be, what Cæsar calls, the Aborigines, the "first inhabitants of this island. This was certainly the old "tradition of the natives; not only in his time, agreeably to "what he tells of their first coming over from Gaul; but also in "Bede's, who, living in the heart of the country of the Bri-"gantes, speaks of it, as their received opinion, that Great "Britain was first peopled ex Armoricano tractu, not from the "particular province of Bretagne, but from the whole tract of "the sea-coast."

In this specimen of inaccurate and vague reasoning are many mistakes.—Cæsar says not, either that the Brigantes were the Aborigines of Britain, or that the latter came over from Gaul. His words are these: Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in insulâ ipsâ* memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui ex Belgis transierant. And I have shewn before, ch. i. s. 1, and in the History of the Britons asserted p. 71—74, that the name of Brigantes was not peculiar to the aboriginal Britons, but common to them and the Belgæ. The Belgick Trinovantes are particularly mentioned as Brigantes by the famous Galgacus. And the whole body of the British Belgæ are denominated Allobroges by Richard.—But how can any intimation in Cæsar, if there had been any, that the Aborigines came over from Gaul; or any in Bede, of their derivation ex Armoricano tractu; prove the Phrygian or Thracian descent of the first colonists, and in opposition too to the Gomerian of the second?—Cæsar opposes the

the Aborigines to the Belgæ; but Mr. Carte contrasts them with the Gomerians or Celtæ. And Bede, in his traditionary derivation of the Britons ex Armoricano tractu, extends it to all of them; while Mr. Carte confines and appropriates it to the Aborigines.—Did not the Gomerians also, even according to Mr. Carte's own representations, come equally with his fancied Thracians from Gaul, and (as he himself extends the words to all the sea-coast of France) ex Armoricano tractu? And are not all the Belgæ in Britain, as I have mentioned above, denominated Broges and Brigantes?

P. 17. "Mr. Camden seems entirely of opinion, that the first "inhabitants of this island came from the Gomarians, the pro-"per and peculiar name of the Britons, being called (as the "Welsh, their genuine remains, call themselves at this day) "Kumero, Cumero, Cymro, and Cumeri, like as a British or "Welsh woman, Kumerae, and the tongue itself Kumeraeg: "This of itself is a strong presumption, and he enforces it "with several reasons, to which I readily subscribe."

The inconsistency of this extract, and indeed of the whole paragraph from which I have taken it, with all the preceding account, is very apparent. The first colonists of the island are derived, before, from the sons of Tirax, and now from the descendants of Gomer. Their Thracian or Phrygian descent is endeavoured to be proved, before, from the name of Brigantes, the testimony of Cæsar, and the tradition of Bede. Now, all these arguments are set aside by Mr. Carte himself, and the author readily subscribes to an opinion the very reverse of his own. He here assigns reasons and expresses a belief, entirely subversive of all the former parts of his system. And, what is as remarkable, this is no accidental and occasional deviation from his settled opinion; and he persists ever afterwards in this new belief.

P. 17—21.

P. 17—21. In these pages the author endeavours to fix the first population of this island. And at the close he says thus— "It seems impossible to conceive, but that Great Britain must "at the latest be planted in one of those reigns [Pluto's or "Mercury's]—, which took up together the space of a century: "It was probably in the former, that the first Gomerian or "Celtic colonies were settled in this island, which must consequently have been planted 2000 years before the Christian "æra."

In the former edition, and in answer to this very argument, I had observed, That the series of Mr. Carte's own history pretty plainly opposes this notion of his; as it settles in p. 22. the first migrations of the Gauls of which we can ascertain the period, migrations too occasioned by populousness, not till nearly 1500 years after the æra assigned here for the first inhabitation of Britain. And I had equally observed, That the history of population in England and Ireland seems strongly to prove the country not to have been inhabited till about 1000 years before Christ. The latter argument I have since enlarged in the Hist. of the Britons asserted. And from the progress of population in the island and on the continent, the concurrence of one with the other, the coincidence of both with the notices of history, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, I have there shewn with as much certainty, I think, as the nature of the subject will admit, That Britain was not peopled till ten ages after the period set down by Mr. Carte for the fact. See p. 29—32 of the Hist. of the Britons.

P. 21—23. "About 150 years before Christ, the Belgæ— "crossed the Rhine, and took possession of the maritime pro- "vinces of Gaule,—transported over forces to Britain,—and— "reduced at last all the southern parts of this island from Kent "to the Land's End."

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This invasion of Gaul by the Belgæ must have happened much earlier, as they even invaded Britain 200 years before it. See ch. xii. s. 4. and Hist. of the Britons p. 64.

P. 23—24. The progress of the Cimbri here from the Palus Mæotis to the northern parts of Germany, and afterwards into the midland regions of it, is entirely false, I apprehend, and is certainly un-authenticated by Mr. Carte. The Cimbri of Jutland, like the Si-cambri on the Rhine, were assuredly derived; as they are in ch. xii. s. 4. above, and in The Hist. of the Britons p. 51—53, from the great stock of the Cimbri in Gaul.

P. 24. "Hither—the old inhabitants of Belgium came—; and "in all probability found the Britains willing to receive their "new guests, and to give them vast quantities of land, which "they did not cultivate.—Devonshire and Cornwalle were all "in a manner a wild forest at the coming of the Belgæ, as they "continued to be in a great degree till within one hundred and "fifty years after the Conquest. Somersetshire was the same "for the most part.—Dorsetshire too was full of the like forests. "And it is well known, how widely extended that of Anderida was, and what a large tract of country it took up in "Kent and Sussex. These seem accordingly to have been the "parts where the Belgic Britanni first settled."

All this is plainly erroneous. There is a mistake equally in the facts alledged, and in their application to the present subject.—The quiet settlement of the Belgæ in Britain is asserted in direct opposition to Cæsar. Britanniæ—maritima pars (he says) ab iis [incolitur] qui, *prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ*, ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes,—*bello illato*, ibi remanserunt. See also before ch. xii. s. 4.—And, though these counties had been in a manner a wild forest at the coming of the Belgæ, yet this would be no proof of their being uninhabited by the Britons before. The whole kingdom of the Coritani was nothing but one great forest, to the coming of the Romans (see ch. v. s. 3. before)—Kent, Sussex, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire were also inhabited by no less than seven tribes, and

 three

three of them actually British, before and after the Belgæ came. And these three were the Carnabii, the Cambri, and the Hædui; all equally subdued by the Proper Belgæ of Hampshire, and the Damnonian of Devonshire.—The six counties were so far from continuing in a great degree a forest to the Conquest, that they had each many British towns in them even before the Romans came, and many Roman cities afterward. And, if they had remained in a great degree a forest for so many ages after the Belgick settlements, then these must have made very little alteration in the state and aspect of the country; and the lands must have been almost as little occupied by the Belgæ now, as by the Britons before.—Nor could the Belgæ have settled, as they are here supposed by Mr. Carte, in these counties at first. Passing assuredly across the narrowest part of the sea, and confining themselves, as Cæsar informs us, to the southern shore; they must gradually have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their first possessions would be Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, their last.—So pregnant with errours is this passage!

P. 25. " These colonies from Belgium had been used to live " —, not—, like the Brigantes [or native Britons], in woods, " —but—in towns and villages; and—towns and cities now " began to be founded."

For a refutation of this wild opinion, which throws a shade over all the author's account here, we need only appeal to one authority, Cæsar's, and to his account of the only two British towns which he stormed. One was in the country of the Belgick Cantii, and the other in the dominions of Cassivellaunus, a monarch of the aboriginal Britons. And they appear both the same. The former was no more a modern town or village, than the latter; but merely, like it, a fortress in the woods. And Cæsar expressly assures us, that there was no

other

other sort of towns in the island. Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt (p. 92).

—"Such were the numbers [of Belgæ] which came over "thither [into Kent], that, instead of mixing with the Britains, "as the others seem to have done, they formed a distinct people "known by the name of Nouantæ or New Inhabitants, or Nou "Cantæ or New Kentishmen, from whom Ptolemy calls the "Foreland of Kent Promontorium Noucantium."

The Nouantæ were not the inhabitants of Kent, but are placed in Essex by Ptolemy, and in Essex and Middlesex by Richard and the truth.—And, that they are sometimes denominated Noucantæ, is a strange mistake. They are never called so.—And, that the Foreland of Kent is called Promontorium Noucantium by Ptolemy, is as strange a one. It bears only the names of Cantion and A-Cantion in him and Strabo (p. 294 and 304); signifying Promontory and The Promontory.

P. 26. "As for the true Belgæ, they had no manner of taste "for trade; their disposition was entirely warlike. Their time "too was taken up in Gaule &c."

Such is the character here given of the Belgæ that migrated into Britain. And yet, the very page before, we have one given of them that is just the reverse of this. In p. 25 it is said of the Belgæ of Britain, that "*commerce* and husbandry had "been their chief employments in Gaule." How unguarded and contradictory!

—"Divitiacus assembling a large body of forces, composed "of his own subjects, the Bibroci in the Rhemois, the Attrebates, "and other Belgic nations,—passed the sea into Britain; and "reduced a great part of it into his obedience. The chief scene of "his conquests lay in the counties of Berks and Oxford, where

"he planted the Bibroci and Attrebates; and in those of Hants, "Wilts, and the bordering parts of Somerset and Sussex, where "he settled the other adventurers, who went by the general "name of Belgæ; expelling the Regni and other clans of the "old inhabitants from their seats in those countries."

Here is a variety of mistakes, all resulting principally from Mr. Carte's inattentiveness to that line of distinction, which facts point out and I have traced above, betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal tribes of the island.—The Bibroces and Attrebates I have shewn in ch. v. s. 3. to have been both Aboriginal nations, and not Belgick. They could not therefore be transported into Britain at this period. And they could not have been settled in their dominions by Divitiacus.—Nor did these dominions extend into Oxfordshire. They were all confined to the south of the Thames.—And the chief scene of Divitiacus's conquests did not lie in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. These counties were so far from being the principal theatre of his actions, that they were actually none at all. And in ch. xii. s. 2. I have shewn, in what part of the island his conquests probably lay.—They were not in Somersetshire and Sussex. They could not be, even according to Mr. Carte's own representation before. In p. 24 he has settled the first colonies of the Belgæ in Sussex and Somersetshire. And those countries were therefore possessed by the Belgæ before Divitiacus came over, and could not be conquered by them now.—In p. 24 Mr. Carte has also fixed the earliest colonies in Kent, Sussex, &c., as lying all waste, and being unpossest by the Britons. But here it appears, that some part of Sussex, particularly, did not lie waste, and was actually possessed by a whole nation of the Britons, the Regni.—And these Regni inhabited not merely those parts of Sussex that border upon Hampshire. They extended over the whole of it (see ch. iii. s. 2.).—And the conquests of Divitiacus could have as little to do with Hampshire, as with Sussex. This, as I have shewed before, must naturally have been a part of the first possessions of the Belgæ, as they spread successively from Kent into Cornwall. And therefore it could not be conquered now.—Nor were

were the Regni expelled from their possessions at this period. They continued in them, and were masters of all Sussex, even to the period of the Roman settlement among us (see ch. iii. f. 2).—Nor were the Regni likely to be expelled by the Belgæ. They were Belgæ themselves. Maritima pars (says Cæsar) ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis transierant. And see ch. xii. f. 2.

P. 26—27. "It is very probable, that—he [Divitiacus] sub-"dued a good part of the Iceni."

This is a supposition not at all probable in itself. And it is certainly not true. In ch. v. f. 3. I have shewn, that it is not; and that the Cassii, the great enemies of the Belgæ, and the subduers of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay betwixt them and the Iceni.

P. 27. "That great prince's ambition [Divitiacus's] had in-"volved them [the Belgæ] in wars with the natives; in which "the Attrebates and Trinobantes, lying upon the borders, "suffered most; and—the Iceni and Cattivellauni found it no "difficult matter to recover their liberty. Had it not been for "that reigning passion in Divitiacus,—the Belgæ might probably "have continued much longer in amity with the Britons—."

The Belgæ, as I have already shewn in these remarks, had been previously engaged in wars with the natives. And they had been so from the first moment of their descent on the country. Prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis transierant, et bello illato ibi remanserunt (Cæsar p. 92).—In these wars the Attrebates and Trinobantes could not suffer more than any other Belgæ. The Attrebates were not of the Belgæ. They were Aboriginal Britons.—The Cattivellauni are now first mentioned by Mr. Carte. And they are here represented as throwing off the yoke of the Belgæ, when we have yet had no account of their reduction by them.—But the reduction of either them or the Iceni, and the posteriour recovery of both from the yoke, are

incidents

incidents forged only in the fancy of the historian, contrary to the testimony of authentick history, and indubitably untrue.

N. B. From p. 27 to 71 is a history of Druidism, and, in general, a good one; but marked in many places with those strokes of the conjectural and fanciful, which it is perhaps difficult to avoid in a work of this nature. And from p. 71 to 77 is an account of the Gauls.—I have little to do with either. And I shall note only two or three passages, that contradict my former accounts.

P. 43. "Gildas informs us, that the Britons in his time had "very ill-favoured statues, and paid divine honours to moun-"tains, hills, and rivers."

This is very inaccurately stated. Gildas says only, that the Britons worshipped these objects, and had ill-favoured statues, before they were converted to Christianity; and that some of the latter remained to his own time. He will not enumerate (he says ch. 2) patriæ portenta ipsa diabolica, pœnè numero vincentia Egyptiaca, quorum nonnulla lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia, solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur; neque—montes ipsos—vel fluvios,—quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur. Here, we see, he speaks not of any idolatrous worship remaining to his own time. He only says, that some monuments of it continued till then. And these were not, as Mr. Carte has made them, the images formed and worshipped by the primitive Britons; but those of the Roman only. They were seen, he observes, intra vel extra deserta mœnia, at the sites of the Roman-British cities that had been recently destroyed by the Saxons. And several of them have come down to the present times.

P. 73. "Some flesh-meat, — but chiefly milk, — and bread, "were their ordinary food; though the Gauls regaled themselves—with cheese, which the Britons had not learned to "make."

Mr. Carte has before represented the high degree of civility to which the Britons had arrived, by giving them regular towns. But he here makes a large deduction from that account, and denies them even the art of making cheese. The panegyrick was exaggerated. And the deduction is unjust. They had no regular towns. And they actually made cheeses. Some of the Britons, says Strabo, know not how to make cheese, *ενιους μη τυροποιειν δια την απειριαν*, p. 305. Many of them therefore did; and all assuredly that understood agriculture, the Belgæ, and even some of the neighbouring Britons.—And, as to bread, it is highly probable that it was not the ordinary food of one half of the Britons. Where agriculture was practised, as among the Belgæ and some of the adjoining Aborigines, there bread undoubtedly would be used. But where the former was unknown, as among all the other Britons, there the latter could not ordinarily be had. And it was most probably not had at all. Barley indeed seems to have been brought into the northern kingdoms from the south, for the service of the breweries. But it would naturally be appropriated to them. The want of bread might be supplied by the ministery of roots. But there could be no substitute for a cordial, exhilarating, and animating liquor. And the latter would, in every ruder age and colder climate, be infinitely preferred to the former. That therefore would be kept up by barley expensively fetched from the southern regions of the island, while this would be neglected or overlooked.

P. 74. "In Cæsar's time neither they [the Gauls], nor the "Belgæ of the south parts of Britain, painted their bodies."

This

This assertion concerning the Belgæ is directly contrary to Cæsar's own account of the Britons. Longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt (says he), quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine: interiores plerique frumenta non serunt: *omnes verò se Britanni vitro inficiunt.* Here the Belgæ of the sea-coast are expressly declared to have been equally painted, with the interiour or Aboriginal Britons.

—"The Gauls had a like advantage, in the largeness of their "houses, over the Britains, whose cabins were very mean, "made up of reeds and wood, or of sods and hurdles."

To this false account there needs no other reply, than to observe, that Cæsar expressly contradicts it. The houses of the Britons, he remarks, were almost exactly the same with those of the Gauls: Ædificia ferè Gallicis consimilia. The latter therefore could have little or no advantage over the former, either in the size or the nature of their houses.

P. 75. "The Celtæ despised death so much, as often to fight "naked; the Gauls doing that out of a bravado, which the "Britons were forced to submit to out of necessity."

This is in the general strain of our historians But I have shewn before, ch. vii. s. 5, in opposition to them all, that the Britons were as regularly cloathed as the Gauls; that they appeared naked only in the hour of battle; that some even of the Gauls retained the custom to the days of Diodorus; and that, still more wonderful, the Highlanders even partially preserved it to the reign of king William, throwing off their plaids and short coats, and fighting in their shirts, as late as the battle of Killicranky.

—"The Britains—had the broad sword without a point, as "well as the shorter dagger, and such javelins and arrows as "they used in their hunting; but the common people were "ill provided in this respect, their darts being generally sticks

"of

"of wood, burnt and sharpened at both ends, and a long staff "edged towards the end with flint or headed with a piece of "copper, instead of halberts: these were their offensive wea- "pons. A light round target — was all they used for their "defence; having neither coats of mail nor helmets, as Tacitus "assures us."

In the lines immediately preceding this extract we are told, that the Gauls had coats of mail, helmets, broad long swords without points, and short ones; darts, javelins, and battle-axes. And if this representation of the Gallick armouries be, as it is, just and true, the British must have been better provided than they are here described to be. The weapons of all the Celtæ would naturally be the same, with only those small and incidental variations which commerce might have introduced among them. And, that the British and Gallick arms were exactly the same, we are expressly assured by Mela; who says, that the Britons were Gallicè armati (see ch. i. s. 2. before).—Nor does Tacitus's account contradict this, even as applied by Mr. Carte. He says, that the bulk of the Caledonians had no coats of mail or helmets. And this is very consistent with the other. The principal warriours only wore them, as I have shewn in ch. i. s. 2. And those only must have worne them in Gaul, as only such were clad in them even to these later times.—The British halbert, or Celt, in Mr. Carte I have shewn above, ch. i. s. 2, to have been the same instrument that he here assigns to the Gauls, a battle-axe. And the agreement of the British and Gallick weapons is an additional evidence in favour of the opinion.—That the darts of the Britons were generally sticks of wood burnt and sharpened at both ends, is all an assertion without proof. And it is clearly unjust. The Caledonian spears (says Dio) had a brazen apple at the end (see ch. i. s. 2). And, if they had this at one end, they were certainly pointed with metal at the other.—Nor was the British target always round. Generally it was so. But we have one upon a coin of Cunobeline, which is in the form of a lozenge; as I have remarked in ch. ix. s. 2.

P. 76. "Before that time [the Roman conquest], the greatest "part of Britain lay uncultivated—; the old Britons not under- "standing husbandry—. The Belgic colonies—first began to— "build houses substantial enough to last for a considerable time, "as well as contiguous to each other, and to live together in towns "and villages. The Britains still went on in their old way."

All the old Britons, without exception, are here declared not to understand husbandry. But the declaration is not true. Some of them did. Plerique interiores frumenta non serunt, says Cæsar.—The houses also of the Britons and Belgæ were exactly the same. They were built in the same manner with the Gallick. And they were, consequently, of one and the same nature, alike in materials and form.—And that the Belgæ first began to build houses contiguous to each other, and live together in towns and villages, has been already refuted. They had just such towns as the Britons, at the period of the Roman conquest.

"The Britains still went on in their old way—. Their "cattle—they drove from place to place, according to the season "of the year and the nature of the soil—. Thus Westmoreland "and Somersetshire, being moist and morassy countries, served "the Brigantes and Dumnonii for the summer pastures, as "Cumberland, Cornwall,—having a dryer soil, did for their "winter."

That the nations of the Britons, in general, did drive their cattle from one county to another in summer and winter, is impossible to be fully true. Few of them possessed little more than a county or two. And many of them had only a single one.—Nor could the Brigantes have used Westmoreland and Cumberland for their summer and winter pastures. Westmoreland is far from being a moist and morassy country, or Cumberland from being remarkably dry. The hills of the former must have been as good a winter pasture, as any lands in the latter. And the Brigantes could have nothing to do with either, till their reduction of them; which was only about the beginning of the Christian æra. Nor did they then find them desolate.

Cumberland was even then inhabited by a nation, that had extended itself over half Westmoreland.—And all the change of pastures, that was made by the Britons, was the same undoubtedly as is made to this day by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in the summer, and re-driving them to the hills in winter.—Somersetshire therefore, as such, could not be the winter or summer pastures of any tribe of the Britons. And it did not belong to the Dumnonii. It was inhabited by the whole nation of the Hædui, and a part of the Cimbri. And only a very small portion of it, to the south-east, was possessed by the Dumnonii.—A great part of Cornwall was equally inhabited by the whole tribe of the Carnabii, and the rest by the Cimbri and Dumnonii.—And it is remarkable that Mr. Carte, in speaking of the mode of living among the *old Britons*, instances in a couple of tribes, the Dumnonii and Brigantes; when one of them, the former, is according to truth, and even his own accounts both before (p. 23 and 24) and after (p. 103), a tribe of the *Belgæ*.

—The old Britons "had no cities or towns, except such "transitory ones as are described by Strabo, who says that "woods served them instead of cities, "for cutting down a "" number of trees, they inclose a circle, and put up huts in it "" for themselves and stalls for their cattle to serve them for a "" little time." These cabins were only for a present shelter, "whilst their cattle fed in a certain place."

That the old Britons had cities, and such as the Belgæ had, has been convincingly shewn before. They had, neither of them, any but towns in the woods. And they both had them equally.—The transitory cities founded on Strabo's authority are only the fancies of his mis-informed criticks. And his words are these. *Περιφραξαντες δενδρεσι καταβεβλημενοις ευρυχωρα κυκλον, και αυτο. ενταυθα καλυβοποιουνται, και τα βοσκηματα κατασταθμευουσιν, ου προς πολυν χρονον.* And here is no account of the Britons shifting their habitations, and much less of their changing their cities. The whole is a description of a British town. And Strabo says, that it was composed of cabins for the garrison and hovels for the

the cattle, ου προς πολυν χρονον, built of no durable materials; being not constructed, like those of Italy, with stone or bricks, but with timber and plaister. I have shewn already from Cæsar, that they were of the same materials generally with the Gallick houses. And they were mean habitations, says Diodorus expressly, because they were composed principally of timber and reeds (p. 346).—Strabo's words also, which are here confined by Mr. Carte to the old Britons, are extended in the original to all of them, the Belgæ as well as the Aborigines. And, as they are descriptive of a British town, they shew the old Britons and the Belgæ to have equally had towns among them, and equally the same sort of towns; and so defeat the very design for which Mr. Carte has produced them.

P. 77. "Colonies, from a corruption of which word that of "clan is derived."

How is this possible! How could the appellation of clan, which is retained to this day in the un-romanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland only, be derived to them from the Romans! The word indeed is purely British. And it has no relation to colony, either in its origin or import. It signifies only a progeny or family.

P. 80, Mr. Carte closes his account of the Britons with these remarks: The old Britons were "without military skill or experience, the necessary consequence of a long course of peace, "interrupted nowhere except on the borders of the Belgic colonies; in a country generally—open, without any inclosure, "without a single town or fortification from one end of the "kingdom to the other."

That the old Britons had no military skill or experience, is said, because it is supposed that they had no wars, except with the Belgick colonies. And, as this is not true, the other must be false. Diodorus, indeed, says something like it; taking notice, that the kings of Britain were generally at peace one with another (p. 347). But then he extends the observation equally

to

to the old Britons and the Belgæ. And history and fact concur to disprove both his and Mr. Carte's assertion. Causas ac bella contrahunt, says Mela of the Britons in general, ac se frequenter invicem infestant, maximè imperitandi cupidine, studioque ea prolatandi quæ possident (lib. iii. c. 6). And I have, accordingly, shewn the old Britons of Yorkshire and Durham to have reduced the Sistuntii and Volantii, the Selgovæ, and Carnabii; the Iceni to have subdued the Coritani; and the Cassii the Dobuni, &c.—Nor was Britain generally open and without inclosures. It could not be, when the face of the country was so greatly intersected with woods, as Strabo assures us that it was (p. 305). And, that there was not a single town or fortification among the old Britons, is a continuation of the errour refuted above, and the unjustest representation that ever was given. Mr. Carte indeed appears to have *nodded* over this part of his history. For does not he himself give us an account in p. 94, of Cassivelaun's town being fortified by the old Britons "very "strongly both by art and nature," and actually stormed by the Romans? Does he not in p. 101 speak of Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobeline, a monarch of the old Britons? And do we not meet with an infinite variety of towns, both in Britain and in Ireland, among the geographers and historians of Rome?

P. 94. "Cassivelaun sent instructions to Cingetorix and Taxi-"magulus, two Kentish potentates, Carvilius, chief of the Car-"vilii in Wilts, and Segonax, a prince of the Segontiaci in "Hampshire, to assemble all their forces and surprise the naval "camp of the Romans."

The making Carvilius chief of the Carvilii, a tribe existing only in imagination, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a nation much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæsar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful, and generally mistaken, Mr. Baxter. And Dr. Stukeley in his Stonehenge, to the affront of his better judgment, has adopted the

ſame wild notion. Cæſar expreſsly declares them all to have been of Kent; Cantium—quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant (p. 92).

P. 103. "In all thoſe territories of the Dumnonii [Cornwall, "Devon, and the adjoining parts of Somerſetſhire] there is not "the leaſt veſtige of any Roman ſtation or encampment [and "therefore, it is argued, that no ſtations were ever ſettled "there]."

There were Iſca Damnoniorum, Moridunum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius, Tamara, &c. Theſe Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention. And there were various others without queſtion, of which they give no account. One or two of theſe laſt are actually deſcribed in Dr. Borlaſe's Cornwall.

N. B. In p. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, &c. &c., are great miſtakes concerning the poſition of the Britiſh tribes. And I do not wonder at it. The Roman-Britiſh geography of the iſland has never yet been ſatisfactorily ſettled, unleſs it is perhaps in the preſent work.—But I wonder at one thing. That is the inconſiſtency in the accounts of the tribes. The Dumnonii I have remarked before to be repreſented as Belgæ in p. 23, and in p. 76 as old Britons. The Trinobantes, who are always very juſtly noted before as Belgæ, are all at once in p. 114—117 transformed into old Britons. The Regni in p. 16 are placed in the adjoining parts of Suſſex and Hampſhire, and made old Britons: but a part of them in p. 96 is fixed in Surry, and converted into Belgæ; and all of them make their appearance as Belgæ in p. 100, and again in p. 107. And the Caſſii or Cattivellauni are Aborigines in p. 17, Belgæ in p. 90 and 94, and Aborigines again in p. 100.

P. 129. "The inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland were, "before the Romans came hither, either dependants or vaſſals

"of

"of the Brigantes properly so called, or at least confederates "with them and of their race; having the same divinity for "their particular patroness, as appears from the inscription on an "altar dug up in Scotland, and inscribed to the Goddess Bri-"gantia."

I have touched upon this subject in ch. iv. s. 2, and have there shewn, that the statue (not the altar), which was dug up in Scotland, was found in Anandale, and is answered by a correspondent stone discovered in Cheshire. And I have observed from both, that the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Durham appear, not have conquered or confederated with all the nations of Valentia, but on their subjection of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, to have crossed the Solway and Mersey, and reduced the Carnabii of Cheshire and the Selgovæ of Anandale. This the inscriptions prove. And they prove nothing more. Because the Selgovæ of Anandale appear to have been conquered by the Brigantes, it will not follow that the Damnii, the Ottadini, the Novantes, and the Gadeni had been equally conquered. And we might as well argue, that all Flavia had been likewise reduced by the same enterprizing tribe; because Cheshire had.

P. 130. "Whether they [the Novantes of Valentia] were a "colony of the Belgic Britains (and they should be Britains, since "Al-cluid, their capital, was called Dun-Briton), or of any "other Celtic nation settled there upon the old inhabitants removing into Ireland,—they certainly spoke a different language "from that of the Irish, Caledonians, and other Britains; and "the Lowland Scots are, in the Irish language, to this day, "called Galldach na Halbain, from Gall, a stranger."

The hint here, concerning the Belgick origin of the Novantes in Valentia, must appear very ridiculous to any one that knows the interiour geography of Britain. There were no Belgick colonies within 300 miles from Valentia.—And the proof, that the Novantes were Britons, is almost as ridiculous as the hint before it. Alcluid or Dunbritton was never the capital of the Novantes. It was not even any town of theirs. And

their dominions did not reach within eighty or a hundred miles from it.—But the assertion, that they spoke a very different language from the other Britons, and the evidence produced in favour of it, is more ridiculous than either. Though the Irish do call the Lowland Scots Galldach na Halbuin, and though they meant to call them Strangers by that name; would this prove any particular and small part of the Lowlanders to be peculiarly strangers? And, still more, would it argue them to speak a different language from the rest of the islanders? It certainly would not do either. The Lowlanders might in general be strangers, and yet a particular part of them not be so. And they might even all be strangers, and yet not speak a different language. The Belgæ of Middlesex and Essex were equally denominated Novantes, and were actually strangers: and yet their language was the same with the British. But the Lowlanders might be called strangers by the Irish, because they are Saxons; as the English in Ireland are said to be equally called so by the natives. And even the Highlanders call themselves to this day by the same name of Caeldoch or Galldach. Do they therefore acknowledge themselves to be strangers in their own country? Or do they speak a very different language from the South-British, Caledonian, and Irish? The real truth is this. The name Galldach na Halbuin signifies strangers, no more than the inhabitants of the moon. And all our etymologists are mistaken about it. It means only the Gauls of Albion; as the Irish call themselves the Caelich Eirinach or Gauls of Ireland, and the English in Ireland the Ghaill, and the French the Gallta and Galltach. And see also ch. xii. s. 4, and the History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson p. 120—121.

This observation concerning the original meaning of the word Gael, Gallt, and Galltach, is the more proper to be insisted upon; as not only Mr. Carte, but even Mr. Macpherson, a native Highlander, and Mr. O'Halloran, a native Irishman, have equally mistaken the meaning, and built schemes of fictitious history upon it. And the last gentleman, in his new Introduction to the History and Annals of Ireland, has even gone so

far,

far, as to draw a line of diſtinction betwixt two words that are one and the ſame, Gael and Gathel; and made them, becauſe the Iriſh (he ſays) popularly make them at preſent, to ſtand Gathel for a Gaul or Iriſhman, and Gael for a ſtranger (p. 192). Gathel, however, I have ſhewn before to be pronounced like Gael in the language equally of the Highlands and of Ireland to this day, and to be equally with it the generical appellation of all the Britons (ch. xii. ſ. 4. and Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 77—78 and 120—121). And this Introduction to the Iriſh hiſtory, though it is animated with an uncommon ſpirit of patriotiſm, and has actually vindicated Ireland from many groſs and eſtabliſhed mis-repreſentations, is not written in a ſtrain of cool and judicious argumentation. I am ſorry to ſay it, becauſe I eſteem the patriot and honour the vindicator in Mr. O'Halloran. But in reaſoning he is often inpertinent, in etymology generally ridiculous (ſee p. 199, &c.), and in early hiſtory aſtoniſhingly credulous, as viſionary as a winter's tale, and as fantaſtical as the dream of a feveriſh brain. And I force myſelf to ſpeak thus ſtrongly againſt the Introduction, in order to check (if I can) that torrent of ridiculous and imaginary hiſtory, which the Iriſh are now buſily diſcharging upon us; as I have recently endeavoured to dam up that for ever, which their brethren and antagoniſts of the Highlands have equally let looſe upon the nation. True hiſtory can only ſubſiſt upon the deſtruction of both. And to beat down that wretched ſpirit of credulity, which has been in every age the fixed and hereditary feature of all the remains of the antient Britons among us, is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to maintain the dignity of the national hiſtory, and to vindicate the honour of the national underſtanding.

HUME.

Vol. I. 8vo.

P. 1—2. Mr. Hume appears in his history to be frequently seduced from the truth by pursuing a splendour of sentiment, and led away by an affectation of singularity into wildness and extravagance. And he sometimes appears adapting his sentiments to his situation, and throwing out such observations as will best serve the present purpose. And both these principles seem to have concurred in the production of his remarkable preface. There he advances a position, convenient perhaps for himself, but certainly unjust in its nature; That the history of nations in their infancy is not worthy a recital; as if the commencement of civil life, the dawn of the arts, and the rise of literature, were not incidents as important and interesting, as the posteriour account of them, their occasional eclipses or accidental illuminations. And on this false principle he proposes to run briefly over the events, which attended the Roman conquest of Britain.—He assigns also this additional reason for it, That they "belong more to Roman than British story" (p. 2). For the same reason he must as briefly run over the Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman invasions, the irruptions of the Scots into our borders, and the descents of the French upon our coasts, as belonging rather to the history of Saxony and Denmark, Neustria, Scotland, and France. And in writing the annals of France, Scotland, or Ireland, he would take very little notice of the English transactions in those countries.—Such are the trifling arguments adduced, for giving us so short an account of the Roman history of Britain. And Mr. Hume adds, in prosecution of the former principle, what (as I have observed above) the latter would equally have led him to, That he shall also "hasten through the obscure and un-interesting period of the

"Saxon

"Saxon annals" (p. 2). By this means, that whole portion of our history, which (as I have formerly remarked) is the most important in it, is consigned over to neglect and carelessness, as unworthy a man of genius for its writer, and incapable of affording entertainment and instruction to the reader. And a strong brand is fixed upon that period of our annals, which is (as I may say) the great seed-plot of our national history, as it gives us the origin and institution of all our government, all our civility, and all our religion; and is therefore fraught with infinite variety of instruction and pleasure to the man, the Christian, and the critick.

The extravagance of sentiment in these positions, and, what as strongly marks them, the fastidious affectation of delicacy, must have been very manifest to a gentleman of Mr. Hume's strong and masculine judgment. And his severer reflections must have been disgusted with both. But it was not convenient for him, to travel properly through the period preceding the Conquest. And yet it was necessary in itself, in order to give a seeming and saleable compleatness to his history. In this dilemma, not furnished with the requisite knowledge, and yet obliged to engage in the work, he naturally resolved to skim lightly along the surface, and throw an air of propriety over his conduct by some general reasons at the beginning. These, however slight and flimsy in themselves, would engage attention from their novelty, and perhaps convert even a deficiency into a grace. And, that this was actually the reason for the preface and the practice of Mr. Hume, is plain (I think) from the innumerable mistakes which he has made, even in his method of writing history, in the British, Roman, and Saxon periods of it. Some of these I shall now point out, and nearly transcribe the whole of his general account of the Britons.

P. 2. "All antient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their

"language was the ſame, their manners, their government, "and ſuperſtition; varied only by thoſe ſmall differences, which "time and a communication with the bordering nations muſt "neceſſarily introduce."

Mr. Carte p. 7. ſays thus. And Mr. Hume ſets out the mere abridger of him. "That they [the Britons] were a Celtic na- "tion, and came hither from Gaule, is no longer doubted by "any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old "Gaulois in their manners, cuſtoms, habits, buildings, temper, "warlike genius, ſuperſtitions of religion, and above all in their "language, joined to the ſituation of the two countries, not al- "lowing on this head the leaſt room for diſpute." And Mr. Hume appears to have judiciouſly compacted what had been diffuſively ſaid by Mr. Carte, and to have given us his argument in a better form.—But he has varied a little from his original, and thereby fallen into miſtakes. Mr. Carte ſays, that the Gallick derivation of the Britons is no longer doubted by any one; and Mr. Hume, that it is unanimouſly aſſerted by all the antient writers. Theſe are very different propoſitions. And the former is generally true, but the latter entirely falſe. There are only two antient writers, I think, that ſpeak of the Gallick deſcent of the Britons. One is Cæſar, who does not agree with Mr. Hume. And the other is Tacitus, who directly oppoſes him. Cæſar ſays not, whence the great body of the iſlanders was derived; and he ſpeaks only of the ſouthern Britons as Gallick Belgæ. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipſâ memoriâ proditum* dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis tranſierant (p. 88). And Tacitus expreſsly affirms the origin of the Britons to be a thing unknown. Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum (Agric. Vit. c. xi). He then advances ſeveral conjectures, that the Caledonians were of German origin, and the Silures of Spaniſh; or rather upon the whole, that they were all of Gallick. But he advances theſe only as conjectures, as problematical reaſonings from the aſpect of the men, the vicinity of the ſeveral parts of the continent, or a conformity of re-

ligious principles. And "all the antient writers, that agree in "representing the *first* inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the "Gauls," appear to be only one, who merely *conjectures* that they were so, but asserts their real origin to have been utterly unknown.—I mention not this, to destroy or render dubious the Gallick origin of the old Britons. I do it, merely to vindicate the truth. The argument is a good one in itself. And I have endeavoured to improve it into a demonstration, in ch. xii. s. 4 and History of the Britons asserted p. 28—29.

— "Their language was the same, their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences, which time and a communication with the bordering "nations must necessarily introduce."

This account is evidently taken from Tacitus, though neither Tacitus nor any other historian is quoted for it. His words are these. Eorum [Gallorum] sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenerint, in detrectandis eadem formido. And Mr. Hume appears to have added to Tacitus's account, and thrown in a circumstance that is not true. Tacitus says not, that the governments of the Gauls and Britons were the same. And they were not. The Gauls had nothing but a kind of aristocratical republicks among them, in the days of Cæsar and Strabo. And the Britons had none at all. The magistrates of the former, therefore, were always elective and generally annual; and those of the latter hereditary and for life. See Cæsar and Strabo for the Gallick republicks; Cæsar p. 2, 3, and 5 for the Helvetian, p. 9 and 34 for the Æduan, and p. 32 and Strabo p. 301 for all.

P. 3. "The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants "brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of "the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite "the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, "however, of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar,

"made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britains, by tillage and agriculture, had there encreased to a great multitude (Cæsar lib iv)."

Where are these most shocking accounts of our ancestors to be found at present? I remember nothing but the Britannos hospitibus feros of Horace, which is not very shocking, and could not have been much magnified. And the quotation here from Cæsar is the first in the history, and is greatly misapplied.—That only the *south-eastern* parts of Britain were acquainted with tillage, is not said by Cæsar. His words are these. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis transierant: and, Ex his omnibus longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine; interiores plerique frumenta non serunt (p. 89). Here we see, not merely the south-eastern, but all the maritime Britons, all on the southern coast of the island, expressly declared to practise agriculture. And not only these, but some of the inland tribes, are equally declared to have practised it. So grossly erroneous is this account of Mr. Hume's! And another passage in Cæsar coincides with this, and two in Tacitus and Dio confirm both. Maritima pars [Britanniæ] ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis transierant, *qui omnes* bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque *agros colere coeperunt*. And we find the Britons under Boadicia, the Trinobantes, a Belgick tribe, and the Cassii and Iceni, two Aboriginal ones, and running up to the north as far as Lincolnshire at least, all well acquainted with the arts of agriculture; and the more northerly of them, the Iceni, even before their reduction by the Romans. This appears with regard to the last from the notice given us by Tacitus concerning them, That previously to their insurrection under Boadicia, and while they were meditating it, they had been serendis frugibus incuriosi (Ann. lib. xiv. c. 38). And it appears equally with regard to all from Boadicia's address to them all, That they were obliged to cultivate their lands, γεωργειν, with heavy taxes upon them (1004).—Nor had the *south-eastern* Britons, merely,

increased

increased to a great multitude. Mr. Hume had before restricted to the *south-east* of Britain, what Cæsar had applied to all the southern coast, and even to some of the interiour parts of the country. And he now advances farther, and confines equally to the *south-east* what Cæsar has spoken of all the island. So inaccurate and careless is he, merely in copying the notices of Cæsar! The latter having divided the islanders more precisely than any other of his countrymen, into Belgæ and Aborigines, and assigned them their respective possessions in general; he proceeds to an account of both, and begins with this remark; That both Aborigines and Belgæ were exceedingly numerous, Hominum est infinita multitudo. And Diodorus accordingly calls Britain the well-peopled island, πολυ-ανθρωπος νησος (p. 347). —But Mr. Hume, even in the compass of this very extract, has fallen into two other inaccuracies. Cæsar's Hominum infinita multitudo he translates into "a great multitude"; words much below the standard. And this populousness he ascribes to the practice of agriculture; when the facts appear not with the smallest connexion in his author, and could not possibly have any at all. The practice of agriculture was confined to the more southerly parts of the island. And the populousness extended over the whole of it.

—"The other inhabitants of the island still maintained them-"selves by pasturage: they were cloathed with skins of beasts: "they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and "marshes, with which the country was covered: they shifted "easily their habitations, when actuated either by the hopes of "plunder or the fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding "their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their "seats; and being ignorant of all the refinements of life, their "wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited."

This general account of the Britons is all one accumulation of errours; formed partly by a repetition of the preceding mistakes, and partly by an addition of others.—The preceding have occa-

ſioned Mr. Hume to repreſent all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, as maintaining themſelves by paſturage, all but the ſouth-eaſtern as cloathed with ſkins, and all but them as dwelling in huts reared among the foreſts and marſhes, eaſily ſhifting their habitations, and having few wants and ſmall poſſeſſions. And we muſt once more produce the often-cited paſſage of Cæſar, in oppoſition to this ſtrange account. Interiores plerique, ſays he, —lacte et carne vivunt, pellibuſque ſunt veſtiti. They were not all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, they were not even any of the weſterly Belgæ, and they were not even ſome of the more inland natives; they were only the generality of the Aborigines; who lived upon milk and fleſh, and cloathed themſelves in ſkins. —Nor did all but the ſouth-eaſtern dwell in huts conſtructed amid the foreſts and marſhes. Strabo p. 306 informs us, that the Britons lived in cabins among the foreſts. But then he confines not the remark to all except the ſouth-eaſtern. He applies it to all the Britons of the ſouth. He extends it to all of the inland country. And he carries it over all the iſland.—That all but the ſouth-eaſtern eaſily ſhifted their habitations and ſeats, is alſo equally falſe. Strabo, I think, is the only author that has been quoted by others (for Mr. Hume quotes nobody here), in proof of this opinion. And I have already ſhewn, that his words carry no ſuch meaning with them. And, even if they did, they are not reſtricted to the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, but equally ſpoken of all.—Such are the many miſtakes in this ſmall extract! And there are ſtill more.

None of the Britons ſhifted their habitations and ſeats eaſily, as the hope of plunder or the fear of being plundered, or as the want of paſturage for their cattle, led them. Nor were all but the ſouth-eaſtern ignorant of every refinement of life.—Mr. Hume has erred throughout this whole paſſage, from a ſtrange indiſtinctneſs and confuſion of ideas concerning the Britons. The other inhabitants were equally with the ſouth-eaſtern divided into tribes and kingdoms. Their poſſeſſions were equally fixed and known among both. They roved not, any more than theſe,

over the face of the country, settling sometimes in one place and sometimes in another. Each tribe had its distinct territory. And some of their dominions were not scanty and narrow. When they were alarmed by the plundering inroads of their neighbours, they drove off their cattle before the invaders. And they left their houses. Many of them were also employed in looking after the herds, the droves, and the flocks of their lords, along the woods or heaths of the country; and gradually moved from the hills to the vallies, and from the vallies to the hills, for the sake of pasturage. But the tribe never shifted its position. And nothing but a total inattentiveness to what appears manifest upon the face of Mr. Hume's own history, the regular division of the island into principalities and kingdoms, could have seduced the author into this extravagant representation of the natives. The Britons did not live, as Mr. Hume describes them, like so many hords of Tartars or tribes of wild Indians. They were formed into regular kingdoms. They had ascertained possessions. And they were governed by stated laws.—This account will serve of itself to demonstrate the fallacy of the other assertion in Mr. Hume, That all but the south-eastern Britons were unacquainted with every refinement of life. Where a regular frame of polity had been erected, and where property was regularly ascertained, there many of the refinements must necessarily have been known. And, that they actually were among the Britons, I have already shewn in the preceding chapters. The labours of the pottery, the loom, and the furnace, were successfully practised among them. The arts of the turner, the carpenter, the miner, and the architect, were studied and known. And many of the ruling principles of mechanicks, many of the more mysterious truths of geometry, and various secrets in medicine, botany, astronomy, and religion, were familiar to the scholars of the island. And were such men ignorant of all the refinements of life? Common sense is shocked at the suggestion. And we need only appeal against it to a slight but remarkable fact, known to every reader, and of which we have demonstration

tion remaining at present. I speak of the piles at Coway, which the Britons contrived to drive into the hard-bed of the Thames, several feet under the surface of the water; and to fix so firmly in the ground, that they have continued amid all the waste of time, the violence of floods, and the plunder of interest or curiosity, the admiration of every age. And, even if Mr. Hume's representation of the Britons had been as generally true as it is false, his extension of the censure to all but the south-eastern must have destroyed the whole of it. All the *southern* Britons were equally Belgæ, equally engaged in trade, and equally conversant with foreigners. Cæsar indeed speaks of the Cantii as the most humanized tribe of the island. But Diodorus says the same of the Britons in the most south-westerly parts of it. And, even according to Cæsar's account, agriculture particularly was practised by all the Belgæ, and also by several tribes of the Aborigines. The refinements of life, that I have shewn to have been cultivated in the island, were all cultivated equally by the Britons in the south. And most of them were known to all the Britons.

—"The Britains were divided into many small nations or "tribes; and being a military people, whose sole property was "their sword and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had "acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to "establish any despotic authority over them."

We have been told immediately before, that all but the south-eastern Britons roved over the country, and shifted their habitations as the hope of plundering or the fear of being plundered led them. And yet here, in the very next words, we find all the Britons as I have before represented them, formed into regular kingdoms and subject to regular governments. Both however, as I have observed above, cannot be true. Regular kingdoms and governments, in an island especially that was infinitely populous and full of buildings, necessarily involve

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in their ideas a permanent residence and defined possessions. And, if the point wanted any additional proof, we might remark that Mela describes Britain thus: Fert populos regesque populorum, sed, ut longiùs a continenti absint, ita, aliarum opum ignari magis, tantùm pecore ac *finibus* dites; and, bella contrahunt, ac se frequenter invicem infestant,—studio *prolatandi* ea quæ possident (l. iii. c. 6). So inconsistent is Mr. Hume with himself, even within the compass of two succeeding sentences!

Nor was the sole property of the Britons their sword and their cattle. It was not, either as they were nations or individuals. The soil must necessarily have been property with both. And the numerous houses of the Britons must have been equally so with all. So vague and unmeaning is Mr. Hume's hypothesis, all the airy speculation of a mind that has taken a hasty view of the island, and never attended even to the consequence of his own notices and representations.—And Mr. Hume says further, 'That it was impossible, after the Britons had acquired a relish of liberty, for their chieftains to tyrannize over them.' But how were the Britons to acquire this relish? By roving with their cattle over the country? Mr. Hume's argument plainly intimates this. And yet he cannot mean it. For this relish is attributed to all the Britons without exception: and the south eastern are expressly excepted from the roving. And how could the rovers obtain the relish, when even they, as appears from this very quotation, were in regular communities and under regular governments? But let us suppose the Britons possessed of this relish, and then see the result. It was then impossible, 'says Mr. Hume, for their princes to tyrannize over them.' And why was it impossible? Is the Genius of liberty, like some of the knight-errants in antient story, cased by the Gods in a coat of impenetrable armour? And has that heroick spirit, which blusters and bullies in these our days, never crouched under the feet of our kings? For the safety of liberty, I wish the one could be imagined without credulity. And, for

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its credit with the world, I should be glad that the other could be asserted with truth.

—"Their governments, though monarchical, were free "(Diod. Sic. l. iv, Mela lib. iii. cap. 6, Strabo lib. iv), as "well as those of all the Celtick nations; and the common "people seem to have enjoyed more liberty among them (Dion "Cassius lib. 75), than among the nations of Gaul."

This passage is full of mistakes. And I shall endeavour to point them all out.—Mr. Hume says, that the British government was monarchical. And yet in p. 2. he tells us, that it was the same with the Gallick, which I have shewed before not to have been monarchical.—Mr. Hume also says, that the British monarchies were free governments; and quotes for it Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo. All that the last says, is this: *Δυναςειαι δ' εισι παρ' αυτοις*, there are many monarchies among the Britons; and immediately afterwards he speaks of their monarchs, *των Δυναςων τινες των αυτοθι* (p. 306). And here is evidently not a single syllable concerning the free nature of the British monarchies. But perhaps we may find the proper notices in Diodorus or Mela. What the former says is this, *Βασιλε[illegible]και Δυναςας πολλυς εχειν*, that the island had many kings and monarchs in it (p. 347). And here therefore is as little as in Strabo, concerning the freedom of the Britons under their kings. If it is found any where, it must appear in Mela. And his words are these: Fert populos regesque populorum, there are many communities in the country under their distinct princes. All these evidences, we see, prove nothing more than the monarchical nature of the governments. And the freedom enjoyed under them, for any thing that yet appears, is all an additional touch from Mr. Hume's pencil.—But perhaps Dion Cassius, quoted afterwards for the greater freedom of the Britons than the Gauls, may at least prove the positive point. And his words seem likely to do it. Among the Caledonians and Mæatæ, says he, *δημοκρατευνται ως πληθει* (p. 1280);

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the generality of their tribes are under republican governments. This is a very extraordinary assertion. And it deserves to be considered.

The words, we see, are restricted by Dio to the Mæatæ and Caledonians, and applied by Mr. Hume to the Britons in general. But we have a testimony equal to Dio's, even his own, That the Britons in general were not under republican governments. They were, he expressly assures us in p. 957, under kingly. And therefore, as Mr. Hume has applied the words, there is a direct contradictoriness in Dio, which necessarily destroys his credibility. This takes off at once the whole weight of his testimony here. And as the one intimation, concerning the greater liberty of the Britons than the Gauls, is entirely built upon him; they both fall with him to the ground. — It may be proper, however, to observe in addition to this remark, That Dio speaks not of the Britons enjoying a greater share of liberty under their kings, as Mr. Hume interprets him. And, even if his account had not been superseded by himself in another place, it would not prove the point for which it is adduced by Mr. Hume. It would not shew the freedom of the monarchical government in Britain. It would only prove the existence of a popular one. And consequently, even if its testimony was of any moment, it would be in direct opposition to Mr. Hume's representation. — But Dio's account is not only contradicted by himself, but by every other writer. As applied by Mr. Hume to the whole island, it is encountered equally by the very Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo, whom Mr. Hume quotes immediately before, and by Cæsar (p. 74, 92, &c.), Tacitus (Agric. Vit. c. 15), and others. Each of these is an authority fully equal to Dio's. And the concurrence of all forms an irresistible weight of evidence against him. And, even in their natural signification, and as applied only to the generality of the Picts, the words of Dio are directly confronted by a passage in Martial; which of itself is perhaps not an in-

feriour teftimony to Dio's, and, by its coincidence with all the other accounts of the iſland, becomes greatly ſuperiour to it:

Turpes, humiles, ſupplicesque,
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum. Lib. x. E. 72.

I have gone over this extract from Mr. Hume the more circumſtantially, in order fully to open the extravagance of it. I have ſhewn in the body of this work, that the monarchies of Britain were founded on a regular ſyſtem of liberty. And ſo far I have aſſerted the intereſts of freedom and of man. But the ſpirit of the times, if not properly checked, would carry us into abſurdities that diſgrace the cauſe. We ſhould ſee the Tartuffes of liberty, like thoſe of religion formerly, throwing a diſcredit over it by their follies. And antient hiſtory would be gradually dreſt up in the cropt hair, the cloak, and the band of political puritaniſm. And there is the more reaſon for this apprehenſion, when we ſee ſo philoſophical a ſpirit as Mr. Hume's carried away by the civil fanaticiſm of the times, and ſacrificing truth at the ſhrine of freedom.

P. 3—4. "Each ſtate was divided into factions within itſelf "(Tacit. Agric.): it was agitated with emulation towards the "neighbouring ſtates: and while the arts of peace were yet "unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the "chief object of ambition among the people."

All this implies a fixedneſs of poſſeſſion and dominion among the Britons, which very ill agrees with the account before of their roving over the face of the iſland. But indeed all this deſcription of our forefathers, ſhort and ſcanty as it is, is little more than a maſs of groſs contradictions. And the lines are like the Britiſh kingdoms in the preſent extract, almoſt each of them in a ſtate of hoſtility with its neighbour.—But that each kingdom

kingdom was divided into factions within itself, is not true, as deduced from the work here quoted for it, Tacitus's Life of Agricola. That indeed proves just the reverse. *Olim*, says Tacitus, regibus parebant, *nunc* per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur (c. 12).—And, that the arts of peace were not unknown to the Britons, is plain from Mr. Hume's own words, which allow tillage and agriculture to have been known to the south-eastern natives; and still plainer from Cæsar's, which shew them to have been familiar to all the southern and some of the inland Britons. And in the present work I have even shewn all the mechanical arts to have been practised in every part of the island.

So grossly inaccurate as Mr. Hume is in his general representation of the civil state of the Britons, we cannot expect him to be commonly precise with regard to their geographical divisions. If he has erred in a plain path and at noon-day, he must be sure to deviate upon a winding one and in the shade of the evening. And to criticize upon these mistakes would perhaps be cruel; like arraigning a person for the breach of laws with which he was never acquainted. I shall therefore pass them all over. Only let me observe, that there is a capital absurdity both in Mr. Carte's and Mr. Hume's histories, which appears manifest upon the face of them. And that is the relating the military transactions of the island, without any previous information concerning the names, the position, and the power of the respective tribes in it. In this mode of writing history, the reader is introduced into a sort of fairy land, where beings arise with whom he has no previous acquaintance, and kingdoms are mentioned of which we have never yet heard the existence. Thus the Trinobantes are mentioned for the first time in p. 6 of the one, and the Iceni and Cattivellauni in p. 27 of the other, without one note of their situation and strength. And the reader is left entirely in the dark, whether they resided in Kent or Cornwall, in Middlesex or Cathness.

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I HAVE here laid open a variety of errours, within the compass only of two or three pages of Mr. Hume's history. And I may subjoin one remark to the whole, That his in-accuracy and in-attention have made him give us scarcely any real information, concerning the interiour state of the island, even for the whole of the Roman period. His hastiness to discharge himself of this part of his work, has increased and multiplied his mistakes. And yet it has in all probability preserved him from more; as upon a rough road a brisk pace is frequently safer for fine horses, than a slow one.

INDEX.

INDEX.

AMBER

BELL-

CLOTH

CORNE

GLASS

IRON

 Britain

SHIPS

THE END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

